

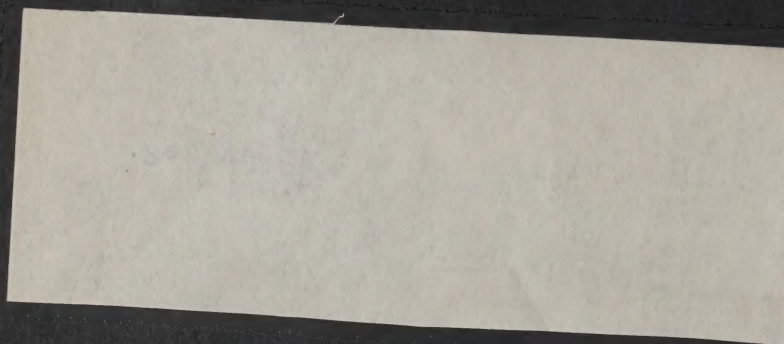
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THE
ENGLISH REVIEW,

OR

QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF ECCLESIASTICAL AND
GENERAL LITERATURE.

MARCH, 1845.

ART. I.—1. *History of England from the peace of Utrecht to the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.* By Lord MAHON. 3 vols. (Second Edition.) London: 1839.

History of England from the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle to the peace of Paris. By Lord MAHON. London: 1844.

2. *History of England from the Accession to the Decease of King George the Third.* By JOHN ADOLPHUS, Esq. Vols. I—VI. London: 1840-43.

3. *History of Europe during the French Revolution.* By ARCHBALD ALISON, F.R.S.E., Advocate. 10 vols. 8vo. (New Edition.) London: 1844.

It will be remembered by the best-educated of our readers, that in the sixth century *ab Urbe condita* Hannibal invaded Italy. He was accompanied in this famous expedition by his brother Mago, who left his name to a port in the Mediterranean Sea, through whom it was transmitted in a direct line to the author of the *History of England from the peace of Utrecht to the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle*. This remarkable descent of an English nobleman from the ancient peerage of Africa, will furnish matter for ten minutes' reflection to those who are indisposed to follow us through some remarks which we think fit to make before commencing with the subject immediately under review.

In the more modern division of English History there are five marked periods or stations, which naturally suggest themselves to writers and students. These are at the years 1688, 1713, 1748, 1760, and 1789. Historians who have started from early

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times seem to have been very naturally reluctant, after the labour of a dozen volumes, to enter on so strange and difficult a period as the Revolution introduced, and the first of these epochs was accordingly their resting-place. Turner even stopped short before reaching it, and at nearly the same point the narrative of Mackintosh was checked by his death. Hume and Lingard advisedly chose it as their limit. From the names of these authors, who did *not* write of the House of Hanover, the reader will perhaps infer that there were not many good ones who *did*. And indeed it might be said, that till lately there was no respectable or available history of our country during the period between 1688 and 1760. Yet this deficiency by no means arose from want of writers, as will soon be seen.

If we consider the science of history in the sense affixed to it by the less metaphysical of the two rival French schools of the present day; in the sense, namely, of a science which has testimony for its foundation, and criticism, applied to such testimony, for its instrument—we may collect from the period just mentioned a remarkable number of useful facts towards the establishment of its canons. We shall first get a class of contemporaries writing the history of their own times, and this with various advantages of information and position, and various disadvantages of temper and prejudice. We shall then get a class of men removed a little further from the scene, but still near enough to the times of which they treat to have conversed with the actors in them, and to have received all traditions of them while yet perfectly fresh. And we shall find a third class, belonging to a generation entirely new, with fewer apparent means than their predecessors, but starting with an improved appreciation of their subject, and proceeding on sounder principles. In the mean time, too, we can remark the different lights in which history was regarded, and the aids from time to time thought requisite for its production. And along with the progress of historical science we may observe the increase of historical materials; the sources of history which were successively announced, the masses of documentary evidence which were successively revealed, with the character and value of each, the cause of its concealment and the manner of its recovery. We can see in what the contemporary writers succeeded, and in what they failed; the points on which they were right, and on which they were wrong; and how far their information is necessary to us, or how far we could proceed without them.

Though Burnet is the chief personage in the first class of writers, and the oldest in standing, yet his history was not the first that appeared, for it was not published till after his death.

Several years before this, White Kennet, subsequently Bishop of Peterborough, had anticipated his brother historian. Either after the fashion of the old school, or to improve the speculation of the printer, the work was made "A Compleat History of England," in three volumes, of which the first two contained the reigns down to that of James I., inclusive, and the last the remainder of the history down to the death of William III. This last only was the work of Kennet. Through much, therefore, of its most important period he was a stirring and intelligent contemporary, and he was stimulated by a very sufficient interest in the events he was relating. His reward was in his own day. His volume now is the most useless of the three, and is far less quoted than the two others, of which the component writings had been selected from various sources with considerable judgment. His mistakes or his misrepresentations were severely attacked by Roger North, who, in his *Examen*, contributed to history some valuable materials from his personal knowledge and experience of Charles the Second's court. This work, however, was not published till 1740, after the death of its author¹. The events of Queen Anne's reign were registered, as they occurred, by Abel Boyer, who not only printed periodical volumes of such intelligence, but afterwards, in his "Political State of Great Britain," collected a mass of documentary and other information relative to this and the next reign, which fills upwards of two score octavos. Cunningham, too, wrote the history of his own times, from 1688 to 1714, with considerably more than average opportunities; for he was in Parliament, and occasionally in the confidence of the ministry. We have here four contemporary historians, three of them much beyond a middle station, and one of them, Burnet, with such means of knowing the truth for a great part of his history as rarely indeed falls to the lot of a writer. Lord Mahon seems to set but little value on Cunningham, whose work he considers as "very poor authority for any fact or opinion²;" but we may observe, that Mr. Hallam throughout this period of his Constitutional History repeatedly quotes him, and with apparent trust, though without any overt compliment that we can remember. It ought perhaps to be remarked, that his work was written in Latin, and not translated nor published till 1787. All

¹ One of North's bitterest insinuations against Kennet is, that he (Kennet) got 100*l.* from the booksellers for his work. Montagu North, who edited the "*Examen*," inserted a curious preface, in which he remarks, that as people would probably accuse him of garbling the original MS., any person was at liberty to compare it, as it would shortly be deposited in the library of Jesus College, Cambridge. It does not seem, however, that this deposit ever took place, though the college possesses many memorials of the various members of the North family, who belonged to it.

² Vol. i. p. 45.

these authors wrote mainly from their own knowledge or information, either what they had seen or what they had heard.

It was not till towards the middle of the century that Tindal, a respectable clergyman, continued Rapin's history down to the death of George I. It is not a bad specimen of its kind. As soon as the author escapes from the times of Burnet, and writes as a witness, and not as a transcriber, he displays considerable intelligence, and less partiality than might have been expected from a man who held a government appointment, and who dedicated his book to the Duke of Cumberland within a few months of the battle of Culloden. But in his idea of his subject he shows no advance whatever. Hitherto history had been written only after two fashions. A man either sat down and committed to paper the results of his individual observation, or he compiled the history of earlier times from such volumes as his bookseller and he might select. Its recommendation to the public was, that it had been "newly writ;" a phrase which meant little more than that it had been copied out afresh, and an operation which effected little more change in the old history than if it had been newly bound. Original sources were entirely overlooked; nor were the merits even of the secondary authorities balanced with any kind of care. A general outline of events was traditionally preserved, and employed from time to time, as occasion required, with a rearrangement of the sentences, and a change of moral. If Smollett has earned a distinction in this school, it is owing to accident. He never rose an inch above his contemporaries, and has beaten them in no one point but fortune. Hume at last gained the prize so many had tried for. A new and complete History of England from the invasion of Julius Cæsar, writ by an impartial hand, with a strict regard to truth and justice, had been attempted a score of times: but Hume's became the standard work. We have expressed our opinion of this historian's merits in a former number of this journal³. The system on which he wrote was essentially that of these very men. He commenced as they did, and compiled as they did, without much more research or many more authorities. But he extracted from these materials what they had never discovered; he combined facts which they had barely stated; and for his judgments he made sagacity supply the place of evidence. His first publications were his best; nor would his reputation, we think, be less, if he had never ascended beyond the House of Tudor. But the public and the publishers required completion of the work, both upwards and downwards; and after both writers were dead, Smollett's pages were

³ Eng. Rev. vol. i. p. 452.

selected from which to amputate a continuation for Hume. The graft of Mr. Thomas Cadell succeeded to admiration, and the coalition is now most surprisingly perfect. The earlier portion of Smollett's history has tumbled into the gulph of oblivion, but the latter is on half the shelves in England. He has become immortal from the decision of the Trade.

It was shown, however, at this period, that there were men who knew better what history demanded. Carte set about collecting materials of the most valuable description, a task for which he had great opportunities. To what he wrote he appended authorities and verifications; and for the service of his successors he left an accumulation of original papers such as had seldom been seen. Ralph did more. He says (which is curious enough) that people thought in his time (1744) that enough had been written and said about Charles and James; but he adds, that new sources of information (such as Reresby's *Memoirs*, and North's *Examen*) had since come to light. He was the first to make good use of Somers' Tracts. He saw all the advantage of State Papers, which he calls "the very chart and compass of history," and he approximates to the idea of a "Constitutional" History in the notice he takes of all State Trials. His renown was less than his merit both in his day and after it; but when Fox began closely to study history, he expressed his increasing surprise that "Ralph should have had so much less reputation as an historian than he seems to deserve⁴:" and a more distinguished writer than Fox has since paid him one of those compliments, which acquire additional value from the rarity of their occurrence⁵.

But, as sounder principles of historical composition began insensibly to be established, three great sources of information were soon recognized for this critical period of the struggles between the House of Hanover and the House of Stuart. These were, the Papers in the Scotch College at Paris, the Papers in the French Foreign Office, and the Stuart Papers. A few words may enable a reader more readily to estimate or verify the references to these authorities.

The reasons why the Scotch college at Paris should have become the depository of so many documents are obvious enough. Many papers, no doubt, have perished totally unknown; but the most important which were there at the French Revolution consisted of a large collection of letters from Charles II. and his ministers to James II., and, above all, of some *Memoirs* of the life

⁴ Letter to Mr. Laing, in p. xvii. of Lord Holland's Introduction.

⁵ Hallam, *Const. Hist.* ii. 574; and elsewhere.

of James, *written with his own hand*. These commenced at the time when he was sixteen years of age, and extended to the length of four volumes in folio, and six in quarto. But there was also a *Life* of James II. compiled *from* these memoirs at an uncertain period, and by an unknown hand. So carefully were these preserved, that it was necessary for Carte, when at Paris in 1740, to get an order for their perusal from the Pretender, who was then at Rome; but this order, which is still extant, limits Carte's access to the *compilation* only, so that he probably saw nothing beyond. Next to him came Macpherson, whose literary integrity was already suspected from the publication of his *Ossian*. In 1775, he produced his *History of Great Britain from 1660 to 1715*, accompanied by two additional volumes of *State Papers*. The first volume of these contains a *life* of James II., which he intended the public to believe was copied from the *original* memoirs of the king, whereas it has been since proved to rest on nothing but the secondary authority of the compilation. The fate of the original MSS. was singular. They remained in the archives of the college till the Revolution, when they were carefully packed up and sent for safety to a M. Charpentier, residing near St. Omer, to be by him transferred to Mr. Stapleton, president of the English college at St. Omer, through whom they might be transmitted to England. They safely reached their first destination, and were laid in M. Charpentier's cellar. But the unfortunate gentleman was soon thrown into prison, and his wife, apprehensive of the result if these richly bound Royal MSS. should be found in the house, burnt them to ashes. A duplicate of the *Life* found its way to Scotland, and another, as we shall presently see, existed elsewhere, but all the other papers are lost. The duplicity of Macpherson has much damaged his authority; but it should be remembered, that the charge against him applies only to that portion of his original documents containing the *Life* of James, and that he had Carte's and Nairn's papers besides. From these sources generally he drew his history, containing indeed more information than any hitherto published, but liable to suspicion from the character of the writer. The reference to his *History* should be distinguished from those to his *State Papers*.

The archives of the *Dépôt des Affaires Etrangères* contained an immense mass of public and private correspondence, addressed by ambassadors and emissaries of all classes to various French ministers, or to the king. How far the despatches of an ambassador are available as testimonies for history is a point, we think, admitting of some debate. It is easy to make deductions for ignorance, but not so easy to allow for scandal or for misrepresentation—for a wish to deceive, or a wish to please, the parties

addressed. It is difficult to say from which of the ordinary tests of credibility these witnesses may be exempted, or to how much attention they are officially entitled. They have been employed of late years to such an extent, that the question is one of importance. But to return to the French Foreign Office. Macpherson was too inquisitive to overlook such a hoard of treasures. While in France, he applied to the Duc d'Aiguillon for admission to these stores, which was readily granted; but the death of Louis XV. interrupted his proceedings, and his acquisitions were confined to a few copies and extracts afterwards sent to him. Just before this time, however, Sir John Dalrymple had been in France on the same errand, and conducted the investigation with greater results; for in 1773 he issued an Appendix to his *Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland* (published in 1771), which contained copious extracts from the despatches of Barillon and others, as well as some most valuable papers from the archives of private English families. Thirty years afterwards the researches in this quarter were continued by no less a person than Mr. Fox. So acute an observer could not fail to perceive the importance of this source of history from the specimens given by Dalrymple, and he was the more eager to explore it in person from a distrust of his predecessors. He wished not only to verify what they had published, but to discover what they had overlooked. Accordingly, he availed himself of the short-lived peace of Amiens, and in 1802 repaired to France. It was natural that every facility should be afforded to the researches of so distinguished a visitor; but to the honour of the French it should be observed, that alike under the old and the new *régime*, under Choiseul or Talleyrand, Louis or Napoleon, their liberality on these occasions seems to have been that which befitted a nation producing the first historians in the world. The success Mr. Fox met with even exceeded his expectations. He describes Barillon's despatches as being "worth their weight in gold," and he brought off also large gleanings from the correspondence of D'Avaux⁶. A still greater person was to follow. In 1814, Sir James Mackintosh started on the same expedition, and secured most ample profits. The collections of former enquirers have been printed either mainly or entirely together with their respective publications, but the Mackintosh Papers, the most important of all, are still in MS., and still, we believe, in private hands. The particular documents relating to the period of which we have been speaking are quite invaluable. They comprise the communications of Torey, not only

⁶ A considerable portion of D'Avaux's papers had been published before this time, and they were among the few original authorities of Hume.

with the accredited representatives of Louis in London after the peace of Utrecht, but also with Gaultier, the well-known secret agent of France. If the Committee of Secrecy had got hold of but one tithe of these letters, Oxford's head would have rolled on the scaffold⁷.

The third source we mentioned is in The Stuart Papers. The archives of the exiled court, from the year 1688 to the time when all their struggles ceased, of course contained at last an enormous accumulation of miscellaneous documents. It appears that such of these as were of a confidential nature, up to the year 1712, were left in the Scotch College, where they probably perished in the manner alluded to. From 1712 to 1719, many of the important papers were in the hands of Nairne, who had acted as under-secretary, or secretary, in the little court of James; and, after his death, in that of the Queen Dowager. These papers fell into the possession of Carte, and were employed by Macpherson. Such despatches of this period as Nairne did not hold, with a few papers previous to 1712, and the whole correspondence of the family after 1719, were kept by Prince Charles Edward in Italy. At his death in 1788, he bequeathed these papers to his illegitimate daughter, who had lived with him after the elopement of his consort with Alfieri. This lady, who died in the year succeeding, left the collection to the Abbate Waters, procurator-general of the English Benedictines in Italy; and by him they were sold to the Prince Regent in 1804, for an annuity of 100%. Such, however, were the difficulties of communication in those times of the continental system, that the papers did not arrive in London till 1813. They were formerly preserved in Carlton House, but are now deposited at Cumberland Lodge, Windsor. It is rather extraordinary that some of the most important of these documents, including the letter which Oxford addressed from the Tower to the Pretender, though seen by Sir James Mackintosh at Carlton House, were not discoverable at Windsor by Lord Mahon. Included in the collection was a duplicate of the compiled *Life* of King James, which we have mentioned above, and this was published in 1816, from these papers, by Mr. Clarke, the Prince Regent's librarian. From the foregoing remarks, it will be seen that the authority of an autobiography cannot be assigned to this compilation,—a circumstance which it will be well to bear in mind while perusing the concluding volumes of a well-known Romish historian, whose acuteness and

⁷ We are indebted for our knowledge of these papers to a writer in the *Edinburgh Review* of Oct. 1835 (vol. lxii. p. 12), who was permitted by the family to examine the MSS.

research lend such a value to his pages as even his unreasonable partiality cannot wholly destroy.

It will be easy, from the dates given above, to compare the advantages which successive historians enjoyed. Generally, towards the end of the century men had begun more to write and think for themselves, to collect and arrange their own authorities before commencing their history, and to correct instead of perpetuate the errors of their predecessors. Indeed they state, for the most part at the outset, what fresh information or peculiar opportunities have set them about their task. In addition to this they become exact and copious in their references, and often append such a mass of justificatory matter, that the reader can at once test the worth of any doubtful assertion. The papers of private families, too, often now form a considerable element in this body of testimony. The Hardwicke Papers make their first appearance in Dalrymple, who was particularly fortunate in getting access to these private sources,—a privilege which Macpherson rather pointedly remarks he was unable to obtain. These two writers were of opposite political opinions; but they do not seem to have satisfied their respective parties. Dalrymple has been bitterly abused by his friends the Whigs, and both Mr. Fox and Lord John Russell allege his misrepresentations as one of the chief inducements to their own researches; while, on the other hand, Mr. Hallam has been pleased to allow that Macpherson is sometimes not so prejudiced a Tory as rumour makes him. The truth is, that as the Whigs had made greater pretensions to purity and patriotism, they suffered proportionably from the transactions which these two publications for the first time disclosed. They had long attacked Charles as a pensioner of Louis; but they were staggered to find Algernon Sydney in much the same predicament⁸. It should be remembered, as we before remarked, that both Macpherson and Dalrymple wrote a history of their own, besides publishing their respective collections

⁸ A list of the gratuities or pensions distributed among English statesmen by Louis will be found in p. 727, vol. v. of the *Pictorial History of England*—a work of a cumbrous size and unfortunate title, but written with much skill, and designed with more. The chapters on civil and military transactions are the best; those on religion are less inaccurate than insufficient. As to the case of Louis and the patriots, it is amusing to compare the remarks of Hallam and Mackintosh on this delicate subject. Both of them evidently wish at first to discredit the facts, but when this proves too much for their sagacity and candour, they proceed to exculpate and explain. "I presume," says Hallam, "there is some moral distinction between the acceptance of a bribe to betray our principles, and that of a trifling present for acting in conformity to them." (*Const. Hist.* ii. 549.) "It is due to them to believe," says Sir James, "that the polluted gifts, if received at all, were applied by them to elections and other public interests of the popular party, which there might be a fantastic gratification in promoting by treasures diverted from the use of the Court." (*Hist. of Rev.* p. 340)

of documents, on which of course their narratives were mainly based. They were succeeded, after an interval of some fifteen or twenty years, by a writer superior to either. Somerville first wrote a History of England from 1660 to 1701; and afterwards published the reign of Queen Anne. Though resembling Macpherson in politics, he is honest enough to attack his inaccuracies. His work displays considerable advance in historical science. He makes a far more systematic use than any of his predecessors did of the journals of the two houses. He betook himself to the State Paper Office. He examined the periodical publications of the times about which he was writing; and he seems to have overlooked no source of evidence which was known at that period. He got access to the Shrewsbury Correspondence which Coxe afterwards published; and to the Hardwicke Papers. For the war in Spain, he quotes the *Townshend* Papers, which must be part, we presume, of the *Stanhope* Papers, on which Lord Mahon founds his History of the War of the Succession; and Coxe, who was then engaged upon his Walpole, supplied him with some of the materials which he had amassed in this occupation.

Besides the three great collections already mentioned, several other important documents were subsequently brought to light, particularly illustrative of Scottish transactions at this period. The records of the Forbes family, known as the Culloden Papers, appeared in 1815. They were followed in 1817 by the Commentaries of George Lockhart of Carnwath⁹, and in 1831 by the Marchmont Papers; all of very great value. Besides these, some volumes were published in France, from time to time, of good authority and considerable use, such as the *Mémoires* of Torey, Berwick, and Noailles. A short account of these and other original French materials for the history of these times will be found in Lemontey's introduction to his *Histoire de la Régence et de la Minorité de Louis XV*: but the reader will recollect that the poor abridgment of St. Simon, of which he there speaks so contemptuously, has been replaced by the publication (in 1829) of the whole of the old courtier's voluminous memoirs, which are now credible and serviceable testimony. In later times, too, a very good writer, M. Mazure, has availed himself further of the French archives and *mémoires* for his *Histoire de la Révolution de 1688 en Angleterre*.

⁹ These papers were left by the author, George Lockhart, sealed up, in the custody of his son, with injunctions not to open them till 1750, by which time he imagined all matters would be quiet, little reckoning on the '45. The publication was thus delayed till the present century. It happened, however, curiously enough, that Sir David Dalrymple procured by stealth a copy of some part of these memoirs, which he published in 1715, with a violent Whig preface, for the purpose of turning them against the author's own party.

That class of writers who follow their predecessors with no variation but that of style, may be dismissed without consideration. They are fortunately not so numerous as they were. But from the foregoing review it is seen how completely a good writer may be superseded by one of inferior talents with better materials. Somerville was a really respectable historian. He searched and wrote in earnest, and neglected no means in his power. Yet so mistaken was he about a point of the very greatest importance, that he wrote a separate dissertation for the express purpose of disproving the truth. He endeavoured to show that the protestant succession was in no danger during the famous four last years of Queen Anne, whereas the contrary might now be proved to the satisfaction of most people in a single page. There is less excuse for Hume. He did *not* get the best materials that he could. He had opportunities latterly of procuring information in Paris, by which he might have improved his work considerably, but such was not his pleasure. Yet for all this his history is not obsolete, nor likely to become so.

We observed that there was no lack of English writers for this period ; a fact which must have been evident enough as we proceeded. Yet it is just the period of all others for which we most want a history now. For earlier ages we are better supplied. The works of Mackintosh, Turner, Lingard, and Hume, if taken in combination, will serve us very decently down to the extinction of the line of Tudor. It is not meant to be said that they leave us nothing to desire. The history would not be satisfactory, even if it were demonstrable that no new sources of information could ever be disclosed ; still less can it be so considered when antiquarian research has ascertained much even since the latest of these writers. But, comparatively speaking, we are tolerably well off for this period. We have two or three sensible continuous histories, from which a reader may select one according to his taste, or all which, if he be inquisitive, he may compare. The reigns of the Stuarts require to be re-written, as both Mr. Fox and Mr. D'Israeli saw, though only one attempted the task. This, too, was the first essay of Hume. And not the least deficient of these reigns, as they at present stand, is that of James I., although some valuable original matter has lately come to light concerning it. It is a great pity that Turner did not enter on a period so peculiarly suited to his historical abilities. But from 1688 to 1714 we have something very like a blank. The requisite materials have been amassed in vast abundance, but since their collection no one has succeeded in constructing them into a history. Mr. Fox tried in his day, and left a minute fragment. Sir James Mackintosh tried again, and was again

interrupted. Had that great man lived to accomplish his prescribed task, this period would have been the most perfect, instead of the most imperfect in our country's annals. Those who are most conversant with ordinary historians will be the least able to set bounds to their regret that this work was so abruptly stopped. This dreary chasm of English history we vainly attempt to span with Coxe's Marlborough and Lord Mahon's War of the Succession; they are excellent materials, but they will not make the arch. But we do not even employ the best substitutes within our reach. Ralph is well-nigh forgotten. Tindal has been adopted into a folio Rapin instead of an octavo Hume, and is now perishing, like Virgil's laurel, under the spacious leaves of its parent. It is true, that all men of experience or information will acknowledge the worth of Somerville; but, practically, for the history of this period the resort of the rising generation is to Smollett,—to one of the poorest specimens of his miserable class. It is not unnatural that a history of one thousand three hundred and three years, composed in fourteen months, should be occasionally imperfect. It is not surprising that a man writing for a publisher should not always write for posterity. It is not remarkable that Smollett, in 1757, should have been ignorant of principles which Daunou and Arnold had hardly developed in 1840. But it is matter of exceeding wonder, that the author of *Roderick Random* should have attacked one minister and defended another, without writing a sentence worth remembrance for its spite or its flattery; or that he should have described the living scenes of his own day with a mediocrity below that of a county newspaper. Every body knows that a novelist cannot always write a history; and every body would be ready with an explanation of his failure. But the defects we anticipate in these cases are characteristic and natural. The faults of Sir Walter Scott are not the faults of Dr. Hooke. The omissions of Mr. James are not the omissions of Pinnock. But no one can say that Smollett failed because his reason was overpowered by his imagination. Instead of writing like a novelist, he writes like a clerk of the peace. His *Roderick Random* would unquestionably have supplied Lord Mahon with more materials for history than his whole reign of George II. Swift was not a better historian than Smollett; as regards truth, he was a worse. But he never wrote an historical pamphlet that could have been written by any other man. His faults are the faults of Swift, not of Echard. The author of the last four years of Queen Anne is clearly identical with the author of the arguments against abolishing Christianity. We do not believe his words, but we cannot help recollecting them. He is supreme even in his impu-

dence and his falsehood. No man is ever so unblushing in the one, or so carefully circumstantial in the other.

At last we have got to Lord Mahon. His lordship has fixed the commencement of his task in the month of March 1713, and from this date we have now a guide over what would otherwise be as dreary a waste of history as the five-and-twenty years previous. During that period of time to which his lordship originally confined himself—extending from the peace of Utrecht to the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle—the history of England is a history of the struggles between the houses of Stuart and Hanover. The literal accuracy of this remark is clearly seen in Lord Mahon's work, though it could hardly be shown from Smollett's. Every thing in these times was either Hanoverian or Jacobite, even down to Wesley's ghost. It is not remarkable that these feelings should have lived so long in the minds of the people, but it is singular that, after they died away, they should so very speedily have been forgotten. Within twenty years of Charles Edward's death, his adventures were matter for a novel. The *Rebellion of Sixty Years* Since was a strange and striking subject, and to its revival in *Waverley* its present celebrity is almost exclusively due. Even now, in the ideas of many, the history of the Stuart struggles is confined to the risings of '15 and '45; whereas, in truth, these were far from being the most critical periods of a contest to which, at one time or other, almost every people in Europe became a party.

If we wished to proceed very systematically, the narrative of these events would be easily divisible into certain well-defined periods. The first of these is in 1714. A more hazardous conjuncture than this could hardly be conceived. It does not appear to us that any footing obtained by the Stuarts *vi et armis* could ever have been permanent. If a majority of the English nation were (as at a later period is most undoubted) partizans of the house of Hanover, any success of French troops or Highland invaders would have been but momentary. The Scotch could never have thrust a king down the throats of the English. But while the grandchild of Charles I. was still on the throne, while the Act of Settlement was still fresh, and while no prescription had gathered round the Brunswick family, there was no reason why the resolutions of only twelve years' standing should not be reconsidered. What Parliament had done, Parliament could do. If the Queen, Lords, and Commons thought fit that Anne should be succeeded by James III. instead of George I., the Electress of Hanover might have had something to regret, but little to complain of. Whether such a design ever was really entertained by an English ministry, was the great question of the history of

these times. But it can hardly now be doubted that the scheme was agitated very seriously, and that the large minority of both Houses in 1714 were quite right in their votes upon the question, whether the Protestant Succession was in danger under her majesty's government. Though it is perfectly true that any sentiments of the queen favourable to the exiled Stuarts were suicidal in character, and that every recognition of their title vitiated her own, yet it seems almost certain that she would have preferred an heir from St. Germain's to one from Hanover; and quite certain that a ministry this way inclined need not have entertained much apprehension from the repugnance of their mistress. The elections of 1713 had secured a good majority to Harley's administration,—an administration which comprised most of the principal persons afterwards attainted for treason. Bolingbroke was the rising man in it. Sir William Wyndham was chancellor of the exchequer. Athol and Mar held the chief posts in Scotland. Ormond, as warden of the Cinque Ports, held the keys of the kingdom, and was further entrusted with Berwick and Edinburgh. It has been asserted, on good authority¹, that the chiefs of this ministry actually conferred with the leaders of both Houses on the proper methods of changing the succession, and that some suggested a formal repeal of the Act of Settlement, while others advised empowering the queen to nominate her heir. We need not remark on the inference, as to Anne's prepossessions, to be drawn from this last proposal, but it is clear, that either course of proceeding would have been fair and straightforward. Meantime, the army was new-modelled. Whig officers were driven to sell out, and a scheme was formed by which Jacobites were to purchase their commissions with money advanced by government. Whatever might have been the future opposition out of doors, the only present check to the proceedings of the ministry was in the inclinations or constitution of the lord-treasurer. We are disposed to believe, with Lord Mahon, that Oxford's dilatory and vacillating conduct arose more from his temper and habits than from any dislike to the schemes of his colleague; but, however that might be, he stopped the machine, and his dismissal became necessary. On Tuesday the 27th of July, 1714, the whole power of the state was left in the hands of Bolingbroke, with liberty to form his own administration; and thus was every obstacle to the restoration of the Pretender removed, except what might be discovered in the determination of the people. And this we are inclined to think would not have

¹ Sir Robert Walpole so stated openly, adding, that he had heard it from parties present at the meeting. Coxe relates this (Walp. i. 48) on Etough's information.

been very serious. There was indeed a powerful and energetic body of Whigs, all alert and vigilant, as we shall see below ; but we can hardly conceive that the body of the nation, which afterwards manifested such apathetic indifference to an actual insurrection, would have risen against a formal vote of parliament, could such have been secured. Six weeks' time—Bolingbroke told Iberville—would make all things safe. But in the midst of these triumphant anticipations he was startled by a piece of emphatic intelligence, which the affectionate memory of five generations has enrolled amongst the sayings of the wise. Queen Anne was dead !

The only contingency both certain and imminent, was that for which no preparation had been made. During the hours in which the queen laid stupified, Bolingbroke appeared stunned by an event which the whole nation had been expecting for years. In readiness for it, the Whigs, under Stanhope, had organized their followers, provided arms and ammunition, distributed tokens by which they might be recognized, and determined on seizing the Tower and the outposts. But no collision took place. The decisive measures of the most indecisive character in the peerage averted the shock. When all was over, the Jacobites gazed around them bewildered and motionless. Atterbury alone proposed at once proclaiming King James III. at Charing Cross, and offered to head the procession in his lawn sleeves. But he met with no support ; and the Elector of Hanover ascended the British throne peaceably and undisturbed, amidst the loudest acclamations of the people.

In this way was lost the best and, as it appears to us, the only chance of the restoration of the Stuarts. Even had Bolingbroke and Ormond been as well prepared at the Queen's death as Stanhope and Walpole, yet we do not think any violent change of the succession would have been submitted to by the nation. But if St. John had been allowed his stipulated six weeks to form his ministry and prepare his parliament, we think he would have certainly succeeded, and a more bloody rebellion than that of 1745 would have been the too probable consequence ; for that the Stuarts could have held the throne of England for any five years in the last century, no man who has read a chapter of their biography can easily believe. It was not to be expected that the Jacobites, who had thus been tricked, as it were, out of their game, would for ever abandon all hopes of the stakes. They had been surprised, but not overpowered. Neither party had learnt its strength by a trial. And although the Brunswick family had now the vast superiority conferred by possession,—a possession which was at least unattacked, if not supported, by the bulk of

the people,—yet there seemed to be no lack of favourable chances on the other side. Of the great powers of Europe, France and Spain were notoriously unfriendly to the Protestant Succession, though bound to acknowledge it. The emperor, from jealousy, was ill-affected to the elector of Hanover; there was no doubt, of course, about the court of Rome; nor could the ministers of George look any where for a sincere alliance but to the helpless states of Prussia and Holland.

It was therefore to foreign governments rather than domestic conspiracies that the eyes of the discomfited Jacobites at first were turned. No repugnance to calling in the aid of continental troops is discoverable on either side throughout this protracted contest, unless, indeed, we can infer it from the apology for such intention made by Charles Edward in his principal proclamation of 1745. But even in this case the apprehensions seem to have been not of foreign, but of *popish* troops; not of an outlandish monarch, but of his most Christian or Catholic majesty. The Jacobites, in all their memorials to the Pretender, always stipulate expressly for a French invasion, as an indispensable condition of their rising. William III. had been established by Dutch soldiers; and Dutch, Danes, and Hessians were now promptly called in by the reigning government on the first symptoms of a tumult. Another half century was to elapse before the English nation could be taught that they could settle their own disputes, and protect their own coasts, without hiring seven hundred men of a higgling landgrave.

The first appeal was to France. Louis-le-Grand adhered to his old policy, and was well enough inclined to his Stuart kinsmen; but he shuddered at the thought of those campaigns from which he had so recently and luckily escaped. It was therefore covertly, though cheerfully, that the Jacobites were supported at Versailles. Still it is probable, we think, that effectual aid would have been given to the insurgents of 1715, had Louis survived so long; but his death, like that of Anne, a twelvemonth previous, dashed the hopes of the Jacobites just at the most critical period. At length it was impossible to check any longer the eagerness of an ill-informed party without endangering the cause, and the insurrection took place. Although all the intelligent men of the faction had long ago decided that success was hopeless, unless the risings in England and Scotland were simultaneous, and both were supported by France, yet the attempt was made at the very moment when Bolingbroke had positively assured them that no aid was forthcoming from Paris, and when the English plot had been already discovered by the government; such bad concert was there between the leaders. The particulars of the

Scotch insurrection are well known. It certainly looked serious at one time. About the end of October, Mar could with ease have gained possession of the whole of Scotland, had he not been so deficient in genius and spirit. But his temporary success was mainly owing to the conduct of the English government, which had advisedly neglected Scotland, in order to crush a much more serious conspiracy nearer home. From the event, Mar and his highlanders make the prominent figures in this narrative; but the truth is, that the hopes of the Jacobites were fixed, not on them, but on Ormond. It was from the rising in the south-western counties of England, under Ormond and Wyndham, that the great result was looked for². It is remarkable that the same counties which rose so readily for the Protestant Monmouth, were selected as most favourable for the descent of a Popish Pretender,—such local power was still attached to ancient families. But Ormond and his scheme had been betrayed to the ministry by Maclean, one of his agents, and Stanhope took measures with his usual vigour. Eight thousand men were all the government could command. Of these, fifteen hundred were sent to Scotland, and the rest to the west of England. Warrants were issued for the immediate arrest of four peers and six members of the Commons, one of whom, when taken, attempted to commit suicide. The surrender of Wyndham was fatal to the plot. Troops were quartered throughout the district, the arms and ammunition of the rebels were seized at Plymouth and Bristol, and their chief partizans were secured. When Ormond arrived off the coast to take command of the Jacobite forces, he found that he could not command a night's lodging. The English rising was effectually checked; and the little Scotch army, with the Pretender now at its head, tumbled to pieces, as might easily have been foreseen.

Though the French court made little appearance in this rebellion, yet it was originally projected on their credit, and with their consent. But new interests had now arisen at Versailles. Though the general bent of the kingdom—as Lord Stair wrote

² The English Jacobites themselves at first looked on Mar's rising as merely a feint to draw the troops northwards. So completely wrong is Schlosser in saying, that the whole result depended on the war in Scotland. But indeed, in his English History throughout all this period, (Polit. Hist. of XVIIIth cent. iii. § i.) he is not only very prejudiced (as perhaps an Englishman naturally considers him), but he is most strangely inaccurate both in great and small matters. It could hardly have been expected that so sensible a man would actually have accepted and re-issued Swift's arguments about Wood's halfpence! He might as well have repeated the Dean's characteristic insinuation, that in 1711 Eugene and Marlborough had conspired to assassinate Harley and Queen Anne! (Four last years. Works, xv. 77.)

some months later³—was still against England, yet the obvious policy of the regent was to secure our alliance, as the only guarantee for his own reversion to the French crown. The good services of Dubois, too, had been retained by the English ministry, to whose mediation that worthy was probably indebted for his high preferment in the Romish Church. The Jacobites, therefore, now cast their eyes to the north, where the different courts were embroiled by a complication of plots and quarrels. The states of Bremen and Verden had long been looked upon as most eligible acquisitions to the Electorate of Hanover, and there was no doubt that England would also be benefited by thus securing the mouths of the Elbe and the Weser. Frederick of Denmark had ceded these districts to George I., on condition of his joining the coalition against Charles XII., and thus protecting the rest of the spoils which had been torn from Sweden. This circumstance was enough to make the royal hero accessible to the intrigues of the Jacobites. Accordingly, in 1717, a league, it is said, was formed between these parties, which, in Lord Mahon's pages, looks formidable indeed. A Swedish army, then encamped at Gothenburg, was to be embarked at that port for Scotland, with the king at its head. Alberoni was to supply a million of livres, and the Pretender 60,000*l.*, towards the expedition, and no time was to be lost in the execution. This was a scheme of some promise. Twelve thousand Swedish infantry, under Charles the Twelfth, would have been a very different thing from two hundred Northumberland fox-hunters, under Mr. Forster. But we incline to think his lordship has too seriously looked upon a plot which probably rested on nothing⁴. It is true, that the Jacobites had long ago expectation from the coast of Sweden. Berwick had pointed out the facility with which an armament might be transported from that coast to Scotland in eight-and-forty hours, and the little interruption which was to be feared in a plan which no one had ever suspected. It is true, too, as we have seen, that Charles was predisposed against George and his government. But there seems great reason to believe that he knew little or nothing about the rumoured expedition. Gyllenborg, the Swedish ambassador in London, being destitute of all supplies from home, betook himself to the credulous generosity of the Jacobites as his best resource, and received their guineas in return for his magnificent promises. It appears that there never was at any time during this period a single sea-

³ July 7, 1717. During the whole of the regency there was still a strong Anti-English party about the court. D'Huxelles was particularly vehement against any treaties with the "natural enemies" of France.

⁴ See Lemontey, *Hist. de la Régence*, i. 129, and his *Pièces Justificatives*, ib. ii. 385.

worthy vessel at Gothenburg, and that the project was ridiculed by all the foreigners who heard of it. However, there was reality enough as far as the English conspirators were concerned, and Stanhope decided on seizing Gyllenborg and his papers, which clearly showed his correspondence with the malcontents. Though few persons believed Charles to be any party to the acts of his ministers, yet it was some time before his haughty nature could bear to disavow these proceedings against his enemy; and it was only at last that he transmitted through the regent of France a tardy assurance, that he had never intended to disturb the tranquillity of Britain.

An active agent in this conspiracy, whether empty or serious, had been Alberoni. It was not that he had any real ground of complaint against England, or any personal or political partiality towards the Pretender. But his plot against the French Regency, and his designs upon the imperial dominions in Italy, were incompatible with any good understanding with England, whose interests the Triple, and subsequently the Quadruple, Alliance had identified with those of France and Vienna. The total destruction of the newly-formed Spanish navy by Byng off Cape Passaro, threw the cardinal into a state of fury unusual even at the court of Madrid. His first measures were taken in another attempt at the northern courts. The Duke of Ormond had been despatched to Russia, as the Jacobite plenipotentiary; and amongst the Stuart Papers, we may remark, is his original passport in Russian and Latin, signed by the Czar. Through his mediation and that of other agents, an agreement was effected between the sovereigns of Russia and Sweden; and amongst other articles of this singular treaty was one which provided for the restoration of the Stuarts. It is hard to say what Stanhope and Townshend would have done against Charles the Twelfth and Peter the Great, but, fortunately for England, the effects of this combination were never felt. Charles, like his namesake of Burgundy, turned aside from Britain for a moment, and was killed before a fortified town; and the Jacobites, like the Lancastrians, lost the aid of their fierce ally. But Alberoni was neither daunted by this accident, nor deterred by the total failure of his schemes at Paris from attempting similar practices in England. Misled by the representations of the Jacobites and the outcry of the opposition into a belief that the nation would rise *en masse* against the reigning dynasty, he resolved to precipitate the crisis by a Spanish invasion. Five men-of-war and twenty transports accordingly sailed in the spring of 1719 from Cadiz, carrying five thousand soldiers and arms for thirty thousand more. Ormond was to command the expedition,—the same man who, seventeen years before, had

led a British squadron against the ports from which he now guided a Spanish. So friendly was now the court of Versailles to England, that it sent the ministry timely notice of the expedition, and offered a body of French troops *against* the Jacobites, but which were civilly declined. Yet the government did not think themselves safe without borrowing two thousand Austrians and as many Dutch. Sir John Norris was sent with a respectable fleet to the channel, and the north and west coasts were protected in the best way practicable. But, from the days of Santa Croce to the days of Hoche, the winds and waves have protected England more powerfully than fleets or forts. *Flavit ventis, et dissipabantur*. The expedition had scarcely left the harbour, when a tremendous hurricane, of twelve days' duration, drove the dismantled vessels back upon their own shores.

France, Spain, Sweden, and Russia, had now been tried in vain. All their armaments had failed, and the address of Stanhope had successively converted these hostile states into reluctant allies. The Pretender had been forbidden the French territory, and Alberoni had been disgraced at Madrid. George I. had come to terms with his son, and Walpole and Townshend had returned to the ministerial phalanx. Neither at home nor abroad did there seem a reed for the Jacobites to cling to. But at this critical moment the South-Sea Bubble rose and burst, and the consequent misery of the nation again roused the hopes of a party whose only chance was in the distresses of their country. The dwindling interests of the Pretender were at this time managed in England by a council of five,—the Earl of Arran (Ormond's brother), the Earl of Orrery, Lords North and Gower, and Bishop Atterbury. A birth and a death conspired at this period to improve their prospects and animate their exertions. The titular queen of England was safely delivered of a son,—Charles Edward Lewis Casimir,—the future hero of Preston; and within a few weeks of this event, Secretary Stanhope died. The character which Lord Mahon has drawn of his celebrated ancestor is not, we think, unjustly favourable. He was, indeed, an honest statesman, honourable to his colleagues, and faithful to his king. His diplomatic successes were unrivalled; and his bodily activity on these and other errands was such as to secure him the title of the Wandering Jew, even in the days of the Earl of Peterborough⁵. If the reader is not very familiar with the men and manners of these times, he will perhaps be surprised when we

⁵ Yet Lemontey (i. 149), when he said that Stanhope had *un goût invincible pour les courses continuelles*, and that *son ministère se passa presque sur les grands chemins*, might have recollected that an English secretary of state had, unavoidably, a good deal of travelling when his king lived in Germany.

mention, as singularly to the credit of this minister, that he was *not* charged with appropriating public money, and *not* suspected of any dealings with the Pretender.

Though the Jacobite council could no longer look to a foreign court for open concert, yet they well knew that the secret bent of most of the great powers was towards them, and that they would not be very liable to interruption in procuring a few private supplies of men and arms. With this glimmering of aid, therefore, to their domestic forces, did the Jacobites again set about demolishing the dynasty of Hanover. The boldness of the plan appears to us to be peculiarly characteristic of Atterbury. They were to rise in the heart of the city, seize the tower, the bank, and the exchequer, and proclaim King James in every quarter of the kingdom! But the French court again proved its zeal for the English ministry, by sending warning of the catastrophe. Precautionary measures were immediately taken, the king's periodical visit to Hanover postponed, and a camp formed in Hyde Park. The fate of Atterbury is well known. It is impossible now to doubt that he was guilty of what was laid to his charge; but this probably neither he nor his friends would have called by the name of treason.

Hitherto the cause of the Stuarts had been supported by persons of talent and repute, by men who were often serious and occasionally sober. But Bolingbroke had now been dismissed and Berwick rejected, and the agency of the exiled house dropped into the respectable hands of Wharton and Ripperda. The courts of Madrid and Vienna having been convinced against their will into the politics of the Quadruple Alliance, remained, of course, in their old opinions; and at length an outrageous piece of conduct on the part of France succeeded in uniting in the bonds of friendship these hereditary enemies. A secret article in their treaties at Vienna provided that Gibraltar and Minorca should be demanded of England for Spain; and that, in case of refusal, a combined expedition should be made to restore the Pretender. It was against this extraordinary league that England secured the aid of France and Prussia in the celebrated treaty of Hanover; but events soon showed that there was little cause for apprehension from the new allies. Ripperda, who had conducted the negotiations at Vienna, returned to Spain, and was created a duke. For once the Spaniards were outbragged by a foreigner. The new duke observed at his levee, that he had six very good friends,—God and the Holy Virgin, the emperor and the empress, and the king and queen of Spain. He told the emperor, that the resources of Spain were inexhaustible. He told the Spaniards, that the emperor had 150,000

men ready to march, and as many more to follow in a few months, under Prince Eugene. He said, that in one campaign the allies of Hanover would be demolished ; that the Stuarts would be seated on the British throne ; and the English and Prussian monarchs driven into the sea : and, as to any reconciliation with France, he said he only wished he might live till that took place, as being assured, in that case, of attaining to a remarkable old age. To this astonishing minister there was despatched from the little court of the Pretender, the only man in Europe perhaps who could match him,—Philip, duke of Wharton. When the horrible blasphemies of the Hell-fire Club became so outrageous as to provoke (even in those times) the notice of government, this young nobleman, the president of the society, stood up in his seat in the House of Lords, pulled a family Bible out of his pocket, and, after quoting several texts with a sanctified air, proceeded to impress upon the house an exalted notion of his own peculiar holiness. He failed in establishing these pretensions ; and shortly afterwards, by a simultaneous change of what he termed his loyalty and his religion, he vowed allegiance to the Pretender, and entered the Romish communion. At Rome he was highly honoured. James, in his mimic prerogative, gave him the garter, and the old ducal title of the Percies, and nominated him his ambassador to Spain. On his arrival at Madrid, his excellency put on his new star and garter, and reeled, uninvited and intoxicated, into an evening party at the British consul's, where he jeered at the master of the house, and insulted the company. He avowed, with some incoherence, his intention of immediately ruining the dynasty of Hanover, and added some terrific threats of private vengeance against Sir Robert Walpole, "who had bought his family pictures." On being at length turned out, he challenged the consul, but in half an hour sent him his forgiveness and assurance of immutable friendship. These affairs were soon brought to a crisis. When the Spaniards and Austrians began to compare their real resources, the character of Ripperda's representations was soon discovered, and he was speedily disgraced and imprisoned. His subsequent adventures are well known. He succeeded in escaping from custody by the aid of his maid-servant, with whom he eloped to England. Here he met with some consideration, till our differences with Spain were adjusted, when, finding his value rapidly sinking, he crossed over to Holland, and returned to his original profession of Protestantism, which he had abjured while in the service of Spain. But being tempted with some sparkling offers by the Moorish agent at the Hague, he vowed allegiance to the Emperor of Morocco, turned Mahometan, and died a Bashaw. His nickname

in the Stuart Papers is *Bentley*. Wharton's vicissitudes were scarcely less curious. After fighting with the Spaniards against the English at Gibraltar, he abjured the Romish faith and the foreign service, and made offers of himself and his religion to the British ministry. When these were rejected, he returned at once to his previous professions, again commanded a Spanish regiment, and at length died a monk.

When the sudden decease of George I. effected nothing for the Pretender, it was evident even to his most sanguine adherents that the cause was nearly in a hopeless state. In fact, from this time till the last desperate struggle the proceedings of the Jacobites seldom extended beyond a little treasonable correspondence with their friends abroad. The peaceful accession of George II. showed how little was to be expected from the English people; and the adroitness of William Stanhope in concluding the treaty of Seville, destroyed the slender hopes which could be entertained from the helpless court of Madrid. It is just at this period that Lockhart, the staunchest of Jacobites, terminates his commentaries on the Stuart affairs. "In this melancholy state," says he, "I leave them." And for ten long years did they so remain. But the spirit was rather dormant than dead. The Scotch were more wary, but not less devoted; and schemes had been concerted in some families by which the clan might join in the next insurrection without endangering the estates of the house. Even in 1737 Lord Mahon thinks there were five-and-forty Jacobites in the House of Commons. At length the fall of Walpole disturbed the tranquillity and weakened the powers of the state. As Lord Mahon elsewhere observes, the achievement generally expected of a new administration is the increase of the revenue by the repeal of taxes; and the disappointment of some such hope produced considerable disaffection in the present case. The outbreak of war, too, a little time previous, again supplied the Jacobites with arguments and opportunities abroad, and a rupture with France was so clearly imminent, that even the peaceable Fleury despatched an emissary to England, in 1740, to ascertain the correctness of the Jacobite statements and the chances of a successful descent. It seems, too, that the report was favourable; but the more exciting struggle in Germany called off the attention of the court of Versailles, nor were any overt steps taken in the matter till after the good cardinal's death.

But early in the summer of 1743 the French government found time to look towards England, and, irritated by the events of the war, and stimulated by the representations of the Jacobites, they at length determined on an invasion. For this purpose an army of 15,000 veterans was collected at Dunkirk under

the command of Mareschal Saxe, and eighteen ships of the line were to secure their passage. Never, between the days of the Spanish armada and the Boulogne flotilla, was England more formidably threatened. But again was the hostile armament dispersed by the waves. The first division of seven thousand men, including the mareschal and Prince Charles, had actually sailed, when a hurricane sent half their number to the bottom, and drove the rest back to France. This was in the spring of 1744. Defeated and discouraged, the French abandoned the expedition, and Mareschal Saxe met the Duke of Cumberland at Fontenoy instead of at Hastings. This was one of the most serious attempts of the Stuarts. Compared with the peril of this period, the hazard of the next year seems to us almost to vanish.

The celebrated insurrection of 1745 resembles that of 1715 in this respect, that it was the act of men just disappointed of an excellent opportunity, and who resolved to make any attempt, however desperate, rather than none. In both cases the chance was already missed, but in neither were the players contented to retire. All the circumstances of the '45 are now familiar to every body. Lord Mahon thinks, that if Charles had continued his march from Derby he would have succeeded in his expedition—a view in which the matter looks far more serious than we have considered it. But we cannot agree with his lordship. His chief reasons for his conclusion are these. That the increased terror at the prince's near advance would have palsied all resistance; that the army at Finchley would have melted away into such a convenient retreat as the capital just behind it; that officers in the royal army might have avowed Jacobite principles at the critical moment; and that the Pretender's party was strong in the metropolis, and not unprepared for a rising. It is indeed probable enough that the population of London comprised a certain party of Jacobites, as it did of every other party; but, taken as a body, the Londoners were more decidedly opposed to the principles of Jacobitism than any citizens in the kingdom. From the times of Charles I. to those we are speaking of they had been most marked in their support of what may be termed the Whig or liberal cause in any struggle. They were the staunchest friends of the House of Orange, and the most forward in welcoming the House of Hanover. London, too, was the stronghold of the monied interest, so emphatically Whig in its origin and character. When Lancashire and Staffordshire had failed, was it likely that Cheapside and Cornhill would produce any thing? Then as to the camp at Finchley,—is an army generally thought the weaker from resting on a strong and well-

disposed city? Might not the metropolis be as fairly considered a magazine as a retreat? or would the guards have fought the worse in the immediate presence of their king? As to treachery or desertion among the royal officers, we can only say that no instance of any such defection had hitherto taken place, or been apprehended. Nor do we remember that the Jacobites ever in their correspondence expressed any such hope as this amongst their sanguine expectations. That the approach of the rebels should have caused a stoppage of business, and a run upon the bank, is natural enough,—the approach of an hundred chartists might do the same. But we cannot persuade ourselves that 5000 Scotchmen, marching on London, with the king and his guards in their front, and two armies, each double their own, in their rear, could have met with any thing but irremediable discomfiture.

With this enterprise ceased the visible struggles of the House of Stuart, but not the spirit of Jacobitism. So tenacious of life was this feeling, that the unpopularity of an administration could in a moment revive it. The Pelhams themselves admit, five years after this date, that Jacobitism was rather increased than diminished, and that the people were more disaffected to the king than at the time of the rebellion. And in the next session, Pitt, as paymaster of the forces, opposed a motion of his colleagues for a reduction of the navy, avowedly from his fears of the Pretender. And we now know, too, that in September, 1750, Charles Edward again came to England, and remained here a fortnight, and that during that time he met an assembly of fifty influential gentlemen at a house in Pall Mall. But the energetic ministry of Pitt, the formation of the Highland regiments, the glorious successes of our wars, and the accession of a truly English sovereign in George III., at length extinguished for ever the dangerous embers. In 1767, for the first time since the abdication of James II., the royal family of Brunswick was prayed for in Roman Catholic chapels,—a circumstance which, perhaps, may mark the moment when the Jacobite party expired.

It was the fashion of the opposition at all times, and has been so with some historians of late, to consider all fears of the Pretender throughout this period as vain and ridiculous, and merely simulated for party purposes. Even Schlosser does not hesitate so to treat them. But though we have already admitted our belief that the Stuarts had no chance, after the peaceable accession of George I., of again gaining a permanent footing in Britain, and though many of the Jacobite designs were, doubtless, chimerical in the extreme, yet all this is consistent enough with a persuasion of the very critical position of the country through half a

century. Though the Jacobites could not effect their main purpose, yet they could effect what it was the paramount duty of a minister to prevent. They could produce distress, and bloodshed, and confusion. They could introduce foreign troops into the heart of the kingdom. They might possibly even get the upper hand for a short period, and do such mischief as a century's efforts might not suffice to repair. We think that at the commencement of the eighteenth century the chances were certainly in favour of the restoration of the Stuarts at some time or other. It is unquestionable that George I. always apprehended such an event, and never looked on England but as a temporary possession. But every succeeding year diminished the hopes, and, as Lord Mahon justly observes, aggravated the wickedness of the attempt. Day after day was prescription gathering round the House of Brunswick, while a generation was rising, even in Scotland itself, which knew not the Stuarts. And at last the change must have been attended by such a convulsion as would have rent the state to fragments. Could Charles have succeeded in 1745, what would have been our plight in 1793?

The singular power of inspiring attachment, which all the Stuarts possessed, has been frequently a subject of remark: and doubtless it was instrumental, perhaps even mainly so, in procuring and retaining adherents to their cause. History presents few struggles of any kind in which so much disinterested loyalty is discoverable, so much self-forgetfulness, so much conscientious though mistaken feeling. But to the Scottish nation were these honourable motives almost exclusively confined. It is indeed possible that Louis XIV. might have been moved by some magnanimous compassion towards his fallen kinsmen. Perhaps, too, both with him and with the bigoted hypochondriac of Madrid some hopes of advancing the Romish belief may secretly have been influential. It is certain that the English people thought so, and the more intelligent Jacobites were not slow in pointing out the advantage of an alliance with the Protestant king of Sweden instead of the popish king of Spain. But the motives of the foreign courts were mostly those usually prevalent in such quarters. During this period there were pretenders to half the thrones of Europe. The emperor pretended to Spain. Philip of Spain pretended to the regency of France. The regent of France pretended to the Escorial. Two sovereigns fought for the miserable throne of Poland, and two more for the dominions of Austria. Nothing of course could be so detrimental to an enemy as to set up a rival king in the heart of his country, a system which each nation pursued as in turn it fell to war with England. But Spain and Sweden cared no more for George I. or the Pre-

tender than Brigadier Stanhope and Colonel Pepper did for Philip or Charles. Within twelve months the regent of France offered a body of French troops to each party in turn.

The behaviour of the English can hardly be considered creditable to the national character. Lord Mahon thinks that three-fourths of the people were sincerely attached to the House of Hanover, and Mr. Hallam seems of much the same opinion. We can scarcely concur in the opinion, as thus stated. We believe that less than one-fourth of the people were attached to the House of Stuart; but the large majority, we think, had no attachment at all. Even of the old gentry, a very small proportion were willing to give any thing more than good wishes. In the '45 George II. had as much difficulty in raising a regiment as Charles Edward in getting reinforcements. The general feeling was that of stupid or indifferent astonishment. A member of the administration, in 1745, admitted in his confidential letters that the fate of the island would be decided according as the Dutch for King George, or the French for King James, first landed. During the march to Derby, the poet Gray wrote from Cambridge, that he overheard three men in the street talk of hiring a chaise across the country to Caxton gibbet, in order to see the rebels go by! Even the noble devotion of the Scotch was alloyed by no inconsiderable mixture of insincerity and fraud. Omitting Mar, and Lovat, and Argyle, yet there remain many instances of treachery and double-dealing. Sir Alexander Macdonald and MacLeod sent notice to the government of Charles Edward's landing, though after a prudent delay. At Sheriffmuir the Marquis of Huntly, Lord Rollo, the master of Sinclair, and others, made proposals, before the battle, to go over to Argyle. But, taken for all in all, we believe there never marched a body of five thousand men more truly or generously devoted to their cause than Charles Edward's little army.

No doubt at first the old cavalier spirit of loyalty was influential with the Tory gentry of England, who had concurred indeed in the resistance to James II., and perhaps rejoiced at his abdication, but who never intended that the regal glory should depart from the House of Stuart. The strong attachment felt by this class to the Church of England damped to a great extent their ardour for a Popish prince, and, in fact, was well-nigh extinguishing it; but, as years rolled on, the spirit itself was rarely and more rarely found. Jacobitism soon began to be little more than the form assumed by the discontented party. And accordingly, when Prince Frederick was in opposition to his father, he drew after him a considerable body of Tories, who would other-

wise have been followers of the Pretender. In the early part of the century the influence of another very distinct sentiment attracted recruits to the Jacobites and France against the Whigs and Hanover. Gentlemen complained bitterly of the loss of claret. The duties on French commodities amounted nearly to a prohibition of this important element of social life; and the substitute offered by Portugal was then drunk with deep execrations, or in moody silence. The Universities are said to have been peculiarly affected, and the forced influx of port into Oxford produced such a tumult as in the present day could only perhaps be raised by its stoppage⁶.

Speaking of the suppression of these rebellions, Schlosser has repeated the charge of cruelty against the English government, and even against the king personally. But nothing is more certain than that George I. was inclined to clemency, and that he interposed to prevent impeachments which were contemplated by his ministry. And, after all, the executions in 1716 were barely above thirty, including those of the two peers,—a number large perhaps in the eyes of the present generation, but surely small, if the occasion and the times be well considered. Even within the last fifty years we have seen nearly as much bloodshed follow a riot of cotton-workers as here ensued on a rebellion of half the kingdom. Scarcely a session at the Old Bailey but left half as many poor wretches to be hanged for sheep-stealing. The butcherly proceedings of the Duke of Cumberland excited well-deserved abhorrence; but his unpopularity arose partly from that of his father and the government. In the end, he died a favourite with the nation, and was universally mourned. Even the temperate Mr. Hallam thinks the punishments of 1745 to have been both more cruel and less necessary than at the previous insurrection. Yet a repetition of a crime is generally held to lessen a claim to lenity. Strong measures might not unnaturally have seemed requisite against a spirit which thirty years could not tame. Above all, it might have been urged that previous compassion had been misplaced. Indeed this is the most unfavourable

⁶ See Cunningham's *Hist.* ii. 220, and Hallam's remarks (*Const. Hist.* iii. 287), and observe the debates on the Treaty of Commerce in 1713. Dr. Ratcliffe gravely attributed all diseases whatever to the loss of claret. Even Marlborough's brother turned against him on this sole ground, as Cunningham says; but the duchess long before this always spoke of him as an inveterate Jacobite. Yet Swift, in his *Journal*, speaks rather contemptuously of claret, and Bentley's remark is well known. Afterwards, when port got naturalized amongst us, its original composition was changed to suit our palates. A Portuguese writer, in 1757, accuses us of this mischief, and says that we wished to make the wine "in spirit a liquid fire, in burning a blaze of gunpowder, an ink in colour, a Brazil in sweetness, and an India in perfume!"

avourable light in which the Highland insurgents can be regarded. Conscience and honour might have dictated their allegiance to King James, but could not have dictated their treachery and ingratitude to King George⁷. Nearly one-half of the leaders, in 1745, had received, either for themselves or their families, forgiveness of former disaffection. Many had made overtures to the reigning family. A letter of Duncan Forbes, in the Culloden Papers, states that the country is tranquil enough, and that the Pretender would meet with little support from Scottish gentlemen. These gentlemen had deceived both him and each other. They had asked and had favours from the government at the very moment they were plotting against it. The English Jacobites were worse. It was not an uncommon thing for two letters, from the same individual, to be in the hands of ministers at once, —one to St. James's, and the other to Rome,—one soliciting a reconciliation with government, and the other assuring the Pretender that the reconciliation was only feigned for his service! Well might Chesterfield exclaim, "The spirit of rebellion seems rooted in these people; their faith is a Punic faith; clemency does not touch them; and the oaths they take to government do not bind them!" Throughout the whole of this long struggle, from 1688 to 1760, no feature is more striking than the outrageous infidelity of all parties to both sides. Probably Walpole and Cowper were unjustly suspected, though both had correspondence with the Pretender. Perhaps the visit of Chesterfield to Avignon had no secret purpose. But, besides those notorious characters, who, like Bolingbroke, professed adherence to both sides at once, and openly served each in turn, there is evidence that Orford, Danby, Godolphin, Sunderland, Marlborough, Shrewsbury, Halifax, and Oxford had put themselves in treasonable communication with St. Germain's. Marlborough, while actually commander-in-chief of the British army, supplied money to the Pretender for his expedition against the British throne.

It is however certainly true, as we have before intimated, that these intrigues were comparatively innocent in character during the reign of Anne. Though nothing could be clearer than that the right of James to the throne, if any at all, was immediate,

⁷ We are here speaking of those persons (and they were not a few) who voluntarily acknowledged the House of Hanover, and for due considerations. The acts against Papists and non-jurors, after Atterbury's trial in 1722, made it compulsory on many people to go to the quarter sessions, and swear allegiance to government, which was quite a different thing. The Jacobites in this dilemma asked counsel of James, but he prudently declined giving it. The majority took the oaths, and Shippen amongst them, whom Schlosser so emphatically calls *honest*.

yet the most violent Jacobites do not seem to have compassed Anne's death or deprivation, though Louis long refused to acknowledge her. It does not appear to us that any very deep or extraordinary motives need be looked for to explain the conduct of Oxford or Bolingbroke in contemplating the repeal of the Act of Settlement. It would hardly have been a more violent measure than the repeal of the Scottish Union. Even the wish to stand well with the exiled house, which is alleged as the natural and excusable motive for the double-dealings of many of these statesmen, shows how generally a change of succession was expected. But the case was very different under William or the Georges.

It can scarcely be necessary in the present day for a writer to avow his conviction that the Pretender's cause was the bad one, though Lord Mahon has thought such a remark not superfluous. But, apart from the greater considerations involved in the contest, it will be found, we think, that the Brunswick family were certainly in no wise inferior to the Stuarts, if we remove the veil which romance has dropped over the real character of the exiles. The titular James III. had all the obstinacy and moroseness of his father. He was inconsistent and fickle, and endowed, says Swift, "with an understanding exactly of a size to please the sex." His honesty was at all events not a match for his bigotry; for we know that he deliberately so drew up a proclamation to the English nation, that it might afterwards be interpreted in a sense different from that immediately obvious. Large allowance, indeed, must be made for the effect of adversity on the temper and conduct of any man; but we shall hardly find excuse enough on this ground for the dismissal successively of all his most able and faithful servants, or for that treatment of his wife which at a most critical period offended the sovereigns of Austria and Spain. Even in the lifetime of James, his supporters seriously thought of transferring their allegiance to Charles Edward, especially if he could be educated a Protestant. But this prince had all the self-will and passion of his family, with not much greater acquirements. That he should be ignorant of all history, and especially of the English laws and constitution, is perhaps not surprising; but the admirers of Waverley may be pained to hear that this hero of romance was utterly unable to spell a word of either French or English, and that he commenced even his own father's name with a *G*! Now the Brunswick family were strangers and unattractive, it is true; but they had many solid qualities. George I. was upright, kind, and honourable, often forgetting his enemies, never his friends. Their favourites, both male and

female, were obnoxious ; but that is a point on which no Stuart could very easily speak. The Duchess of Kendal was no worse than Miss Walkinshaw ; nor would Inverness probably have been less unpopular than Bothmar. In fact, it has always appeared to us that this point would of itself have been fatal to any settlement of the Stuarts. German favourites were bad enough, but Scotch would have been worse, for they were more numerous and nearer home. The swarms of James the First's court had not been forgotten, and the national jealousies at this time had been rather exasperated than appeased by the union. And when we recollect the outcry against the Scotch blood of poor Bute, we may form some idea of the tumult which a thousand hungry Highlanders would have created about St. James's. What a *Prophecy of Famine* would have been written in 1745 ! If the corporation of London could petition George III. against the admission of *any Scotchman* to his Majesty's councils, what language would they have held to James or Charles ? George II. was a good man of business, and scrupulously just in all his dealings. He was not polite, but he was honest. He never founded a royal academy, but he never invaded the Bill of Rights. And his general indifference to literature was redeemed by two points, which, as in private duty bound, we desire to record. He admired history, and he detested poetry. It is true, that of the former he remembered nothing but dates, and of the latter had never read a line in his life ; but it is impossible to repress a smile of gratification at two such pleasing and successful examples of partiality and instinct.

Lord Mahon has never lost sight of the fact, that all the history of this period turns on these struggles of the Pretender. He has given them a due prominence, and detailed them with great accuracy. In addition to the usual authorities, he obtained two MS. documents,—the memoirs of Captain Daniel, a volunteer in Perth's army, and the narrative of the Master of Sinclair ; the latter of great value. For his general history, he has drawn upon several sources beyond the ordinary,—the Stanhope Papers, preserved at Chevening ; the MS. Papers of Coxe, in the British Museum ; and the Diary of Lord Cowper, which was printed, though not published, by the Roxburghe Club. He has also availed himself, far more largely than any one before him, of the Stuart Papers, and the Hardwicke Papers, copious extracts from which are given in the Appendix. A history without references is as worthless as a bank-note without signature. It is surprising that any writer of the nineteenth century could possibly omit them. His lordship's are given with singular minuteness and

regularity. And though little pretension is made, it will be found on examination that his sources are very miscellaneous, and that writers of many countries have contributed their various items of information, which are worked so neatly into the text, that the nail glides smoothly over the imperceptible junction. The authorities quoted for Spanish and French details are always the original; and we can hardly remember a reference of his lordship's on any subject which is not to the best testimony known or accessible.

Lord Mahon knew where the truth was to be found, and wished to find it. It is therefore strongly probable, that he was successful in his search. He never makes exaggerated statements. He never resorts to special pleading. With more than ordinary temptation to be partial, he shows remarkable impartiality. Few writers have been so equitable without being indifferent, or displayed so much warmth of feeling with so little violence of judgment. His lordship has already earned the praise of the grand historians of France; he has the ability and opportunity to emulate their fame.

There are merits in historical composition which it is easy to indicate; there are demerits which it is difficult to explain. Until it is definitely settled what the full measure of history is, it is hard to prove any deficiency. And the laws of modern historical science are certainly not yet agreed upon. If we were to say that his lordship has left certain points untouched, he might reply, that they were not within his limits. And he would probably not be singular in conceiving that a History of England, from the treaty of Utrecht to the peace of Paris, was not to include a history of the arts, morals, customs, and religion of the English people in the first half of the last century. In one passage (iii 134), where he has introduced a little sketch most peculiarly illustrative of the manners of the day, he has apologized for the insertion. Yet, guided either by principle or instinct, he has devoted a chapter to literature, and another to methodism, but both insufficient. One fault with which his lordship was taxed at his first appearance as an author, he has not yet put aside. He still propounds reflections of extraordinary triteness by way of moral. Were he a writer of less excellence, this would hardly be worth a remark; but it is provoking to find a sentiment fit only for a prize comedy at the foot of sound history, good logic, and lucid narrative.

Lord Mahon has not been seduced from his characteristic equity even by so tempting a subject as the Church. He is not ashamed to speak of her with reverence and kindness. Instead

of looking on her present condition as utterly abominable, he records his admiration of her noble and unprecedented efforts. He has done more than this. Others before him, though dutiful sons of the Church, have yet been unable to estimate with ordinary justice the Churchmen of foregoing times. Men inclined to speak fairly enough on other points, have yet seemed to take it for granted that all movements of ecclesiastics must have originated in self-interest. Lord Mahon has not so written. He has not abused the Tory clergy, though he has defended the Whig prelates. He has done justice to Atterbury and to James, as well as to Tillotson and Gibson. Yet we conceive that it is this precise point (of Church matters) on which his history is most defective. He has said little that is wrong, but he has left unsaid much that is right. We do not mean that he should have written what has been termed a Christian History of England; such a project would assuredly tend more to absurdity than edification. We mean, that he has hardly given due prominence to those Church matters which had so powerful an influence on the Government and on the people,—an influence hardly exceeded in the days of the great rebellion. It is not sufficient to state simply that the prosecution of Sacheverel overthrew the great Whig ministry. Nor is our inquisitiveness wholly gratified by an incidental record that in a certain year the mob pulled down more meeting-houses than usual. But our limits are nearly reached, and we cannot venture on a subject so extensive. Lord Mahon has most correctly traced the origin of all the mischief to the unfortunate, though perhaps necessary, deprivation of the bishops by William. After that the Government had no choice left. They were *driven* to encourage a latitudinarian school, and to select prelates from a very small body of clergy, whose sentiments were exactly opposite to those of the Church at large. A short interval occurred during the reign of Anne. Perhaps the most decided feeling cherished by this lady was an attachment to the Church of England, as distinguished both from popery and non-conformity. From 1705 to 1708, throughout that pertinacious struggle of the Whigs for a share in the Godolphin ministry,—while Whig appointments were successively wrung, like drops of blood, from the struggling Queen,—she still kept a convulsive grasp on the patronage of the Church. She thought that if she gave up keeperships and secretaryships to her cabinet, she had a right to sees and deaneries. She might take Cowper and Sunderland at the instance of others, but she chose Dawes and Blackhall herself. And the letters of Godolphin show of what immense importance these appointments were considered. But this gleam of sunshine was soon gone, and not a ray of court

favour again reached Tories or High Churchmen till the accession of George III. Yet it is very remarkable how little effect this had on the spirit of the clergy. They were proof against the temptation of place and the influence of example. Though for nearly sixty years they were ruled so widely by latitudinarians, and though during the same period the avenues to wealth and power were open only to Whigs, yet when at length, after half a century, the tide turned, the body of the English clergy were found neither Whigs nor latitudinarians. With the clergy sided the Universities. Jacobite principles were notoriously prevalent at Oxford. Whig principles are as commonly conceived to have been prevalent at Cambridge. But this is altogether erroneous. Tories and High Churchmen were nearly as strong at Cambridge as at Oxford. In the University contests during much of this period, Whig candidates were thrown out by majorities of more than two to one. The difference was this, that the Cambridge men were Hanoverian Tories, and the Oxford men Jacobite Tories. Considering all the circumstances, it can hardly be denied that the Whig prelates were men of remarkable merit. And the circumstances must be still more carefully considered, if we wish to acquit the clergy of guilty supineness or indifference. They had not much extrinsic encouragement or stimulus, it is true. Queen Anne's Government gave, in a single handful, 350,000*l.* to build fifty new churches; but during the whole thirty-three years of George the Second's reign the sums voted for such purposes, including the repairs of Westminster Abbey, amounted to but 150,000*l.* Our noblest fabrics suffered more in this reign than under Cromwell—a fact which, if the Restoration of Churches is the Restoration of Popery, should render this period singularly endearing. We have not ventured to arraign Lord Mahon for neglect in informing us so little of the general morals of the people in these times, but we think some more notice should have been taken of the strange impieties then so rank and rife. We are indeed inclined to believe that infidelity was often considered merely as a convenient charge to bring against political enemies, and that blasphemy and disaffection were looked upon pretty nearly as convertible terms. It would hardly be safe to give implicit credit to all the statements made in the House of Commons on this subject. Still there remains enough to show that Englishmen under Queen Anne were not much better than Frenchmen under the Consulate. And there are two points on which we should have been pleased to see Lord Mahon's opinion recorded. How did all this begin? and how did it end? Did we import these evils from the French Regency, as Southey thinks? or did we export them to France as the fruit of our civil wars?

If Bolingbroke taught Voltaire, who taught Bolingbroke? And how came the end? What causes, under Providence, brought France and England, starting on such similar courses, to such different goals?

Our review of these three volumes is rather late in the day. And the fourth, which has just appeared, and which set us about the task, we are now constrained to dismiss without any notice at all. But we must necessarily recur to the subject on a future occasion, for the sake of those other portions of English history, of which we have promised a sketch by specifying them at the head of this article. Perhaps by that time Lord Mahon may have increased his work. One inference fairly deducible from these publications is the fondness of our countrymen for history. Nor is this taste of recent growth. The short space of time in which, during the last century, a cumbrous history of three *folios* would run through four editions is almost incredible. In our own times,—to take the largest history of a given period that has ever been composed,—each single volume of Alison's, as it appeared, went through several editions before the publication of its successor; and the whole gigantic aggregate has lately been reproduced entire. And even since this, the history of a single battle, as long as the history of the Peloponnesian war, and as costly as a copy of Gibbon, was sold off, to the last sheet, in a very few days. With such a demand for historians, we may surely look for a corresponding supply.

ART. II.—*The Historical Geography of Arabia; or the Patriarchal Evidences of Revealed Religion.* By the Rev. CHARLES FORSTER, B.D. London: Duncan and Malcolm. 1844.

THE main object, with which this work was undertaken, was to establish the correctness of the Mosaic account of the peopling of Arabia: and if some of the brilliant visions which presented themselves to the author, as it was passing through the press, shall,—to borrow an illustration from the country to which they relate—be found, as we fear they will, to be as unsubstantial as those of the gardens and palace of Shedad, or as the mirage of the desert; it will be some consolation for him to know, that, so far as *this* object is concerned, he has not laboured in vain. The work was commenced, as he tells us, under the auspices of the late excellent Bishop Jebb, whose “daily companion and own familiar friend” it is well known that it was his privilege to be. In the appendix to a former work, “Mahometanism unveiled,” he had brought forward a variety of proofs of the descent of a portion of the Arabs from Ishmael; and the importance which was justly attached to these proofs, by those who were most competent to judge of their value, encouraged him to extend his enquiries to all the tribes of Arabia; in the expectation of being able to show, that all existing evidence bearing on the subject, was in favour of their having had that patriarchal origin, which was attributed to them by Moses.

Mr. Forster seems fully aware, that such a laborious investigation as that of which he has here given us the result, is not likely to be appreciated in the present age; which he describes, with but too much justice, as one “of feverish excitement, restless activities, and high pretensions to proficiency in ‘knowledge, falsely so called;’” as, in a word, “a confessedly non-reading, and, therefore, unreflecting age.” He anticipates, however, that,—

“The day will yet return, when England, ‘the first of the nations,’ awakened and herself once more, will learn, as of old, to cherish and honour in her sons, neither that ‘heady setting forth of extremities,’ which the true father of the Anglican reformation, the good and great Bishop Ridley, declared, with his latest breath, ‘he did never love;’ nor the pursuit of ephemeral controversies, and ‘questions and strife of words;’ but those patient and silent labours of the closet and the

desk, which (under the guidance and blessing of the Divine Head of the Church) gave birth to her illustrious worthies of 'the olden time,' and from which future Lightfoots and future Pococks can alone arise."

In that day, we feel confident that the modest anticipations of our author in behalf of his work will be much more than realized; and, even in the present age, we trust that there are some, however few they may be, who will follow him with pleasure and profit in his investigations, and will know how to value the truths which he has established, as well as to excuse the errors into which he may have fallen.

Mr. Forster has divided his work into two parts. In the former of these, he treats in succession of the five great patriarchal stocks, by which it appears from the Old Testament that Arabia was peopled; namely, those of Cush, Joktan, Ishmael, Keturah, and Edom; and by the joint consideration of passages, which he has collected from Greek and Roman, from Oriental, and from modern European sources, he has endeavoured to determine the part of Arabia, in which each of their descendants, who is mentioned by Moses as the father of a tribe, was located. In the latter part, he treats of those tribes, which are mentioned by the Greek and Roman geographers, but not by Moses; settling the several positions of them and of their towns, by comparing the accounts of those writers with the statements of the oriental geographers and of modern travellers and map-makers; and referring them in many cases to the tribes mentioned in the first part, of which they were branches or subdivisions. Each of these parts is illustrated by a map, in which, while the permanent geographical features of the country are laid down according to the best modern authorities; the names of the tribes and cities, mentioned in Scripture, and by Greek and Roman authors, are placed in those situations, which our author's investigations have led him to assign to them. In the first map, containing the scriptural names of tribes, five different kinds of capital letters have been used, indicating at once to the eye the stock from which each tribe was derived. The more usual method of distinction, by colours, would in this case have been difficult, if not impossible, from the manner in which the tribes belonging to the different stocks were intermingled in the process of colonization.

Of course, it was not to be expected that a work, which required such various and extensive research as that before us, and which contains so much information, gathered from so many different sources, should be free from error, or what reviewers will consider to be error. Defects we think it has; and we feel

it our duty, before we go further, to point out some of a general nature.

We wish, in the first place, that Mr. Forster had undertaken to prove less. It was not *à priori* probable, that the names of *all* the tribes mentioned by Moses, should be identified with those noticed by Greek and Roman writers, and still less with those at present in existence; and we wish that he had contented himself with proving that *some* tribes of each stock were clearly identified; leaving out of consideration those, in which the identification, which he thinks that he has made, depends on certain etymological processes, which will, we suspect, carry conviction to the minds of but few of his readers. We allude, in particular, to the use that he has made of "the Anagram," which he considers to be a peculiar characteristic of the Arabic idiom. It may be so; but even if he could convince Arabic scholars of the justice of his anagrammatic identifications, we think that it would have been better to omit them for the sake of ordinary readers, who will be far more likely to regard them as weakening than as strengthening the general argument. We confess, however, that we have great doubts as to the existence of anagrammatic changes in names, such as Mr. Foster assumes to have been made. The examples, which he has brought forward by way of authority for it, are to us any thing but satisfactory. The greater part of them are instances of an initial vowel being removed to a position after the first consonant; and we cannot admit this as a precedent for what appears a totally different thing, a transposition of the consonants themselves. We were surprised to find him quoting Major Rennell for such an instance of "a double anagram" as "Ascanias, Nicæa, Isnik." The Major could never have thought of such a construction being put on his words. "The lake Ascanias is," he says, "now called the lake of Isnik or Nicæa," from the adjacent city of that name; but that the name of the city was *derived* from that of the lake, by anagram or otherwise, we are sure never entered into his head. The received origin and etymology of the ancient name are far too well established to admit of such an hypothesis with respect to it; and the modern name is plainly corrupted from this, in the same manner as Isnikmid is obtained from Nicomedia, by curtailing it and prefixing the syllable *Is*, representing the Greek preposition *ἐν*. There is nothing in the whole process bearing the slightest resemblance to the anagram.

We wish also that Mr. Forster had adopted some *uniform* mode of representing Arabic words in European characters; so far, at least, as the consonants and semivowels are concerned. It was, perhaps, out of his power to procure the peculiar types

used to express Arabic characters in the publications of the Royal Geographical Society, and in the present article. Supposing, however, that he could command no other types than those in general use; the doubling, or italicizing, the letters h, s, d, t, and z, in order to represent the peculiar modifications of sound, denoted by the 6th, 14th, 15th, 16th, and 17th letters of the Arabic alphabet; the use of an apostrophe, with the vowel, to mark the presence of the 18th, and the distinguishing the 21st from the 22nd by writing it c or q, would have caused but little trouble, and would have removed much uncertainty and confusion. The careless manner in which the letter j has been used is still more inexcusable. It is at times to be sounded as in English (dzh), at other times as in French (zh), and at other times as in German (y). Mistakes of this kind are naturally accounted for by the circumstance that the writers, from whom different statements were taken, belonged to different nations; but our author should have been aware of the consequence which might be expected to result from this; and should have guarded against it, for his readers' sake, even if it was not necessary for his own.

Having made these general observations, we will proceed to notice some particular points. The colonization of Arabia by the descendants of Cush is first considered. It has been generally admitted that the first inhabitants of Arabia were of this stock: Mr. Sale, however, was of a different opinion; appealing to the authority of local tradition, which referred the lost tribes, as they were called, who inhabited the country before the time of Joktan, to a Semitic origin. Of tribes which traced their descent from Ham, the oriental authors take little or no notice, according to Mr. Sale's statement; and he says that, "strictly speaking, the Cushites did not inhabit Arabia, properly so called, but the banks of the Euphrates and the Persian gulf, whither they came from Chuzestân, or Susiana, the original settlement of their father." In opposition to this, it had been shown by Niebuhr, from the analogy which he observed between the names of the descendants of Cush, mentioned in Gen. x. 7, and those of the existing Arab tribes, that the prevailing opinion was correct, and that Cushites were to be found in all parts of the peninsula. Mr. Forster has strengthened this argument by producing additional names, in which a like analogy is observable; some of them from the Greek and Roman geographers, and others from oriental writers and books of travels. He has also noticed the important fact, that the existing tribes, whose names indicate a Cushite origin, possess, in a great degree, the swarthy skin and tall stature which are the well-known physical characters of that race. On the whole, we think he has placed it beyond a doubt,

that the course of Cushite colonization was from the banks of the Euphrates, where Nimrod hunted and reigned, along the shores of the Persian gulf and the Indian ocean, and, finally, across the straits of Babelmandeb, into Africa. The sons and grandsons of Cush, who are mentioned in Gen. x. 7, appear to have been those only, who, separating themselves from their father, became heads of tribes, and settled in different parts of the Arabian peninsula. We have every reason to believe that, in addition to these, he had a numerous family of children, who either remained with Nimrod in their primitive seat, or accompanied their father to his final dwelling-place in Africa. Where it is not expressly stated by the sacred historian, that all the children of a patriarch are enumerated (and such a statement is only made in the case of Noah himself), we have a right to presume that there were others unnamed, whose posterity swelled the numbers of the tribe, that bore the name of their father or of some of their brothers. There is no other supposition, on which we can explain the admitted fact of the peopling of the world in the course of a few generations.

But here we must enter our protest against an extreme opinion of Mr. Forster's. While he admits (in vol. i. p. 30) that the African Ethiopians were descended from Cush, he maintains that the name Cush is, in the Hebrew Scriptures, *exclusively* applied to Arabia. In support of this opinion, he refers to the arguments and authority of Dr. Wells, author of "The Historical Geography of the Old and New Testament;" but these arguments are only conclusive, when adduced in proof of the name being *occasionally* applied to this region. That it was also applied to the African Ethiopia, and, indeed, that this was its most common acceptation, we cannot entertain the slightest doubt. It is alleged, by Dr. Wells and Mr. Forster, that Tirhakah (2 Kings xix. 9) must have been an Arabian king:—

"Since the kings and armies of the African Ethiopia could reach Judea only after a long, hazardous, and, probably, hostile march through the powerful interposing kingdom of Egypt; . . . an expedition obviously feasible to great conquerors only; whereas the kings and warlike tribes of Arabia lay immediately on its borders, or possessed ready access to Palestine; and were ready and at hand, consequently, for every occasion, whether of friendly succour, or of hostile inroad."

But, in reply to this, it is sufficient to state that Tirhakah was an Ethiopian sovereign of Egypt, as appears from the list of Manetho, who places him in "the twenty-fifth dynasty of three Ethiopians;" and that the seat of his original kingdom was the African Ethiopia is manifest from the circumstance of his name

and titles being found, not only in Egypt, but in the extreme south of Nubia (N. Lat. 18°. 31'), a country which is always called Cush on the Egyptian monuments. Again, these writers quote a passage from Ezekiel, "I will make the land of Egypt desolate from *the tower of Syene*, even unto *the borders of Cush*;" which Mr. Forster says is—

"A text manifestly indicating the opposite extremities of Egypt; and, Syene being its boundary on the south, or towards the African Ethiopia, it follows that Cush, the opposite boundary, cannot mean Ethiopia, commonly so called, but appropriately designates Arabia, which bounds the land of Egypt on the side most remote from the Libyan Ethiopia, or on the north."

It would seem as if Mr. Forster had not observed, that in the passage of Ezekiel which he quotes (xxix. 10), the marginal reading of the authorized version is "from Migdol to Syene;" a reading which is approved by the commentators and lexicographers, almost without exception. Two considerations will show that it is the only translation admissible. In the following chapter, v. 7, the clause is repeated, but the words "even to the border of Ethiopia" are omitted; which they could not well have been, if the clause retained had expressed only one of the limits of Egypt. The truth appears to be, that in ch. xxix. v. 10, the prophet speaks of a greater extent of country than Egypt, properly so called. "From Migdol," he says, "to Syene," *i. e.* through the whole extent of Egypt proper, "and even unto the border of Ethiopia," which was not at Syene, but far to the south of it; so as to include along with Egypt the subject territory of Nubia. The other consideration, which, in our opinion, determines the marginal reading to be correct, is this:—The Egyptian name of the town at the southern extremity of Egypt was, like the Arabic name at the present day, terminated by the letter N; it was, and is (the article Al, becoming by position As, being now prefixed) Souan. The Hebrew word occurring in Ezekiel is סֹנֶה, with a He following the part which corresponds with the Egyptian name. It is absurd to suppose that this He represents the termination which the Greeks added to the name as pronounced by the natives; it must therefore be a He of location, and the word must necessarily signify "*to* Souan, or Syene." It is true that the Masorites have not pointed it, as they have commonly pointed locative words; but in such a matter their authority is but of little weight. Gesenius, too, has shown that there is Masoretic authority for pointing the letter preceding a He of location with Tsere, the point here used, though Camets is more frequently employed. We may here remark, that as to

the main question which we have been discussing, Gesenius goes further than we are inclined to do. He contends that the Cush of Scripture is *always* to be understood of the African Ethiopia. We believe that it is sometimes applied to this country, in which Cush finally settled, and sometimes to Arabia, through which he passed on his way to it, and in which many of his children remained.

The next great tribe which colonized Arabia was that of Joktan, the son of Heber. On this point, modern writers are generally agreed; and also as to the identity of this patriarch with Kaḥtân, who is, according to Arabic tradition, the common ancestor, in the male or female line, of all the existing tribes of Arabia. Dr. Prichard, however, justly remarks, that "this identity is rather taken for granted than proved;" and we confess that we see great difficulty (apart from the consideration of the names, which are radically distinct, Kaḥt-ân, Yo-kṭan,) in identifying the patriarch of Scripture, who had thirteen sons, with the traditional parent of the Arabs, who had but two; especially as we cannot discover the names of either of the latter among the thirteen mentioned by Moses. Mr. Forster indeed (vol. i. pp. 115. 127.) has no hesitation in identifying the *elder* of the sons of the mythic Kaḥtân, namely, Ya'rab, "the father of Yemen," with Jerah, the fourth son of Joktan; but then he is equally confident (pp. 124. 135.) that the *younger* son of Kaḥtân, namely, Jorham, the reputed father of Hejâz, should be identified with this same Jerah! If he had been accustomed to write Arabic words on a uniform plan, distinguishing letters which, though sometimes confounded by Europeans, are yet essentially different, he would not have committed such a palpable oversight as this; he would never have confounded *any two*, and much less *all three*, of the radically distinct names, Ya'rab, Jorham, and Yerah.

It appears to us, that Mr. Forster imposed on himself a needless task, and one in which he has entirely failed, when he undertook to prove that the traditions of the Arabians, respecting the peopling of their country, were in accordance with the accounts given by ancient geographers, as well as the statements of the Bible. We think that he has proved his point as to the latter, but by no means as to the former. We cannot agree with him, that there is any ancient name of a locality really derived from either Ya'rab or Jorham; but we readily admit the derivation of the Ἰεράχων κώμη of Ptolemy from the Jerah (Yerah) of Moses. We do not feel the same confidence with respect to the island with a similar name; and we certainly cannot think that, in either case, the modern name which Mr. Forster gives is derived from the ancient. Even on the assumption that both

names have been applied to the same village and island (which, however, appears to be a mere assumption, unsupported by any proof), we consider them too decidedly different in their radical letters for this relation to exist between them. There is no such difference between the name of the preceding son of Joktan and the forms under which it appears in the works of Greek or Roman writers, and in modern Arabic. Ḥadramaut is precisely the same word as Hazarmaweth, so far as the letters are concerned. They only differ in the diacritical points and the vowels. Nor can we have any hesitation in identifying with these the *Χατρωμοῖται* of Strabo and Ptolemy (for the word should probably be so read in the text of the latter), and the *Chatromotitæ* of Pliny. As to the *Atramatæ* of the latter, the *Ἀδραμῖται* of Ptolemy, it may be doubted whether they are rightly referred to Hazarmaweth, or to Hadoram. Gesenius contends for the latter, as Bochart did for the former. Mr. Forster agrees with Bochart, and we incline to think that he is right; for, though the two people are distinguished by Ptolemy and Pliny, they appear to have occupied the same country; and these authors were probably led into error by combining the statements of different voyagers, who had represented the same name in different manners. We agree with Mr. Forster, that the name Hadoram is preserved in the *Drimati*, and probably the *Darræ*, of Pliny. The light aspirate, *He*, with its vowel, are frequently dropped.

Speaking of *Uzal*, the sixth son of Joktan, whose name is still given by the Jews to *San'a*, the capital of Yemen, Mr. Forster refers to Ezek. xxvii. 19, where he translates the verse thus:—

“Dan also, and Javan *from Uzal*, occupied in thy fairs;
Bright iron, cassia, and calamus, were in thy markets.”

For this version, which is countenanced by several of De Rossi's MSS., the Septuagint, Aquila, the Syriac, Bochart, Michaelis, &c. Mr. Forster adduces, as an additional authority, the law of Hebrew parallelism, discovered by Bishop Lowth, and more fully developed by Bishop Jebb. The bright iron was from Dan, the cassia and calamus from the Arabian Javan, and ultimately from *Uzal*, the centre of the spice-bearing region.

That *Ophir*, the region of gold, was to be found in Arabia, has been the opinion of the best modern writers. Deans Prideaux and Vincent in our own country, and, on the continent, Michaelis, Niebuhr, and Gesenius, have all thought so. They have differed, however, as to the part of Arabia in which it lay; and we think that this difference has now been settled by Mr. Forster, who clearly identifies it with a portion of the coast of 'Omân, the strand of “*Maham*, lying between the *Omân* and *Thamar* rivers,” the

only *littus* between Ras al Hadd and Cape Musandam ; and which must, therefore, be the “*littus Hammæum, ubi auri metalla,*” of Pliny. In the interior of the country, opposite to this coast, Mr. Forster observes that a town, bearing the name of Ofer, or Ofir, is actually in existence. This is doubtful ; but perhaps the Obrî of Mr. Wellsted is intended. Mr. Wellsted denies the existence of the rivers which appear on our maps ; and among the towns and villages which he notices on this coast, he does not mention Maham. He, however, agrees with Niebuhr, in placing a flat coast where Mr. Forster places the “*Littus Hammæum* ;” so that, whatever uncertainty there may be as to the modern name, there seems to be none as to the site being identified. We do not consider it to be an objection of any weight against this identification, that gold is not now to be found in this country. The mines have, no doubt, been long since exhausted. The case of Spain, where silver was formerly found in such abundance, is one exactly parallel.

It was through the servants of Solomon, who coasted along the shores of Arabia for about 3000 miles, from the head of the Elamitic gulf, “*Ezion Geber, which is beside Eloth,*” round by the straits of Babelmandeb and Ras al Hadd, to the coast of Ophir, —it was through these servants of Solomon, that the Queen of Sheba heard in her own country of his acts and his wisdom. That country of hers was the southernmost part of Arabia, the Yemen, or southern land, of the present day, as our author has abundantly proved, after Bochart.

“There were three Arab patriarchs,” he observes, “who bore in common the name of Sheba : namely, a grandson of Cush, by Raamah, a grandson of Abraham, by Keturah, and a son of Joktan. By general consent of the learned, and by clear evidence of facts, it can be satisfactorily shown, that the last-mentioned of the three, the Joktanite Sheba, gave its origin, and his own name, to the primeval and renowned kingdom of the Sabeans of Yemen.”

The second of the three Shebas appears to have settled in the north of Arabia, or the confines of Mesopotamia ; while the first or Cushite Sheba was the ancestor of the Sabæi of Ptolemy, who lived on the side of the Red Sea, to the north of San'â. The chief city of the Joktanite Sabeans was Mârâb, the Mariaba or Sabatha of Strabo and Ptolemy ; while that of the Cushite Sabæans was Sabbia, which Mr. Forster identifies with the Marsyaba, mentioned in the account of the expedition of Ælius Gallus. Besides these three Shebas, we have, in Genesis, a son of Cush named Seba. His descendants were the Asabi of Ptolemy, who occupied the eastern coast to the north of Ophir ;

and thus, where we meet in Scripture with Sheba and Seba combined, we are to understand the whole of Arabia, its western and its eastern parts.

Mr. Forster labours, but we think unsuccessfully, to identify the Mesha of Gen. x. 26, one of the limits assigned by Moses to the Joktanite tribes, with the Mount Zames of Ptolemy. We agree with Michaelis, in considering it to be the Sinus Mesanites of Ptolemy, at the mouth of the Euphrates. But we think Mr. Forster right in his opinion as to the other limit. The Sephar of this verse is the Mount Sabber of Niebuhr, that mountainous district in Yemen, where was situated the city Sephar of Ptolemy and Pliny. To consider the last two words of this verse as a third limit of the Joktanites, applying them to the principal mountain-chain in the centre of Arabia, appears to us a very harsh and scarcely admissible construction. Those who have adopted it probably did so under the impression that Sephar was the name of a city, and of a city only; but it appears from Niebuhr, that this is not the case. By "the East," in this verse, we are, under any view of the matter, to understand Arabia, of which this was a general name, as in Judges vi. 3, and elsewhere. The limits of the Joktanites, according to this explanation, include all the eastern and southern coasts.

The descendants of Ishmael were scattered through the northern parts of Arabia. To these belonged, as a general name, the matronymic, as Mr. Forster calls it, of Hagarenes, or Hagarites. The meaning of this name, as implying the descendants of Hagar through Ishmael, appears clearly from 1 Chron. v. 19, where the general name is followed by those of Jetur and other sons of Ishmael, as explanatory of it. That the generic name should be taken from the mother, and not from the father, is well accounted for by Mr. Forster (i. 181):

"By his abandonment, although in compliance with a divine command, of Hagar and her son, Abraham had clearly forfeited all natural claims as a father. Hagar, in virtue of this act, became, as it were, the sole parent of Ishmael, and the rightful mother of his future progeny. That the progeny of Ishmael, therefore, should, among other national appellations, preserve and perpetuate his mother's name and memory, would seem only a just consequence and natural anticipation."

This presumption, he proceeds to show, is supported by facts; the name of Hajar, as the Arabians write Hagar, being found in the principal seats of the Ishmaelites, from Mount Sinai in the wilderness of Paran (where Ishmael is recorded to have first dwelt, and the locality of which is determined by Ptolemy), to the coast of the Persian gulf, where this name is still given to

the province that was in the days of Pliny and Ptolemy inhabited by the Agræi.

But, in addition to this generic name, which was common to all the descendants of Ishmael, the name of some of his sons was clearly preserved in those of people and countries. It is impossible to doubt that Ituræa was called after Jetur (Yetur), or that the Nabataei, and their country Nabatene, bore the name of Nebaioth, the first-born of Ishmael; as the Uedraei, whom Pliny mentions as bordering on the Nabataei (v. 12), did that of Kedar, his second son. St. Jerome (Quæst. Heb. ad Gen. 25,) represents the whole country, from the Euphrates to the Red Sea, as called in his time Nabatene; and Josephus (Arch. i. 12. 4,) makes a similar statement. The latter clearly uses the word in the same general sense as Hagarenes, to denote the country occupied by *all* the descendants of Ishmael. The name Nabataei is, however, used by Diodorus and other European writers, in a more restricted sense, being applied to the inhabitants of Arabia Petraea, and the country south and east of it. These were the descendants of Nebaioth, and of his sister, who was married to Esau, Gen. xxxvi. 3, who appear to have formed but one people. We cannot agree with Mr. Forster, in considering the Raualla Arabs as the descendants of Reuel (Re'uel), the son of Esau by Bashemath, the daughter of Ishmael. The names are radically distinct. Neither can we agree with him, as to the identity of the Beni Nabaṭ of Arabic writers with the Nabataei of the classics. The name is essentially different; the tradition of the Arabs makes this Nabaṭ, the son of Mash, the son of Shem; and, lastly, the manners and situation of these two people are different. The Beni Nabaṭ, who lived in the neighbourhood of Babylon, were an agricultural people; whereas the Nabataei of Diodorus prohibited agriculture under penalty of death.

Mr. Forster endeavours to show that Petra, the capital of the Nabataei, and Arabia Petraea, the classical name of their country, are "mis-translations of the proper name Hagar." He imagines that the Greeks confounded Hagar, the name of the parent of the inhabitants, with Hajar, the Arabic word, which signifies a stone, or rock, and that the name Petra had its origin in this mistake. But is not the city evidently called from its peculiar position among the rocks? and is not the province evidently called from its chief city? Mr. Forster's assertion is a very rash one; he seems to forget that it is not to the classical writers alone that this mistake is attributable; but that, according to his view of the matter, the inspired writers of the Old Testament must also be guilty of it. In 2 Kings xiv. 7, the capital of Edom is called Selah (has-sela', *the rock*). Will Mr. Forster say that *this* is a

mis-translation of Hagar? Yet it is clearly equivalent to the classical Petra. A like instance occurs in Isaiah xvi. 1; and in Jer. xlix. 16, we have the rock-hewn dwellings of Petra described as the "clefts of the Rock."

Notwithstanding the errors that we have pointed out, there is much valuable and interesting information in what Mr. Forster says of Nebaioth; and the following section, in which he treats of Kedar, is still more important. He fixes, on scriptural authority, combined with that of Pliny, the seat of this Ishmaelite tribe in the Ḥejâz; and he identifies them with the Kanraitæ of the Periplus, those pirates who interrupted the commerce of the Red Sea, the N being substituted for D by mistake either of the author or of a transcriber; and with the Beni Harb of the present day. These are, according to Burekhardt, the second of the Arab tribes in respect to numbers and power; they are the masters of the Ḥejâz, and the name they bear signifies "the children of war." It is a rather remarkable coincidence, which Mr. Forster notices, that in the 120th Psalm, after mention had been made of the tents of Kedar, where it is said "they are for war," the Arabic version is Harbuni (rather Ḥarabûni); the verb being used from which the name of this tribe is derived. With the Beni Harb, again, Mr. Forster identifies the Carbæ of Diodorus Siculus, the Carbani of Pliny, whom he states, on the authority of Gallus, to be one of the most warlike tribes of Arabia. Bochart suggested that the name of this people was derived from the Hebrew קרב *pugnavit*; as this, however, is only a secondary meaning of the root, which is properly *appropinquavit*, the derivation appears to us inadmissible. Mr. Forster derives it from the Arabic Harb. We should expect a Greek derivative from this root to begin with X rather than K. This, however, we could overlook, if there were any clear proof, that either Diodorus or Pliny placed the people in question in the Ḥejâz. Mr. Forster speaks of their position there being "ascertained;" but, as it does not appear to us that it is by any means so, we must regard this last identification as a very doubtful one.

We have only room to notice what is said of one other of the sons of Ishmael. Mr. Forster observes (i. 290):—

"Next to Nebaioth and Kedar, Tema ranks most conspicuous among the Ishmaelite patriarchs. His name, as well as theirs, reappears in the prophetic scriptures, as the national denomination of a great Arab tribe. 'The troops of Tema' are also alluded to in the book of Job. While, from the repeated notices of it, both in the classical geographers and by native writers, this wide-spread and formidable Ishmaelite people would seem, from the earliest times, scarcely to have yielded in renown to the Nabatheans or Kedarites themselves; to whom, as will presently

appear, they lay in juxta-position in the western direction, while their eastern frontier rested on the Persian gulf."

The first point to be considered in reference to Tema, is how to distinguish his posterity from those of Teman, the grandson of Esau. The name is one distinction :—

"Each mention, again, of the Edomite Teman is coupled with allusions to Esau, or to the land of Edom; whereas Tema seems distinctively classed with the mingled people inhabiting the wilderness; in other words, with the inland tribes of the great northern desert. Teman, lastly, lay so near to the Red Sea, that his fall is figuratively said by the prophet (Jer. xlix. 21) *to be heard in it*; while Tema, on the contrary, was so situated between Kedar and Assyria, or the Hedjaz and the line of the Euphrates, that this tribe is prophetically represented (Isaiah xxi. 14) as affording shelter and refreshment to their fainting brethren, the Kedarites, when fleeing before the victorious armies of Nebuchadnezzar."

Too much appears to be made of both the texts cited, especially of the last, which is very obscure; but we think there can be no reasonable doubt that Mr. Forster's conclusions are correct. The Ishmaelite Tema occupied the central district of Arabia, the highlands or Nejd, where the Thimanei of Pliny are placed, and may have extended to the Persian gulf, where Ptolemy places his Themis; while the Edomite Teman, connected by Habakkuk with Paran, was properly the district at the head of the Elamite gulf, but was applied afterwards to the whole land of Edom, as in Amos v. 12. We are much less satisfied with Mr. Forster's attempt to identify the Ishmaelite Tema with the Beni Temim of the present day. This name, with a final n, as Mr. Forster writes it, is not familiar to us. In the passages which he himself quotes from Abulfeda and from Niebuhr, it is written Temim; and so Freytag writes it, referring it to the surd verb Tamma, as a root. This being the case, we cannot regard it as an ancestral name. The passage cited from the apocryphal book of Baruch proves nothing; indeed a comparison of it with Jer. xlix. 7, leads to the inference, that it is the Edomite Teman which is spoken of. It was this people which was proverbially celebrated for its wisdom. The conclusion at which Mr. Forster ultimately arrives is, that the descendants of Tema were the Magi who visited our Saviour in his infancy; but even if the link in the chain of proof, which we have adverted to, had not been defective, we think that this conclusion would not have followed. The Magi were probably from Arabia; but we see no reason for supposing that they were the representatives of any single tribe in that country.

We cannot do more than briefly notice what is said of the children of Abraham by Keturah. They, too, like the Ishmaelites and Edomites, seem to have spread over the whole northern part of Arabia from the Red Sea to the Persian gulf. On the coast of the latter Mr. Forster finds the Cataræi of Pliny, inhabiting the town of Katara, in modern maps Katura, all which names he derives from the female ancestor of those tribes;—on very insufficient grounds, however, as it appears to us.

Having thus discovered, or fancied that he discovered, two matronymics, applied to the offspring of Hagar and of Keturah, Mr. Forster proceeds to establish the existence of a third, namely, Saracens, which he understands as designating the Edomites, as children of Sarah. There is no little chivalry displayed in his advocating this “popular derivation” of the name Saracen, after its having been pronounced ridiculous by Gibbon, declared by Pococke to be deservedly exploded, and considered untenable by all modern writers of character. We were curious to see what new arguments would be adduced in support of it. The principal, indeed we may say the only one, is, that the author of “the fifth book of the Maccabees” calls Idumea the country or mountains of Sarah. In this Mr. Forster sees, not the gross blunder of an ignorant writer, who mistook Seir (in the Greek of Josephus, Σάιρα) for Sarah, but authentic evidence that “among the Jews of the first century,” part of Arabia was “familiarily known by the name of the country of Sarah.” The objection of Asseman, that Saraceni could not be derived from Sarah, is met by the assertion, that “it might be so, as well as Jerachæi from Jerah.” But did not Mr. Forster observe, that the final letter of Jerah is a Heth, while that of Sarah is a He? To represent Heth by the Greek X, is strictly in accordance with analogy; but what authority can Mr. Forster produce for representing He by K? In the course of his observations on this subject, a statement is made which is quite new to us, and which we are at a loss to know whether we should attribute to inadvertence, or consider as a part of some undeveloped theory. He lays the scene of the 14th chapter of Numbers “towards the south of the peninsula of Sinai;” supposing the hill mentioned v. 45, to be mount Horeb. This appears to us rather inconsistent with Deut. i. 2, which speaks of “eleven days’ journey” between the places here identified. Mr. Forster repeats, over and over again, the statement, that Al Saruat in Yemen signifies “the people of Sarah.” Ignorant as he has left us of the Arabic spelling of this name, we will not pronounce positively what it signifies; but we will venture to say, that it is an appellative noun, and that it certainly has no connexion with the name Sarah.

We pass over what is said of the several sons and grandsons of Esau, and proceed at once to Mr. Forster's disquisition on "the country, city, and settlements of Job." We cannot, however, dwell long upon it. He identifies the land of Uz with that inhabited by the *Alôirai* of Ptolemy, who lived in the neighbourhood of Chaldea and the Euphrates, between the Sabeans, descended from the Keturite Sheba, and the Chaldeans, who made their hostile incursions from different quarters. To this opinion we can see no sound objection; but we must demur to the assumption, which Mr. Forster presently makes, that this Uz was peopled by Edomites; which again he follows by adopting Calmet's conjecture, that Job was the Jobab of Gen. xxxvi. 33. In Gen. x. 23, it is plainly stated that Uz was the son of Aram, the son of Shem; and the passage in the Lamentations (iv. 21) proves nothing to the contrary. As well might it be argued (Gesenius justly observes) from the words "Ye Germans that dwell in Pennsylvania," that Pennsylvania was a portion of Germany. The identity of Jobab and Job rests upon an idle tradition, attached by some anonymous writer to the Septuagint version of the book of Job. To an English reader the names appear similar, but in Hebrew they are radically distinct, the root of the one being Yavav, and that of the other Ayav, and the names themselves being properly Iyov and Yovav. The writer of this apocryphal addition to Job was so ignorant as to take Bozra, the city of Jobab, for the name of his mother, and he has accordingly assigned him for a dwelling-place Dinhabah, the city of his predecessor. The correctness of this is taken for granted by Mr. Forster; and he then proceeds, by a chain of reasoning, through which we cannot follow him, to identify this Dinhabah with "the Thaubah of Ptolemy, the capital of his Agubeni—a name taken literally from the Arabic Beni Ayub, or 'the sons of Job.'" This is followed by an attempt to show that the names of Job's three daughters are preserved in those of Arabic people and provinces. In the case of the two first, the resemblance is very slight indeed. As for the third, there is certainly evidence that Yemama, the central province of Arabia, was called from a queen who bore that name; but the name has probably been borne by thousands of Arabian females, as well as by the daughter of Job, and in the absence of any scriptural statement that this female became a queen, and of any tradition that she was the queen referred to, we can see no good end to be answered by publishing a *conjecture* that she was so.

In the second part of Mr. Forster's work, he discusses the accounts of Arabia given by Ptolemy, Pliny, and Arrian, as the author of the *Periplus* is perhaps improperly called. We can

only allude to the most prominent points in a discussion, which is always ingenious and often satisfactory. In p. 119 et seq. of the second volume, a ridiculous blunder of Gibbon is pointed out. Having quoted from Diodorus Siculus the notice of a temple on the eastern coast of the Red Sea, nearly opposite to the southern extremity of the peninsula of Mount Sinai, he proceeds:—

“ This temple the sceptical historian of the empire at one touch of his magic pen transports (a distance of above 500 miles!) from Moilah to Mekka; and presents to his readers (with high self-gratulation) the account of it by Diodorus Siculus, as the earliest, though hitherto unnoticed, record of the far-famed CAABA!”

Mr. Forster adds a conjecture of his own. He thinks that Jethro, the father-in-law of Moses, was priest of this temple; and he endeavours to reconcile this opinion with the passages in the book of Exodus, in which Midian is mentioned. We cannot agree with him here: these passages appear to us plainly to indicate that the land of Midian was, where geographers have generally placed it, in the peninsula of Mount Sinai. If it be necessary to find a temple for Jethro in this region, we would suggest, as a possible one, that remarkable hill, the mysterious object of Egyptian pilgrimage, now known as Sarbût el Khadem.

In laying down the southern coast of Arabia from Ptolemy, a great error was committed by Mercator, which Mr. Forster points out as follows. After noticing the substitution of a peopled region, with cities and towns, for the immense desert of Al Ahkâf, which was necessarily accompanied by an erroneous contraction of the southern coast, he proceeds.

“ My attention was naturally directed, in the next place, to the examination of the chart of this coast, as corrected by Mercator, with a view to the discovery of the points at which contraction had taken place. I had proceeded in this examination about a degree to the eastward of *Arabiaë emporium*, or Aden, where Ptolemy's Melanoros, or ‘Black Mountain,’ (a single mountain, marked in Commodore Owen's survey, as at right angles with the southern chain, and therefore not to be mistaken,) runs down to the water's edge, . . . when my progress was checked by the occurrence of two denominations, *Magnum Littus* and *Parvum Littus*, on the coast between Mela Mons and Caûa [Cane?] emporium, or Caûa Canim Bay, *as names of cities*. These very singular denominations at once awakened the suspicion, that names (on the face of them) meant by Ptolemy to designate two unequal reaches, at this part of the coast, of *shore*, or *level strand*, had been ingeniously metamorphosed, by Mercator or others, into cities or towns! The suspicion, presently after it had been formed, was converted into certainty, on my being favoured with a copy of Commodore Owen's then unpublished survey of the southern coast; in which its

long line of cliff was exhibited as broken, between 'Black Mountain' and 'Black Point,' by a strand, or sandy reach, of seventy-five miles, and, again, between Black Point (a headland dividing the two levels) and Caûa Canim Bay, by a second strand, of four-and-twenty miles in length. By this conclusive restoration, the sense of Ptolemy was restored; the contracted southern coast became expanded to its true dimensions, by the recovery, at a single point, of a space of one hundred miles; and the description of the Alexandrine geographer, in the second century, was verified, in all its details, by our own Admiralty survey, taken in the nineteenth."

Mr. Forster has very clearly identified the Cane Emporium of Ptolemy with the port of Hişn Ghorâb (E. long. 48°. 25'). Every thing here corresponds with the description of this place given in the Periplus; so that, on the coast being correctly surveyed, the conclusion was unavoidable that the site of Cane was at length known. Dean Vincent had suspected that it might be Keshîn; but the distances both from 'Aden and from Cape Fartak were inconsistent with this hypothesis, as he himself admitted. He saw very clearly, what turns out to be the fact, that the Cava Canim of Sanson and d'Anville was not a modern Arabic name; but was taken by Sanson from the Periplus, and laid down by him on the map in the situation which he considered proper for it. Previous to the late surveys, the greater part of the southern coast of Arabia, as it appeared on our maps, was described from ancient authorities only. To say, then, that Cava Canim corresponded to the ancient Cane was, in fact, to state a mere truism.

Mr. Forster agrees with Dean Vincent, that Cape Fartak is the Suagros of the Periplus. We wish he had contented himself with repeating the conclusive arguments of the Dean. His additional ones, derived from the supposed etymology of the modern name, and from the existence of a town, "Sugger, preserving the memory of" the ancient one, will, we suspect, carry conviction to the mind of no Arabic scholar.

Beyond this promontory a second error of Mercator is named. From it Ptolemy, as misrepresented by him,—

"Makes a mountain-chain run inland, in a north-west direction, up the country, for a space, apparently, of some hundred or hundred-and-twenty miles. . . . The mountains intended by Ptolemy, and represented by Mercator, are the *Djebel al Camûr*, or 'Mountains of the Moon' (their name being obviously derived from their form); a chain, which, instead of running up the country toward the north-west, wheels eastward round the coast in the form of a *half moon*, or horse-shoe, embracing a space of coast little short of two degrees, or one-hundred-and-twenty miles. . . . Thus, by the false drawing of his map-makers,

has been lost to the readers of Ptolemy, a second space of his southern coast of Arabia, more than equal to that which we have already seen lost by their absurd misapplication of his nomenclature. By the recovery of these spaces, we not only regain upwards of two hundred miles of missing coast; but in so doing, shall find ourselves enabled, as we proceed, to restore to their true positions (as laid down in the modern geography of the country) places and people hitherto involved in hopeless obscurity."

We apprehend that Mr. Forster is here, as elsewhere, much too sanguine in his anticipations. The accuracy of the author of the *Periplus*, in his description of the southern coast of Arabia, has been abundantly shown by Mr. Forster as respects Cane, and by Dean Vincent as respects every other position; but, after all the corrections above mentioned have been made, there appears to be much error in Ptolemy's description of the country, which cannot be fairly got rid of. Mr. Forster adopts the theory of Dean Vincent, that, as there are two towns on the coast bearing the name of Shehr, so there were two bays, bearing the name of Sinus Sachalites, one on each side of the Syagrian promontory. But is it clear that these were ancient towns? or, admitting them to be so, that their present names were ancient? or, that Sachalites is the adjective that a Greek would derive from Shehr? Dean Vincent has himself identified the eastern Shehr with the Moscha of the *Periplus*; he suspects, however, that the author of that work misnamed it, and that the real Moscha was, where Ptolemy places it, on the west of *Suagros*. Considering the great accuracy of the description of this coast given in the *Periplus*, we think it very unlikely that such an error should have been committed there. It appears much more probable, that Ptolemy should have reversed the order of the three places, Sinus Sachalites, *Suagros*, and Moscha. Mr. Forster is not satisfied with Dean Vincent's identification of the Moscha of the *Periplus* with Shehr; he makes the former to be Râs al Sair, a port (?) about sixty miles to the west of Shehr, or Seger. Râs signifies "a cape," not "a port;" and we should greatly doubt there being any port in the iron-bound coast to the west of Shehr. Mr. Forster lays much stress on the similarity between the names Al Sair and Ausura, which he supposes to be the name given by Ptolemy to the port, which is called Moscha in the *Periplus*. We cannot, however, see any grounds for believing that these names are etymologically connected.

We must now, before we conclude, say a few words respecting the Himyaritic inscriptions, the alleged interpretation of which has been represented as the most valuable part of this work. We can have no hesitation in declaring our conviction (and we

do so with deep regret), that Mr. Forster *has completely deceived himself in the entire of this matter*; and that his supposed discoveries will before long be universally admitted to be nothing more than the dreams of an over-ardent imagination. We presume that it will not be necessary for us to describe the process by which he arrived at them; or, at least, that a very brief description will suffice. He imagined that in a poem of ten couplets, which he accidentally found in a rare work of Schultens, he had obtained the translation of an inscription, which Messrs. Crutenden and Wellsted found at Hışn Ghorâb, the Raven's Castle; which, as we have already stated, he rightly identified with the Cane of Ptolemy and the Periplus. His reasons for supposing this, were, in the first instance, slight enough. The poem was said to have been found on a castle; and there were the ruins of a castle at Hışn Ghorâb: the poem was in ten couplets; and there were ten lines in the inscription at Hışn Ghorâb. The number of letters in the former was 446, and in the latter 398, being nearly the same. It did not occur to him as an objection, that the poems published by Schultens were stated by him to have been found on the stones of two ruined castles, whereas the inscription was on a rock within the castle. "*Super marmoribus arcium dirutarum*" are the words of Schultens, in his "*Monumenta Vetustiora Arabiæ*;" a work, by the way, which is by no means so rare as Mr. Forster was led to suppose. "The inscriptions," he says, "*in strict agreement with*" these words of Schultens, were "*carved on marbles, or tablets, cut smooth on the face of the living rock.*" The agreement appears to us to be very far from being *strict*; it is, however, sufficient to have placed it within the range of probability, that the great inscription at Hışn Ghorâb was the original of one of these two poems of Schultens; and Mr. Forster was quite right in endeavouring to ascertain whether or not this was the case.

The means which he proposed to himself for attaining this object were evidently right ones. Unfortunately, however, the strong conviction which he entertained of the inscription and the poem being related to each other, as original and translation, grounded as it was on the very insufficient arguments which we have already mentioned, put it out of his power to employ these means with that calmness and freedom from bias which could alone render them available for eliciting the truth. He obtained, as he persuaded himself, both internal and external evidence of the inscription being the original from which the poem was translated; but, before he sought for evidence of either sort, it seems, from his own statement, that his mind was made up on the subject. From the circumstance of his investigations being carried

on while his work was passing through the press, we have evidence as to the opinions entertained by him at different times, such as we could not otherwise have expected ; and we find him expressing himself thus (vol. ii. p. 97), before he had sought for any evidence, internal or external, beyond what offered itself in the first instance.

“ *Fully impressed with the conviction . . . that in the poetical inscriptions preserved by Novairi we possess, deciphered to our hand, the inscriptions in unknown characters at Hisn Ghorab.*”

This was not only before he had commenced the operation of deciphering, but before he had even resolved to attempt it ; for he goes on to say, after noticing the probability of a second inscription, corresponding to the second poem of Schultens, being in existence near the first, and after recommending that a search for it should be made,—

“ Meanwhile, I would leave it with those more conversant than myself with the art of deciphering characters, to determine whether comparison of the first of the Arabic poems under consideration with the ten-line Hisn Ghorab inscription as its cipher, may not enable them to reach by a shorter road *the conclusion, at which I have arrived* by a more circuitous process ; and to demonstrate the one document to be a translation of the other.”

It is clear from this passage, that Mr. Forster did not commence his experiment in deciphering with that indifference as to the result, which is quite as necessary to secure success in an investigation of this sort, as it can be in chemistry. The experimentalist ought to have no prepossessions in favour of any particular result. His sole object should be to obtain the *correct* result ; and he should be prepared to welcome that result, whatever it might be. On his own showing, this was clearly not the case with Mr. Forster. He undertook the deciphering of the inscription, not as a means of ascertaining whether a conjecture was well founded, but as a mode of confirming a discovery which he was convinced that he had already made. Under these circumstances, suspicion must have attached itself to the result of an investigation made by the most skilful decipherer. What dependence, then, can be placed on one conducted by Mr. Forster, who, as we have seen, acknowledges his inexperience in the art of deciphering unknown characters ; an art in which success is only to be looked for after much practice, preceded by much study of a peculiar nature ? He would, we think, have acted more wisely, if he had left the experiment to be tried, as he at

first intended to do, by "those more conversant than himself with the art of deciphering characters." It appears, however, that as soon as he heard that Professors Gesenius and Rödiger, who were persons of this class, and the former of whom had particularly distinguished himself by his investigations respecting languages of the same family as that of these inscriptions; . . . as soon as he heard that they had been engaged in deciphering them, he "decided on reclaiming his MS. from the press, and making the experiment of deciphering the whole inscription" *himself*. The result may be stated in the words which he applies to Gesenius, but which are far more justly applicable to himself. After quoting a statement of Mr. Cruttenden, that Gesenius had deciphered the words "King of the Himyarites;" he denies that any "such expression occurs in the Hisn Ghorab inscription." "The case," he says, "is clear; it is but too common: the late learned professor *expected* to find some such expression, *and, therefore, did find it*." Mr. Forster *expected* to find in the inscription the same sense as he found in the poem published by Schulzens, *and, therefore, he did find it*.

Now, it certainly appears to us, that, whatever Gesenius may have previously expected, he found the expression in question in the inscription simply *because it was there*; whereas the ardent expectations of Mr. Forster were the sole grounds which led him to imagine that he had found what he wished. We will endeavour to show the difference between the modes of proceeding which he and Gesenius adopted. Every decipherer must begin with assumptions, or conjectures; and, of course, neither Gesenius nor Mr. Forster could be blamed for making such. Whatever blame should be attached to either would be for not sufficiently testing the correctness of an assumption, or for not abandoning it, if, on being tested, it should appear incorrect.

Gesenius appears to have set out with two preliminary assumptions:—that the characters should be read from right to left; and that a vertical line, which occurred very frequently, at intervals which were never long, sometimes alone, and sometimes accompanied with small circles, was a terminal character, like the sloping line which concludes every word in the first kind of cuneatic writing. As to the first of these, he has been followed both by his pupil Rödiger and by Mr. Forster: and we are satisfied that they have had sufficient reason for adopting it; although, from the resemblance which the characters have to the Amharic, it would seem more natural to read them, like the Amharic, from left to right. The second assumption is peculiar to Gesenius. Rödiger supposes the vertical line to be a γ , and Mr. Forster gives it this value in his alphabet, though, as we shall soon see,

he does not adhere to it. Both these writers, however, appear to consider the small circles as marking the separation of words, agreeing thus in part with Gesenius.

This being premised, Gesenius observed in the ninth line a word of three letters, followed by a word of five; the first letter of the former word being the second and also the last of the latter. It occurred to him that these words might possibly be מלך חמירם, and that they might mean, "the king of the Himyarites." In the first instance, he *assumed* that this was the case. There was evidently nothing improbable in the assumption; and the only thing to be ascertained was, whether, substituting the values of the six characters which occurred in these words in other words where they also occurred, he would read those words in such a manner as that they would harmonize with the words already assumed; that they would be, like these words, reducible to known Semitic roots, of forms not dissimilar from those of the known Semitic languages, and conveying meanings, according to the analogy of those languages, not unsuited to the inscription. Now, there are three words in the two first lines which contain no other letters than what occur in the words above given, and they all stand this test. They are יבמל *completes*, ירחם *has mercy*, and כל *all*. It may be added, that, assuming that a letter which exactly resembles the Amharic ነ was its equivalent (and Mr. Forster has assumed the same), we should have in the third line לימן *to Yemen*, or *to our sea*. Many words terminate with this letter, which Rödiger read with the vertical line that follows it נו, and Mr. Forster with the same line נא, and which all agree in supposing to be the affix of the first person plural. We have not space to pursue this subject further; but we think that, from the little that we have said, it must be evident to our readers that Gesenius had good reason for supposing that the words, "King of the Himyarites," were found in the inscription, before he announced to the world that they were so. We have no means of knowing what assumptions he had previously made, and had abandoned on finding that they could not stand the tests which he applied to them; but we think it plain that *this* assumption was admitted by him to be a correct one, not in consequence of its being a favourite one, but on account of its having stood tests which were fairly applied to it.

We will not enter on the consideration of other words, including other letters, which Gesenius professed to have deciphered, nor will we attempt to assign to him and Rödiger their respective shares in the discovery of the Himyaritic alphabet. Further light will, no doubt, be thrown upon the subject by the examination of additional inscriptions in the same character; and of

these, in addition to several which have reached this country, we understand that a large collection has recently been brought by a French physician to Paris.

Our present object is to show the difference between the modes of proceeding adopted by the German professors and by Mr. Forster. The former subjected every assumption that they made to rigorous tests, and only retained such as stood these tests; whereas the latter made assumption after assumption, which he tested in no other manner than by its supposed capability of bringing out from the inscription its preconceived meaning.

At setting out, indeed, Mr. Forster proposed to himself a correct mode of proceeding; but it will be seen that he did not adhere to it.

His first assumption was that which we have already mentioned, . . . that the letter resembling the Amharic *ḥ*, and the vertical line which followed it, represented "the sign of the first person plural, *nu* or *na*." In this he agreed with Rödiger, and did not much differ from Gesenius. One of the first observations which Mr. Forster made was, that the Arabic pronoun corresponding to this occurred fifteen times in the supposed translation of the inscription; while this pair of characters occurred fifteen times in the inscription itself. He assumed also that the last letter of this affix, the vertical line, corresponded to the conjunction *and*; and he then says (vol. ii. p. 98),—

"To my great satisfaction, though not at all to my surprise, I found this letter occurring singly, *three times*, in the seventh line of the Hisn Ghorab inscription, and the *و* or *و* occurring also *three times* in the corresponding couplet and line of the Arabic poem, and followed, in both places, by three single words."

This is plausible; and we must say that nothing could be fairer than the assumption here made respecting the powers of these characters; considering it as an *assumption*, to be tested by subsequent trials. But what were the tests applied to it? and how did it stand them? Near the beginning of the first line of the inscription this supposed conjunction occurs; but in the corresponding part of the poem there is no conjunction found, nor does there seem any possibility of introducing one by modifying the text. There is, however, a preposition signifying *in*, which occupies the corresponding place in the poem. Mr. Forster, accordingly, converts this supposed conjunction *و* into a preposition; reading it *و*, *في*, and considering it as equivalent to the Arabic preposition *في* *fi*, of which the first letter is "a

digamma," and as such liable to be omitted. To the assumption, as now modified, we might object on etymological grounds; but it is unnecessary. It is sufficient to show that Mr. Forster's system of deciphering, if it can be called a system, is erroneous. In the first place, we remark, that, by thus modifying his original assumption, he cancels the paragraph which we have last quoted from him. Whatever argument, whatever plausibility that passage may have contained, is no longer available for him; or, we should rather say, is now at the command of his opponents. "In the seventh couplet of the Arabic poem, the conjunction , *and*, occurs three times; but in the seventh line of the Hisn Ghorab inscription, no such conjunction occurs at all."

But, secondly, if the vertical line is a ' by itself, would it not follow that it should be one in the pronoun, which would thus become ى, and consequently would cease to represent the first person plural? Mr. Forster seems much puzzled by this vertical line, if we may judge by the various ways in which he has represented it. In the interlineary transcript into Arabic characters, which he has given at p. 350, he sometimes represents it by a و — sometimes by an ل; and very frequently he omits it altogether. In his glossary, he gives it in several instances the new value ي, without, however, rejecting any of the others; while in the alphabet, at p. 403, it is only recognized as a و.

It may be said, however, that these Arabic letters are all interchangeable, and all liable to be omitted; and that, therefore, it is very possible that the same character in the inscription may represent them all three in turn, and be occasionally superfluous. To this we can by no means assent. There is no doubt that when one of these letters occurs in an Arabic root, it may be occasionally dropped, or transmuted into some other of the letters, in forming the inflections of that root, or derivations from it. But this is a very different thing from confounding all these letters together, as Mr. Forster has done in his glossary. This is never done in Arabic, or, we think we may venture to say, in any language. Every one knows that an ل, a و, and a ي mean very different things when prefixed to verbs. The first of them would form the first person singular of the aorist; the third would form the third person masculine; while the second would be the conjunction *and*. Would any one think of representing them indifferently by the same character? or would any Arabian think of using *fâ* or *fû* instead of *fî* for *in*? or of representing the pronoun of the first person plural by *nî* or *nû*, instead of *nâ*?

But let us now attend to the use of this alleged pronoun.

Mr. Forster, as we have already said, observes, that it occurs in the inscription the same number of times as the Arabic pronoun *nâ* does in the poem. We believe it occurs three or four times oftener: this, however, is of little moment. The question is, Does it occur in the parts of the inscription, corresponding to the parts of the poem, where the Arabic pronoun occurs? If not, the coincidence as to the *number* of times that it occurs is of little moment. The maker of a weather-almanack will often hit upon the right number of wet days in a month; but will he point out the right days? Now, we observe, that in the first line of the inscription the supposed pronoun does not occur at all; whereas in the poem the pronoun occurs at the very commencement, and the sense seems imperatively to require it. In the third line, on the other hand, the inscription has it twice, while the supposed translation has it not at all. We have compared the several places, in which the words said to be equivalent occur in the inscription and the poem; and we feel quite satisfied that no *unprejudiced decipherer* could have done the same, without coming to the conclusion, that either the value assigned to this pair of characters by Mr. Forster was incorrectly assigned to it, or the poem and the inscription had no identity of meaning.

Mr. Forster, however, was not unprejudiced, nor was he, by his own acknowledgment, a practised decipherer: accordingly, he seems to have been quite satisfied that the values of these two characters were ascertained; the first being 1, and the second, *ad libitum*, 1, 8, 2, or nothing at all. He next, as he tells us, applied himself to the first word of the inscription, which a friend had told him that Rödiger read *Smak*, and translated, "we dwelt." We are inclined to suspect, that, as to the latter part of this statement, Mr. Forster must have misunderstood his friend. In Rödiger's published work he takes this word as a proper name. But, as the first word of the poem certainly signified "we dwelt," or "we lived," which is not materially different, Mr. Forster "at once inferred, that, in the four letters of that word, he had before him the true powers of four letters of the Himyaritic alphabet." Surely, he was a little hasty here. Without knowing Rödiger's reasons for assigning these values to the four letters, he had no right to assume that they were correctly assigned. It was not likely that this was the first word which he deciphered; nor that the values which he assigned to its letters were assigned to them independently of other letters. We know, indeed, that this was not the case. We know that the second and third letters of the word (which Rödiger read שמק, not *Smak*) had their values given to them from their occurring in the *previously deciphered* words that we have already men-

tioned, which were read by Rödiger *חמירו* ; while the first and last were assumed to be identical in power with the Amharic letters *ሠ* and *ק*, which they resembled. Here, then, we have Mr. Forster selecting from a group of characters, which Rödiger professed to have deciphered in connexion with one another, a certain number, the values of which he adopted *at once*, without subjecting them to any test ; while he rejected his values of the remainder, and in the end assigned to them values totally different. And we have the ground of his preference candidly stated. It was because the first word of the inscription would thus admit a meaning similar to that of the first word of the poem. This is not the course, it strikes us, “which a person conversant with the art of deciphering characters” would adopt.

Protesting as we do against the entire of the process which Mr. Forster has here employed, we think it of little moment to examine its details. We may as well state, however, for the benefit of those who may require further evidence, that the value of the third character in the inscription, which Mr. Forster considers an *ס*, was assigned to it, not on the authority of Rödiger, who makes it a *י*, but through a mistake of the literary friend who communicated to him Rödiger's reading of this word. We should also state, that we by no means admit that this word, be it *Smak*, *Smik*, or any thing of the sort, can signify “we dwelt.” In the first place, there is no pronoun of the first person plural.

In the second place, the root *سماك* *samaka*, to which Mr. Forster refers it, signifies *extulit* ; the fact of a derived noun being occasionally used to express *tectum domus* (not “*tectum, domus*,” as Mr. Forster quotes Golius, p. 410) is no authority for giving the *verb* the signification of *dwelling*. In the third place, the last letter of the root is not a *ك* but a *ق*, if any dependence is to be placed on its being equivalent to the Amharic character which it resembles, or on the authority of Rödiger ; and we cannot consent to its being assumed in the first instance, as if it was a matter of course, that these two Arabic letters have the same representative.

We were curious to see what Mr. Forster would make of the word *חמירו*, of which he rejects Rödiger's reading, though he adopts that of a word, which Rödiger interpreted subsequently to this, and as a consequence of his interpretation of it. It occurs twice. In one place he considers the four middle characters as a word, connecting the first and last with the preceding and following words. In the other place he reads the whole word together. According to his alphabet it would be *במאימו* ; but he writes it in Arabic and Roman characters, and explains it “*بامامة*”

(Bamamat) super equos: ام [عزم] ام, Equus." The meaning of this quotation is not very apparent, but by referring to an Arabic dictionary we have been enabled to interpret it. Every one that knows any thing of Arabic, knows that ام [Om] signifies *mater*, as the corresponding word does in Hebrew. The word within the brackets signifies *finus*; and the two together, *mater fimi*, are given by Golius as a coarse periphrasis for *equus*. Mr. Forster, it would seem, considers himself justified in giving to one of the component parts of this expression the sense of the whole. "Amamat" is certainly not the Arabic plural of "Om;" but there is such a noun to be found in Golius; and it is interpreted by him "centum camelorum turma." Mr. Forster is pleased to add, on his own authority, as resulting from the preceding supposed sense of Om, "*vel* equorum;" and on the same authority the new meaning "super" is given to the Arabic preposition ب.

We will give one more instance of Mr. Forster's method of deciphering. It is one which he puts forward himself with apparently great satisfaction; and it seems at first sight to indicate that he was pursuing a proper course. It relates to the seventh letter, of which he thought that he obtained the value. We have already seen how he came by the first six, three of which were similar in form to the corresponding letters of the Amharic alphabet. He assumed that a letter resembling in a slight degree the Hebrew ך might be an equivalent of that letter. He then proceeded to test this value by an experiment. He fixed on the fifth word in the fifth line, which contained this letter in conjunction with others, the values of which were previously determined. He then goes on:—

"Reading it Sarkna, and looking for this word in Golius, I found
س' /

سرق, *Sarak*, defined by *Tela panni serici*, being the synonyme, simply, for the word in the corresponding fifth couplet of Novairi's inscription, viz. خز [Khaz] *Pannus ex serico contextus*, a silk garment or robe."

"The word in the corresponding fifth couplet!" Does that couplet contain only one word? or does Mr. Forster mean to say that Khaz and Sarkna occupy corresponding places in the poem and in the inscription? The word which Mr. Forster reads Sarkna is in the middle of the line. It is, according to Mr. Forster's own division, the sixth, not the fifth, word out of eleven; or, what is a surer criterion, it is preceded by fifteen letters in the line, and followed by nineteen. On the contrary, the word

supposed to correspond with it occurs near the beginning of the couplet; it is the third word out of eleven, being preceded by only seven letters, and followed by thirty-six. It is obvious, then, that supposing the coincidence of meaning to exist, (and of that anon,) it exists between two words which do *not* correspond in situation.

Mr. Forster himself perceived this mistake at a subsequent period, but his doing so did not lead him to retract or re-consider the conclusions which he had deduced from it. On the contrary, he proceeds in his glossary to identify this same word Sarkna with another Arabic word, which occurs at the close of the first line of the distich, and was, therefore, in the corresponding place to it. That word is تَارَة, *tāratan*, *often*, or *sometimes*; and how this could be made out to be a synonyme of Sarkna, *silk*, we were very curious to discover. We will give Mr. Forster's interpretation of it in his glossary, p. 421, together with the note which he subjoins.

“تَارَة *, *pro* توزي [tawazay] sindonis Arabicæ genus. Vel *pro* مطير [muttayyar] avium figuris picta vestis¹.”

“* By this word the Arabic translator defines *the kind of coloured robe* intended in the original. Schultens reads تَارَة: probably an error of the press, as his rendering is correct.”

Schultens renders it “*sæpe*,” and this is obviously the meaning; at least, it is obvious that it is an adverb of time, corresponding to the other adverb احيانًا, *aḥyânâ*, which Schultens renders “*alias*;” “*aliquando*” would perhaps be a better translation for them both. This latter adverb, the accusative plural of *hîn*, *tempus*, is, like the former, converted by Mr. Forster into some strange adjective, to which he, as usual, finds an equivalent in the inscription.

But we must say something of the word Sarkna, which Mr. Forster has thus identified in succession with two different words, signifying, or supposed to signify, “*silken cloths*.” In the first word of the inscription, he was in great want of the syllable *na*, to express the pronoun *we*; here he has that syllable, but he does not want it, and he is compelled to leave it unexplained. But what of Sarak, or rather Serek? That it means silk, or

¹ Mr. Forster should have italicized the word “*vestis*,” or inclosed it in a parenthesis. It is no part of the explanation of this Arabic word, which is an adjective, but indicates the kind of nouns, of which it is used as an epithet.

something silken, there can be no question ; but is it an Arabic word ? The Arabic root, which contains the same letters, signifies "to steal ;" and, we believe, no lexicographer connects it with this. It is universally admitted that it is a *foreign* word ; and the last syllable clearly marks it as Indo-germanic. It is an adaptation of the Greek *σηρικόν*, or the Latin *sericum* ; and if it were really used for *silk* in the language of the inscription, it would at least disprove Mr. Forster's hypothesis as to the *antiquity* thereof.

It would be useless to proceed further with Mr. Forster's interpretations. If our readers are not satisfied, from the specimens which we have already given, that he has completely deceived himself in supposing that the poem published by Schultens contained the sense of the inscription, we cannot hope to satisfy them by *any internal* evidence. It would be of no avail for us to go on, as we might do, for page after page, showing how almost every fresh word which he examines requires some new and startling hypothesis to be made, before it can be made to signify what the great hypothesis of all imposes upon it as its signification. We will, therefore, pass to the consideration of the external evidence by which Mr. Forster persuaded himself that he had identified the inscription at Hishn Ghorab with the original of the first poems published by Schultens.

After he had completed his deciphering of the inscription to his own complete satisfaction, as it would seem, he procured from Leyden the account in full, which Schultens had abridged, of the place where the poem was said to have been found. If Mr. Forster's translation of this account could be depended on, his supposition, that the poem was translated from the inscription, would, it must be confessed, become highly probable ; for in this account, as he translates it, there is an exact conformity to the account which Mr. Wellsted gives of the place where he found the inscription. It would appear, however, that Mr. Forster, under the impression that the copy which he had received from Leyden was written in a very inaccurate manner, allowed himself to make alterations in it to an extent that is, to say the least, very unusual. Three of the most important words in the description of the castle, where the poem was said to have been found, were altered by him into three others, from which he conjectured that they were *abridged* or *corrupted*. He made also a fourth substitution of a similar kind in the description of the second castle ; by which he represented the distance between the two castles as *forty* parasangs, or about 150 miles, in place of *four* parasangs, or 15 miles, which it is in the original. This last alteration Mr. Forster has noticed in his translation, and has endeavoured

to justify; the other three he has pointed out in the Arabic, but not in the English. Another very important word had its initial Alif abstracted, which completely altered its signification; and the same effect was produced on other words by the improper addition, omission, or alteration of diacritical points. In some instances, too, where the text was unaltered, it was translated in an erroneous manner.

The result of these proceedings was to give a totally different meaning to the passage from what it was intended to bear. To show the nature of these changes, we will give, in parallel columns, the entire account, as translated by Mr. Forster, and as it has been translated by an accomplished Arabic scholar in this country, from a manuscript of Al Kazwîni's work, in the library of Dr. Lee of Hartwell House, which was purchased for him at Damascus by Burckhardt. This MS. was written A. D. 1329, only fifty-three years after Al Kazwîni's death. It is possible that its text may not *exactly* coincide with that which Mr. Forster received from Leyden; but this will account for but a small number of the differences in the translations.

We distinguish by italics those parts in which Mr. Forster appears to have altered the meaning of the original by mistranslation, whether caused by the improper insertion of diacritical points or otherwise; and we distinguish by small capitals the four words, which Mr. Forster acknowledges that he substituted for four others. The explanatory clause, inserted in Mr. Forster's version between brackets, is entirely unauthorized.

MR. FORSTER'S VERSION.

"And in that region are two castles of the castles of Ad. And when Moawiyah sent Abderrahman, the son of Al Hakem, into Yemen, as viceroy, *he arrived*, on the shore of Aden [i. e. in a progress along the southern coast], *at* two castles, of the castles of Ad (in *that sea are treasure hidden and gold, for the space of* a hundred PARASANGS, along the shore of Aden, as far as to the *neighbourhood* of KESUIN). He saw, also, *the quality of* the soil, *whose saltness made the palms*

CORRECT VERSION.

"In it [Yemen] are two castles from among the castles of 'Ad. When Mo'awiyah sent 'Abdu-rahman ibnu-l-Hakem as governor to Yemen, *a report reached him, that, on the coast of 'Aden, there are* two castles, belonging to the castles of 'Ad, and in *their sea a treasure. He then coveted this treasure, and proceeded with a hundred HORSEMEN to the coast of 'Aden, to the nearest* [اقرب]² of THE TWO CASTLES. And he saw

² We insert between brackets the correct reading. We do the same in some other instances, where Mr. Forster's text is so far astray as to be likely to puzzle or mislead the reader.

MR. FORSTER'S VERSION.

most fruitful. And he saw a castle built upon the rock, and TWO PORTS; and upon the ascent of the height, a great rock, partly washed away, on which was engraven a song."

CORRECT VERSION.

that the soil round it was saline. In it there are traces [آثار] of wells. He also saw a castle built of stone and MORTAR, [الكلس] and over one of its gates [ابوابه] a large white [بيضا] stone, on which were inscribed [these lines]."

[Here follows the First Poem in Ten Couplets.]

"Then he proceeded to the other castle, distant four [FORTY] parasangs. He beheld its state, battered by winds and men. He says they approached the south side of the castle, when it proved of stone. And the waves of the sea had left violent vestiges upon it. And he saw over its gate a great stone, and engraven on it."

"Then he proceeded to the other castle, and between the two [وبينهما] there are FOUR far-sakhs. Then he saw around it traces of gardens and plantations. [آثار الجنان والبساتين] He said he then saw a portion of the castle; for, though it was of stone and mortar, the water of the sea had carried away a part of it. And we saw over its gate a large stone, on which was written."

[Then follows the Second Poem in Seven Couplets.]

Here we have, in place of the *coasting voyage*, by which the governor reached the castles, according to Mr. Forster, a *journey by land on horseback*; and, as the second castle is described as being on the sea-shore, it would appear that the first was not so. At any rate, it was not Ḥiṣn Ghorâb; the *rock* and *two ports*, which Mr. Wellsted describes there, and which Mr. Forster relies on, as identifying that place with the first castle, do not appear in the correct version. Neither is there any mention in it of an *ascent to the height*, where the poem was found on a *rock partly washed away*, exactly as Mr. Wellsted describes it. The poem was engraved on a *stone over one of the gates of the castle*; and let it be observed, it was the Arabic poem itself that is said to have been so engraved; there is no intimation given, even in Mr. Forster's version, that the inscription was in a different language from Arabic, and that there was a poet in attendance on the governor, who translated it into Arabic metre. Nothing of this kind is alluded to; and yet it is evident, from what follows, that

this was a point which Al Kazwîni, or the person from whom he derived this very credible story, would not have omitted to notice. Let us suppose, however, that it was the case. We are surprised that Mr. Forster should have overlooked the difficulty, in the way of admitting his theory, which it presents. Before we were aware of the incorrectness of his translation of the Arabic account of the place where the poem was found, and while we, consequently, believed that it was a translation of the Ḥiṣn Ghorâb inscription, we inferred, from this very circumstance, that the antiquity of that inscription could not possibly be what Mr. Forster imagined;—that, on *that* point, at least, he must be completely mistaken. For how, we argued, could the translator have understood the inscription, if it were so ancient as is alleged? The fact of his having been able to translate it, implied that the characters used in it were familiar to him; and that the language in which it was composed, was one that he understood. This could not be the case, it is quite evident, if the inscription were the work of a people who had been extinct for above 2000 years.

We might here dismiss Al Kazwîni, if we were only concerned with Mr. Forster; as we have said quite enough to prove, that, be he ever so credible an historian, his authority is not to be adduced in support of the assumption on which Mr. Foster's whole system of deciphering is based. We understand, however, that there are persons, who, while they reject *in toto* Mr. Forster's views, are still of opinion that these poems of Schultens are genuine relics of antiquity, being translated from originals engraved on castles in Ḥaḍramaut or Yemen; and who are not without hopes that these originals may yet be found. For *their* benefit, therefore, we will give an account of what followed the governor's arrival at the second castle, according to Al Kazwîni.

After mentioning their surprise at what they saw there, he states, that they went down to the sea-coast, and employed divers to look for the treasure, who brought up a number of brass pots, with covers of the same metal. They opened one of these, and a devil came out of it, and said, "O, son of Adam, how long wilt thou imprison us?" Presently after this, they saw a black cloud approach from an island near the shore. They ran up the hill, and the water rushed up violently after them. They then perceived that their visitors were an innumerable company of monkeys. The ruler of the island was a large monkey, on whose neck a tablet was hung by a chain. He came near, and held out to them the tablet, which they took from his neck. There was a writing on it in Syriac; and *there was a person in the party who could read this language.* He read it, and it was this: "In

the name of the Great, the Greatest God. This is the writing of Solomon, the son of David, the prophet of God, to the monkeys, whoever they may be, in this island. Verily, I have commanded them to keep these devils imprisoned in this territory, in these brazen pots, and I have given them security from all gins and men. If any one seeks them or meets with them, he is clear of me, and I am clear of him, in this world and in the next." They wished to carry this tablet to Mo'awiyyah, and show it to him; but the monkeys would not suffer them to do so. Being overpowered by their numbers, and deafened by their clamour, they had to restore it. The waters then retired to their place, and the monkeys returned to their island.

So much for "the official report of Abderrahman," and for "the trustworthiness of the Arab historians generally." We should really not know how to reason with a person who should persist in supposing that there was any substratum of truth beneath a fiction so absurd as this.

We will conclude with a brief statement of our opinion respecting the entire work that we have been reviewing. In its present state, we cannot say that it is a good book; but we certainly think that it contains materials for one. Should Mr. Forster be ever induced to issue a second edition, we hope that he will content himself with a single volume. A very valuable one might be made, if from the two that are now before us, all that relates to the inscriptions and their supposed interpretation were to be struck out, and if the pruning-knife were to be judiciously applied to the remainder. We stated at the commencement of this article, that Mr. Forster had established the main point which he undertook to prove. He has, however, weakened the apparent force of his proof by the addition of feeble arguments to such as are sound. This is particularly the case with those arguments which are derived from etymological considerations, which are very seldom indeed to be depended on. What he says on any subject must, therefore, be read with caution; but there are few subjects among those of which he has treated, on which a cautious reader may not obtain information from what he has written. As a book of reference, the work is valuable, even in its present shape,—the more so, its having from the advantage of a good index; but, whatever it may become hereafter, it certainly cannot be considered *now* as a standard work of authority.

ART. III.—*The White Lady, and Undine. Tales from the German.* London: William Pickering. 1844.

HAVING always considered these two deservedly popular German stories as a valuable accession to the lighter class of literature, we hail their translation into English with unfeigned pleasure. It would be difficult to speak too highly of the merits of the translations themselves: they are a satisfactory proof how a refined and accurate acquaintance with both languages, may effect the transfusion of the one into the other without suffering a particle of the spirit of the original to evaporate in the copy. To have preserved the idiom, and tone of thinking of the German, without sacrificing the purity and correctness of the English language, is a more difficult and delicate task than many of our readers will be apt to imagine. Of late years our press has teemed with translations in bad and distorted English, meant to convey the force of the German expression, and with translations into lifeless and indifferent English, in which all the peculiarity, vividness, and grace of the German was lost. The translations before us are free from both these defects. Had they been originally written in the language of the translation, the English would not be purer or more happily chosen, while the German reader will find that the picturesqueness and liveliness of the translated language is throughout admirably, though unostentatiously, preserved.

The authoress of the *White Lady*, Caroline Storch, was the daughter of a Prussian physician of some celebrity, and married, for the second time, a Von Woltman. Her husband had published several historical essays and other works, not without merit, though not remarkable for depth or originality of thought. Caroline shared fondly and faithfully his chequered fortunes till his death at Prague, in 1817. She had herself obtained some celebrity for works on various subjects, but one of her latest and most popular productions is that which is now before us.

The scene is laid in Bohemia, a country about whose antiquities Von Woltman's former works show that he was considerably interested. The tale opens with a hunting morning

at an old baronial castle. The bridegroom, who is eager for the chase, mentions, accidentally, that he has seen a white figure the night before, seated on a large stone by the court wall, which met unmoved his inquiring glance. For some time he tried to tire her out by fixing his glances upon her; but a steady, calm gaze, through the folds of a long veil, completely baffled him, and he retreated to his bed, concluding the gazer to be one of his mother's ladies-in-waiting. This announcement causes his lady mother to turn pale, and exclaim,—

“Say not so; that court is locked up: none of my women could have been there. Speak not of a lady in white, for whenever she has appeared it has foreboded evil to our house.”—pp. 4, 5.

Some interest is expressed by other members of the family as to the legend. A parchment is sent for, and the record of a chapel, blocked up at the foot of one of the towers on account of various apparitions of a female figure, is read. The opening of the chapel is suggested; but the impatient bridegroom calls up his horse, and, kissing his trembling wife, sallies forth to the chase. The bride happened that very morning to have been gazing on a curious old picture, hung up in one of the rooms of the old castle, on which were painted apparently various scenes in the life of a lady, sometimes in a bridal wreath before an altar, then shrouded in a pall, then flying, with fair hair dishevelled, through a gallery; and, lastly, appearing in a white shroud in a chapel: the date, faintly marked, corresponded with that of the document. It was not without an undefined feeling of fear and anxiety that she returned her husband's embrace, and beheld him leap upon his horse. In a few hours he is brought in a corpse: his wife is long inconsolable.

“Summer had succeeded to spring, when, for the first time since her loss, she walked out amidst the beauties of nature. But the life of nature seemed gone. She found no charm in the air, the hills, the lawns, and forests; they no longer spoke any language to her heart. And yet she felt, that except this spot there was none in the wide world where she could now exist. This place, where she had spent her last hours of happiness with Otho,—where he lay buried, and where she was expecting the birth of his child,—this was her only home in sunshine and in shade; it was soothing to cling to it. The prince and princess, on the contrary, wished to quit this residence immediately, and to take Bertha away with them; but when it came to the point, they could not but yield to her earnest entreaties, and suffered her to remain. They felt, that if torn away from this beloved spot, she would, like a tender flower plucked up by the roots, wither and die.”—p. 10.

She accordingly remains with her household, at the head of which is an old and trusted servant : but she inhabits an apartment far away from the old gallery and the white chamber which contained the mysterious portrait.

“The autumn was now far advanced. One bright October morning, Bertha was standing at the window, gazing round on the landscape. Mists were gently settling on the hill-sides ; the mountain summits, crowned with ancient ruins, glittered in the early sunshine ; while light vapours, like white veils, floated here and there across the scene. Flights of rooks, keeping up an incessant joyous cawing, were wheeling about in the pure air round the ruins, over the dewy fields, and the grass-grown court and lofty battlements of the castle. Otho’s horses were pawing in the stables : his own bay steed chanced to neigh. Soon she saw his groom issuing forth on horseback ; the dogs rose barking to meet him. Alas ! no gallant chase ensued ; no such gathering together of sportsmen as last year, when *he* was wont to mount that horse, to whistle to those hounds, while she his bride gazed after him, enjoying the hope of a long life of happiness. She wept aloud, and sank on a seat by the window, feeling an inexpressible yearning to see Otho but for a moment again. The image of him which her fancy often presented was so shadowy, so transient ! She longed for a portrait or a bust to assist her senses.”—p. 12.

Bertha, about to be a mother, is urged by a violent longing to gaze again upon the picture of the White Lady, whose features resembled her Otho’s ; and on “a sunny morning, when earth and heaven are full of sounds of life,” she revisits the picture, to which from that time her visits became frequent. The aged seneschal remonstrates with her :—

“My forefathers have all been stewards in this castle before me. My father filled the post. I was born here, and succeeded him. I know its outward and its secret history : nothing in it can terrify *me*. I shall soon be with the dead myself ; but I pray you, do not see so much of that picture ; it is not fit for your early age.’

“‘Dear Francis,’ answered Bertha, ‘I know very well what you allude to ; but can you believe that the features of him to whom I looked up for the best blessings of my life can now portend evil to me ?’

“‘Portend evil ! I will not presume to say that. Still, there is a gulf between the dead and the living. God has so ordered it in the course of nature. It is the cause of many tears, but also of much peace. That woman’s soul has no peace, as I well know ; therefore I have wished you to inhabit this lower part of the castle, where she has never been seen in the memory of man. Dwell here, madam, in comfort : disturb not the slumbers of the dead : fear to attract them by thinking of them too much. I know nothing of the history of *her* life ;

time has obscured the picture which records it. A fate like hers, however, must be the doom of heavy guilt.'

"'Francis! do you know, then, what happened to my Otho the night before his death?' cried Bertha, horror-struck.

"'I know it; I know much more,' answered he. 'We will leave it all in the hands of God. Your ladyship will, I trust, do so; and compose yourself, and rely upon me. These walls, and their belongings, and I, have grown old together. Years have rolled over us, while all my generation has died off. That lady often appears to me. I never had a near view of her face, but can discern through her veil its death-like paleness. Her hands are colourless, like those of a corpse. She nods to me when our eyes meet. I return her salutation respectfully as to an ancestor of my noble master's, then cast my eyes down, never looking after her, and I know not whence she comes and how she vanishes.'"—pp. 17, 18.

The child is born. The White Lady is more than once seen by Bertha, bending over its cradle and vanishing away. The butler dies, confiding to his mistress a mysterious casket belonging to the family. The little child sickens, and is at the point of death: the agonized mother wakes from a short sleep, and sees the White Lady bending over the cradle, the child well, and playing with a marvellous wreath of precious stones. "Know me if thou wilt," breathed a soft low voice; "thou seest me no more till thou seekest me." The Lady vanishes; but leaves a golden key which opens the casket, in which Bertha finds and reads the history of the White Lady. She had lived centuries ago, blessed with a loving husband, sweet children, and all worldly goods. In the midst of her happiness, she was smitten with a malady which soon appeared to be fatal.

"Unspeakable was my anguish. Presently my women entered, and, shocked at my looks, hurried away to call my daughters in. My daughters came, and kneeled around my bed; only my holy child could command her tears. I wept with the others; I wept more bitterly than they. I could not bear to die! I sent for my grandchildren, for the servants, and had them all close round my bed; I clung to life, they all linked me to it! And the priest of the castle drew near, gave me his blessing, and warned me that my hour might be come, to quit this world at God's command. I ought, said he, to turn my thoughts to Him who had ordained even this trial—if, indeed, it were impending—for my benefit, in mercy. I would not hear him out. I bade him cease, and not call *that* mercy which would snatch me away in the midst of my days from so many dear to me, and from all my children,—without even bidding farewell to the dear companion of my life. Then my eldest daughter threw herself on her knees by the bedside, and spoke fervently. How, said she, how should I be blessing my fate, and looking down smiling in unutterable bliss

on her father and them all, upon my home, and upon the recollection of this hour, if I would now make the effort to turn my soul from temporal love towards God, and fix every thought and hope upon Him. I heard nothing but the sweet tones of her voice ; I felt nothing but pride in her holiness. I cried,—Pray that my life may be spared ! I felt myself becoming weaker every moment ; I yet struggled against death with indescribable anguish. The priest then prayed that grace might be vouchsafed to me, to detach my soul from life, and give me a foretaste of the raptures of the blessed in God's presence. His prayer filled me with rage. I commanded him to hold his peace. I inwardly abjured all happiness but that of seeing again my husband, of staying among my children—my own beloved ones, in the home that I had dwelt in peacefully so many years on this beauteous earth : my thoughts recoiled with abhorrence from any other images. Weaker and weaker grew my breath ; I strained myself to support it by force. The priest prayed aloud for my salvation. I cursed his prayer ; it seemed to hasten the approach of death. I ordered him to be taken out of my sight. I implored Heaven with the utmost vehemence for life—life—life ! That prayer was my last thought ; and a deep slumber, with resistless force, bore down my consciousness. It was a long, inexpressibly delightful repose ; no longer breathing, yet existing ; borne swiftly along without motion, as if on the wings of light ; no longer thinking, yet comprehending all things in their origin and action with infinite clearness. I felt as if contemplating the earth, with her days and nights, her light and shade, her starry firmament, her fresh verdure ; the busy hum of life, the various communities of being, and the connexion of nature and innocence with God, as a glorious retrospect, full of heavenly peace, like a revelation from on high ; thoughts no longer arose singly, in slow succession, and disturbed by impressions of bodily pain, pleasure, or fear, I had no wish to return to the past state of bondage !—And now arose before me a figure, similar to man, but far loftier and nobler ; such mild radiance beamed from his form and countenance, that, compared with it, the sun's light was dim, and the moon's seemed but a dusky shade. His eyes turned upon me, full of the piercing severity of judgment. Without the aid of speech, he conveyed his meaning. The sentence issued forth—'Thou hast sued for life with the prayer which gains acceptance. Live, free from death, until——' Here my death-dream dissolved into a living slumber. I understood not the close of the sentence. The apparition faded from my sight. The power of breathing returned, and I felt the weight of earthly existence again heaving and sinking on my breast. I heard a muffled earthly sound at regular intervals ; around me were gloomy damp shades ; a small red light glimmered above. I opened my eyes : I recognized the lamp of our family vault burning above me as I lay in a coffin, wrapped in my shroud. The funeral-bell was pealing overhead in the tower for me. Again I lived ! Heavily did life weigh upon me after the new existence I had just tasted ; but my heart instantly awoke to joyful emotion, at being restored to my husband

and my children, and I started up impatiently, wishing myself out of the vault to meet them. The doors of the vault and those of the church stood wide open : an unknown power drew me through them, and I found myself standing out of doors. Around me far and wide lay the still landscape in misty moonlight. The knell tolled on, and a dark procession, surrounded by torches, slowly approached. Shuddering inwardly, as I doubted what this might be, I wished to see who lay on the bier : at once I stood close to it. The bearers set it down hastily, and fled ; the attendants cast away their torches and fled likewise with signs of terror. My presence had scattered the procession in an instant ; I stood alone by the bier. I tore away the pall that covered it, and by the light of the moonbeams and of the expiring torches I beheld my husband !—his corpse was before *me*, his living wife ! I threw myself on the coffin ; I pressed my breathing lips, my distracted heart, on his peaceful countenance, on his motionless breast. O ! life—life—life !

“ The rising sun now lit up the earth ; the larks awaking greeted each other in song ; the dew of heaven was dropping on the plants, which raised their fragrant heads to receive it ; every living thing had kindred to meet. I, too, had children and grandchildren. My first thoughts flew to my child, to Pribislawa ! and in a moment I stood in her room at the foot of her bed. She lay, clad in her day-clothes, seeming to have wept herself to sleep ; her hands folded over her breast, in the same attitude in which she used, as a child, to fall asleep in the midst of some childish sorrow. But her face glowed not as then ; it was wan and so full of woe that it cut me to the heart ; and her cheeks bore traces of tears. Long I gazed without waking her, unwilling to break her repose, till I could no longer bear that look of misery, and her dear name involuntarily escaped my lips. She cried, ‘ Mother ! ’ without unclosing her eyes, and fresh tears burst forth. Then she sat up—her eyes met mine with a bewildered glare—and she awoke completely. I stretched out my arms to embrace her ; but, with a wild cry of terror, she sprang off the bed, and rushed from the room along the passage, screaming distractedly. I wished to follow her and soothe her, and the mysterious power carried me into the gallery and impelled me after her. I came close up, and clasped her in my arms. Alas ! she sunk from my embrace, lifeless, to the ground.”—pp. 54, 55.

“ She was dead ! my sweet child, Pribislawa ! I, her mother, had put her to death ! All restless cravings for my children’s society now ceased. Where my soul aspired to be, thither, alas ! no impulse could carry me. Each day at noon, when the sun stood high, and every evening, when it sunk in twilight, the bell tolled afresh, and roused me from a heavy fixed stupor. The third evening it sounded longer ; its boding swell rose again and again to my ears, like waves of the ocean : my child was borne to the grave. At midnight, after it had ceased pealing, I inwardly wished myself in the chapel, in that vault whence I had so lately risen ; the next moment I stood there, and saw them reposing by each other—my husband and child—and

my empty coffin was between them. Therein I should, by God's appointment, have been sleeping ; while my husband, glorified like the celestial being I had beheld, would now be advancing to welcome me in those heavenly regions whose blessedness I *knew* : there we should be, at first, alone together, as in our early life on earth, before our children had here blessed us ; there these would join us one after another, and my ancient earthly happiness would be completely renewed and perfected in heaven, there to increase infinitely through the lapse of ages. So blessed a lot I had flung rebelliously away ! I sat down at the foot of the coffins. I gazed with inexhaustible pleasure on the much-loved features of my lord, on the sweet face of my child, in their peaceful blessed death-slumbers. I meditated on God's decrees with a heart torn but purified by grief. Not a wish turned elsewhere ; I felt neither the pangs of hunger nor the parchings of thirst ; I was subject to no bodily want.

" But these precious forms faded away fast—fast ! Deeper each day sank the hollow eyes and wasted cheeks, till one morning, as a sun-beam, coming obliquely through the narrow Gothic window, showed them to me again, a blueish mist appeared quivering on their lips, and softly veiling their features. I fell on my knees. I followed nature's hint, to part from them now, and not to pry into what she would conceal, retired to my tower, and resolved to make it my abiding-place until the fulfilment of my doom should release me."—pp. 57—59.

Such is her fate, to witness the successive rising up and withering away of generation after generation ; to walk the earth without interest in its events or sympathy from its inhabitants—her spirit no longer "loth to leave the body that it loved," but linked to it with the loathing of a living body to a corpse, such is her fate. She begins like Morris in that admirable though harrowing scene in "Rob Roy," or like Claudio in "Measure for Measure," thinking that

"The weariest and most loathed earthly life
That age, ache, penury or imprisonment
Can lay on nature is a Paradise
To what we fear of death."

She ends like Constance in "King John," invoking in the same spirit, though in less impassioned terms, death as "amiable, lovely" as "misery's love," though the "hate and terror to prosperity." She is to be freed from her awful doom only when some one of her descendants shall "conquer his dread of the judgment stricken ; come to and freely clasp me to his heart, and bestow on me the blessed gift of death, that would free my soul from its bodily burden, and unite me to my lord and my children."

Bertha, summoning all her courage, at last achieves this act of piety, finding the White Lady in one of the neglected apart-

ments of the house, embraces her, she "felt a gentle unearthly breathing upon her brow, she looked up in search of the motion, but she had vanished from her embrace, she did not see her die." The moral of this pretty and engaging tale is, we suppose, the folly and wickedness of repining at the decrees of our Creator, and the order of nature established by Him. But on behalf of the poor White Lady, it must be remembered that her wish had been, not for bodily life with the appearance of a spectre, which made her the terror of all she loved, but for life as she had always known and enjoyed it.

One remark more. How comes it to pass that no part of the agony of the White Lady at the approach of death proceeds from sorrow for mortal sins and infirmities, and the dread of their punishment? Surely, it is not altogether uncharacteristic of the state of religious feeling in Germany, that in this as in other works of a similarly pure and high tone, no question seems to be raised as to the necessity of repentance, and the certainty of everlasting happiness seems universally assumed. We could not suppress this remark, but it is not made in any spirit of hostility to the work before us.

We have said so much, and given such large extracts from the first of these two tales, because it is far less generally known and appreciated than the last. Almost all our readers are acquainted with *Undine*, the most beautiful, graceful, and original of fairy tales, or rather of those tales of that twilight time, when the legends of an order of supernatural beings, holding a sort of middle station between angels and mortals, are blended with the romance of Christian chivalry. The classical reader will remember Virgil's enchanting description of the nymphs who listened "*vitreis sedilibus*" to the lament of *Aristæus*; and the song of "*Sabrina fair*" under "the glassy cool translucent wave," reminds us that all countries have turned a willing ear to the pleasing fiction, that "millions of spiritual creatures walk" the water as well as "the earth unseen." *Undine* was the darling work of its gifted author, whose luxuriant imagination has been more fruitful than that of any other writer, living or dead, in works of this description. Burton in his book of rich, curious, and varied learning, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, devotes one chapter to a "*Digression of Spirits*," as a cause of melancholy, and having observed that they are confined, until the day of judgment, to this sublunary world, and can work no further than the four elements, and as God permits them, he says, "Wherefore, of these sublunary devils, though others divide them otherwise, according to their several places and offices, *Psellus* makes six kinds, fiery, ærial, terrestrial, watery, and subterranean devils,

besides these, fairies, satyrs, nymphs, &c." He goes on to say, that "water-devils are those *naiades* or water-nymphs, which have been heretofore conversant about waters or rivers. The water (as Paracelsus thinks) is *their chaos*, wherein they live. Some call them *fairies*, and say that Habundia is their queen. These cause inundations, many times shipwrecks, and deceive men divers ways, as Succubæ, or otherwise, appearing most part (saith Trithemus) in women's shapes. Paracelsus hath several stories of them that have lived and been married to mortal men, and so continued for certain years with them, and after, upon some dislike, have forsaken them. Such a one as Egeria, with whom Numa was so familiar, Diana, Ceres, &c. Olaus Magnus hath a long narration of one Hotherus, a king of Sweden, that, having lost his company as he was hunting one day, met with these water nymphs, or fairies, and was feasted by them; and Hector Boëthius, of Macbeth and Banco, two Scottish lords, that, as they were wandering in woods, had their fortunes told them by three strange women. To these heretofore they used to sacrifice by that *ὕδρομαντεία*, or divination by waters."

The Germans delight in all legends of these water *fairies* (as it seems more civil to call them). Everybody knows Goethe's beautiful ballad of "The Fisherman;" but not every one is aware that it has a peculiar music for German ears.

Le Motte Fouqué sprung, as his name indicates, from a French family; one of those whom the edict of Nantes scattered over Germany. This gentleman has combined, no uncommon event in Germany, the laurels of a distinguished military career during the last war, with those of a no less distinguished literary reputation since the peace.

Of his many writings, dramas as well as tales, his own favourite production ("diese Lieblingsgabe meiner Muse¹") has also been, by the general suffrage of Europe, contrary to the usual fate of authors, proclaimed his best work. Undine has been translated into almost every modern language, but we are disposed to think into none so successfully as that which is now before us. The vivid picturesqueness of description of the opening scene of the fisherman's hut,—the strange, yet attractive, picture of the giddy, naughty, wayward, capricious, self-loving Undine, without a soul, contrasted with the calm, pious, consistent, constant, self-denying Undine with a soul,—the malicious malignity of her unearthly kinsman, and the sufferings which her love for her unworthy husband bring upon her, from the period of their

¹ See twelfth volume of Fouqué's works, small 8vo edition. His own criticism on Undine.

departure from the enchanted forest to the period of her forced abandonment of him, when she plunges into the Danube, where her sister water-sprites

“Held up their pearly wrists, and took her in²,”—

the exquisite pathos of the scene in which she is obliged to deprive her faithless husband of life, and, finally, dissolves into a stream that encircles his grave,—all this is so admirably preserved in the translation, that the reader of both languages, who had first read the English, would feel but little addition to his pleasure in a subsequent perusal of the German *Undine*. Nor must we forget to say, that the drawings which illustrate the translations, though few in number, are well conceived and happily executed.

² Comus.

ART. IV.—*Lehrbuch des Kirchenrechts aller christlichen Confessionen*, von FERDINAND WALTER. Bonn, 1836.

Jus Ecclesiasticum Anglicanum; or, the Government of the Church of England exemplified, by NATHANIEL HIGHMORE. London, 1810.

IN the good old days, when tutors played at cards with their pupils, while heads of houses looked to the security of the government candidate; before charges of Tractarianism disturbed the one, or imputations of Erastianism disconcerted the other; while Benedictine Fathers might still be had for the asking in Pater-noster Row, and prebends and deaneries in Downing Street; there lived, in an ancient quadrangle of one of our Universities, a certain antiquated fellow, whose great delight was in showing strangers the wonders of his college. "This is our library, gentlemen," was his ordinary commencement; "here you will find our divinity—all about tithes." The age, it will be said, has learnt to look with a more discriminating eye upon the shelves of our libraries. We rejoice to believe it. But we open a work for the instruction of the young, tolerably well done, though unhappily edited by a low dissenter—Mangnall's Questions; and in a pretty fair account of the English Constitution, we find a misconception to match that of our ancient fellow. "What is a Consistory Court? One held by the bishop of any diocese, in his cathedral, to examine wills and intestate estates." True, the pupil is afterwards informed that other subjects are submitted to this tribunal, but the purpose of its establishment, the end proposed by the Church of England, is asserted to have been the regulation of pecuniary bequests. The care and vigilance which was bestowed in other days on the construction of these celebrated tribunals, the precautions as to the character of those who should practise or preside in them, had no spiritual object; the "lame and impotent conclusion" was but

"To suckle fools and chronicle small beer."

Now, we affirm, that to look on tithes as the whole purpose of theology, was not a more monstrous proof of the perverted judgment of the age, than that the institution of courts Christian should have been esteemed to have reference to an end so worldly and ignominious.

We would fain induce men to form a more worthy notion of their purpose. The existence of courts Christian is, in truth, the

natural result of the establishment of the Christian kingdom. In this kingdom, the bishops of the Church bear rule. To decide who are and who are not Christians; what charges brought against individuals interfere with their title to the blessings of the Gospel; who shall teach, and in what manner;—all this belongs to their authority as princes in the Church of God. For it must, of course, be decided by some one—these points cannot be left to chance—will not decide themselves; to refuse them arbitrarily were to deny that there is any Christian polity and kingdom established among men. No doubt this is denied by many in the present day; religion is asserted to be only an individual concern, and to have no reference to our collective duties. But such an error will pass away in time, like other heresies, because those who adopt it cannot agree among themselves what to substitute for the truth. At present, indeed, they obey the Record newspaper; but other Records will in time arise, as talent and virulence multiply, and will put forward their concurrent claims to the Papacy. For those who despise the divine testimony of the Church, appear to be compelled, by some inscrutable law of God's providence, to submit to the traditionary dicta of some self-constituted impostor; while in all bodies which have an actual existence, a tangible being, some kind of Church power is professedly exercised: it is administered by Lutheran superintendents and Presbyterian elders, as well as by the successors of the apostles. We vindicate only for the bishops a power, which must be vested somewhere, if there be such a thing as ecclesiastical polity.

Now the necessary accompaniment of spiritual power is a spiritual court. What we assert for the bishop is a lawful, and not an arbitrary power. He is not entrusted, like Tamerlane or Nadir Shah, with an irresponsible dominion. His authority is to be exercised according to certain prescriptive rules. *Quæ præcepta patrum, quæ leges, juraque servant.* There are ancient and modern canons,—above all, there is the standard of God's word, from which he may not digress. And the security against such error is the authorized course in which he is compelled to proceed. This is what distinguishes the juridical system of modern Europe, from such despotic power as was wielded in former times by the old man of the mountain. Let a man be ever so plainly guilty of a crime, he cannot be summoned by Queen Victoria into her royal presence, and then and there receive punishment from such hands as she chooses to call to her help. Punishment admits not of a royal road. The culprit must pass through the usual course. Lord Denman, or some judge learned in the law, must pronounce the sentence. The sheriff must see to its execution.

And thus are avoided those acts of license which a disregard of the august solemnities of justice would infallibly induce.

Now the same happens with the decisions of a bishop. His office, as a governor of the Church, must be publicly discharged. It can no more overflow the barriers of law than the acts of the civil judicature. Even the Forum Domesticum, of which we hear in ancient times, had its rules as much as the Forum Publicum. It was a kind of collegiate visitation. And this truth is not built only on the general principles of equity, it is expressly provided by the 122d canon, that "no act shall be sped but in open court." "No person using ecclesiastical jurisdiction shall speed any judicial act, either of contentious or voluntary jurisdiction, except he have the register of that court to speed the same, under pain of suspension *ipso facto*, &c." So carefully has the law provided against those acts of irregular power, for which men sometimes clamour.

But why, it may be asked, do not the bishops do more in their courts? For certainly Miss Mangnall judged according to all appearance, when she said that their tribunals were instituted for the proving of wills. This object, and the settlement of matrimonial differences, is the main object regarded. In the formidable Blue Book, published by order of Parliament, Feb. 27th, 1832, the very heading of the subjects which are discussed is symptomatic. The title indicates what is important by specific notice; what is accidental is included under an *et-cetera*. The nature of the causes we are told is either "testamentary, matrimonial, or others." We have taken the trouble to add up the cases which, in thirty years, were referred to the delegates: sixty were testamentary, nineteen matrimonial, three concerned church-rate, two faculties for pews, one tithe, one defamation.

Nothing can be more clear, therefore, than that as those who considered tithes the sum of divinity, took but a worldly view of their calling, so courts in which nothing is emergent but matters of private difference must be regardless of public duties. Yet "the English system of Church law," says Professor Walter, "through its close connexion with the civil arrangements of that singular land, is still, in form at least, a very consistent whole¹." And again, when treating especially of the administration of discipline, (chap. iii.) "In England," he says, "the old mode of proceeding has been maintained exactly; and whoever does not obey the sentence is excommunicated²." And when speaking of the Church's power of inflicting punishments, he adds, that "among us" (meaning apparently the German Romanists) "this

¹ Preface, p. 4.

² § 181.

exercise of Church discipline has gradually become obsolete. The Church has indeed in itself the power of taking cognizance of offences under the aspect of sins, but any public penance is most unusual. And the civil consequences of excommunication have been limited or taken away by the recent system of legislation. In Greece, however, the Patriarch has still the power of imprisoning men for crimes, or of sending them to the galleys, and his decisions are upheld by the Porte. In Russia also, and in England, the Church's power of punishment retains part of its ancient extent; and in the latter country, excommunication entails civil penalties³."

The judgment, then, of foreigners who look merely with a scientific eye upon our frame of policy, would seem to indicate that its materials were yet sound, and its organization uninjured. Why then does it refuse to work? What gives this secular character to our spiritual courts? Why are they so plainly powerless for religious purposes? Why does it never enter into the thought of any spiritual ruler to effect those moral reforms, which we often hear demanded.

They are doubtless sensible that the acts of government depend not merely on the letter of statutes, but likewise on the unwritten law of opinion. Under an absolute sovereign it is idle to challenge rights which find no favour with the ruling authority. In the days of Nero, it was a bad prospect to go to law with the master of thirty legions. And is the people of England less absolute in its power, and less headstrong in its passion? So cruel and blood-thirsty as that execrable tyrant, no nation probably has ever shown itself excepting revolutionary France; but for a stubborn and unbending resolve to admit neither censure of his ways, nor restraint to his wishes, to maintain his course, and put a good face upon his resolutions, John Bull is not behind his neighbours. Mr. Walter and his good friends at Exeter are at least as difficult to convince as any one of the twelve Cæsars. The obvious tone of modern society is to cast off the moral restraints which religious laws would impose upon its freedom. The idea of enforcing such enactments in the present day would be absolutely preposterous. Nay, so violent is the tide which sweeps the other way, that men have brought themselves to agree upon denying that Church discipline is either countenanced by God's word, or essential for men's safety. Nothing is more frequent than to hear men speak of the Church of England as a pure Church, and yet admit that she is without discipline. Of course we are alive to the grounds of palliation, and sensible of the evils

³ § 183.

by which other Churches are oppressed. Yet the lack of discipline is the express circumstance for which St. Paul declared that the Church at Corinth ought to be humbled, and its maintenance is asserted in our authorized formularies, to be one of the three things by which a pure Church is always distinguished. What is the conclusion, then, but that the public mind is so resolute in the countenance of this error, that men find it easier to deny than to amend it.

In truth, any man who attempted to enforce our rules of Church Discipline, would find that it was as easy to introduce the laws of Russia or Greece as to execute our own. "Canst thou draw out Leviathan with a hook; or bore his jaw through with a thorn? Will he make supplications unto thee? Will he speak soft words unto thee? Wilt thou play with him, as with a bird, or wilt thou bind him for thy maidens?" We may say with far more truth what Mr. Johnson remarked about 100 years ago; "to speak freely, no man has any reason to hope that Church Discipline can be restored in such an age as this. Instead of many other reasons I will give this;—viz., that there is not a spirit in the English people to put the penal laws against vice in execution. One is too rich to be prosecuted, and no officers dare meddle with him; another is too poor, and if he be prosecuted, he will run away, and leave his family to the parish⁴."

This assertion needs no other proof than that adduced by Johnson; the utter failure, namely, of what men called the Societies for the Reformation of Manners. These voluntary institutions endeavoured to perform a part of that for which Church Courts had been instituted, just as temperance societies aim at a measure of that self-denial, which is contemplated in the Church's system of fasting. They came into being soon after the revolution, when the power of courts spiritual was finally broken by the Toleration Act. The ecclesiastical discipline, which had availed for the prevention of vice during the primacy of Laud, and had been one of the grand causes of that discontent which led to the great rebellion, never regained its energy. And when it was further enfeebled at the revolution, a body of good men, anxious to stop the prevalent impiety, and finding that the spiritual courts yielded them no succour, determined to appeal to the civil power, and to establish a sort of censorship of manners by voluntary combination. The attempt was as earnest as the design was excellent.

Their first scheme is detailed in an interesting volume published in 1699. Many persons of station and influence put their hands to a plan, which was to tend, as they expressed it, towards a

⁴ Clergyman's Vade Mecum, vol. i. p. 302.

national reformation of manners. The signatures of twenty-four peers, and nine bishops, are appended to the work to which we refer.

"In letters received by Archbishop Sharp from men of note, these Reformation Societies are represented as the last effort likely to be made for *the suppressing of vice and immorality*⁵."—"The archbishop says, 'the minds of men in many places are eagerly set upon them'⁶."

But we learn from Johnson, that they could scarce get any to inform against others, except they could be promised that their names should be concealed. They made little way with the public therefore, and were finally absorbed in the more powerful vortex of Methodism. The result of a considerable inquiry into their history is, that one of the most numerous and long-lived associations of this kind, existing at Lambeth, was finally broken up, when the majority of its members became associated with the followers of Mr. Wesley. Nor was more heard of such societies till the well-known attempt to revive them in 1787, by Wilberforce. A singular statement made by this eminent man shows that in his judgment, and in that of Bishop Porteus, who united in his attempt, the office of censor had been formally laid down by the ecclesiastical authority.

"In our free state," he maintained, "it is peculiarly needful to obtain these ends," [the reformation of manners,] "by the agency of some voluntary association; for thus only, can those moral principles be guarded, which of old were under the immediate protection of the government. It thus becomes to us, like the ancient censorship, the guardian of the religion and morals of the people. The attorney-general, or secretary of state, who alone in our country can be thought at all to fill this post, are too much cramped by their political relations to discharge its duties with effect⁷."

The attempt made by Wilberforce, and warmly supported, as Dr. Hodgson⁸ tells us, by Bishop Porteus, was no doubt productive of much temporary good; but it failed of its great end, of opposing any compulsory bar to the national laxity. One thing, however, these societies have shown plainly enough, that those who would attempt to restore ecclesiastical discipline, must do so by offering it to those who accept, not by imposing it on those who repudiate its authority.

We have thought it necessary to be more full on this subject, because unless men are prepared to abandon, with a good grace, the coercive system of other times, they will never consent to the

⁵ Archbishop Sharp's Life, vol. i. p. 181.

⁷ Life of Wilberforce, vol. i. p. 132.

⁸ Hodgson's Life of Bishop Porteus, p. 100.

⁶ Ib. p. 163.

sacrifices which such a change implies; yet till this is done, we can hope for no amendment. The underwood cannot shoot up till we are quit of the scared and withered boughs, which the conflagration of the forest has killed without consuming. Now, we believe that those who speak most of Church discipline have no thought of aiming at more than what the very existence of a Church involves—the power, namely, of internal government and self-definition; and on this power the being of any voluntary society depends. The various forms of physical nature are bounded by the laws of natural affinity, which unite their particles into such order and harmony as to separate each of them from all other essences, and to constitute them individual wholes. When this principle is lacking, as in sponges and polypes, we scarce know how to class them in the ancient creation. Now the organization of a society must, in like manner, be fixed by some definite law, which must prescribe to it limits as certain, though less apparent, as those by which each member of the mighty chain of creation is confined. The failure of such circumscribing bounds is the dissolution of the society. It answers to that physical death by which the portions of a living creature are resolved into their constituent elements. Let it be settled that there was no such thing as a peculiar right to those advantages which the Clubs of Odd Fellows have hitherto assigned to their own members, that any one who thought or called himself a member had as good a claim to the title as those who had been formally admitted, that he might as justly demand a share in their dividends, and could not be excluded from their assemblages, and the existence of such a society would be terminated.

Now if there is such a thing as the Church, we claim for her a right to such a principle of limitation, as is essential to the existence of every society. And we maintain it to be neither just nor reasonable that those who assert the freedom of all men, and their right of self-government, who deny that a form or order was bequeathed by Christ to mankind, who argue that religion is a mere personal concern, to be carried on by each man through his individual consciousness,—we think it hard that those who speak thus should grudge to us the freedom which themselves challenge. If they are allowed to remain strangers to such a society, why do they refuse us the power of combining in it? Yet this is in reality the meaning of those complaints which are uttered by low or no-Churchmen, from Dr. Arnold to Dr. Pye Smith. Not believing that there is a community with the right of self-government, they quarrel with us for discerning its existence. With more reason might they except against those, who, by fettering its power of action, have obscured those lineaments

of glory, to which otherwise they could scarcely have been blind. For if the Church is to retain any principle of limitation, that limitation must be fixed by itself. Dr. Arnold appears to have supposed that it rested with the Legislature to fix it. (We speak from some portions only of his works, which may be modified by his other assertions.) But if the Church Catholic be the congregation of those faithful men who were originally admitted into the Christian fold by the Apostles, and who still continue to enjoy the blessings of grace through the sacraments of the Gospel, what capacity can there be in governments to decide by whom these advantages are or are not participated? Now that this is the view taken of the Church by all who believe in the existence of such a body, is notorious. And if there be nothing immoral in the existence of such a society, what ground has any government for so curtailing the liberty of its subjects, as to refuse them the power of combining in such an association. Is there not good reason for the assertion made by Bishop Warburton, "that every kind of society, whatever be its ends or means, must necessarily, as it is a society, have the power of expulsion; a power inseparable from its essence, which consists in the conformity of the will of each natural member to the will of the artificial body, which society produces; which conformity being violated, as it must be without the expulsion of the disturbers of it, the society dissolves, or falls back again into nothing; just as the natural body would do, should not nature, whose conduct societies in this case imitate, evacuate noxious and malignant humours⁹."

We are most deeply convinced that the very existence of the English Church, and therefore the stability and life of the English nation, is dependent on her obtaining this power of displaying herself as a substantive essence, without which, as the Bishop declares, no society can exist among men. While we solemnly eschew all attempts at coercing the actions of other associations, we demand loudly such freedom for our own. Is the Church of England a society or no? If not, what mean our laws and canons? why do we talk of schism or heresy? what mockery to profess that the ministration of certain simple elements of nature are more efficacious through the services of her appointed officers? But if she be a *society*, what does the very word imply, but that some of the family of mankind are *associated* in what secures to them specific advantages? Is not some principle of discrimination, therefore, essential to its nature? Is not such principle plainly recognised in the Scriptures of truth? Was it ever heard before, since the days of the Apostles, that there

⁹ Alliance between Church and State, i. § 5.

should be persons, who neither knew themselves, nor respecting whom any other could affirm, whether they were Christians or no? Is it thus that the Apostles speak of that royal household, over which they were called to rule? Was the delivery of the keys so unmeaning? or has lapse of time so invalidated their use?

This is the grand consideration on which the charge of a lack of reality against the Church of England is grounded. And with every wish to silence those unmeaning and unthankful murmurs, which would turn men towards other communities from their true mother, we cannot deny that the charge is in a measure well founded. Strangely enough, it is often said by those who make it, that the Church's rules have never been obeyed since the reformation; that they are a good system on paper, but not reducible to practice. This we totally deny. In the time of Laud, Church discipline was probably more rigidly enforced in England than in any country in Europe. The very circumstance which places us at such disadvantage at this day, when compared with the churches of France or Belgium, is that we have in form kept to that strictness of system which they have openly abjured. While our Church courts still profess to coerce the whole nation; those of the continent have shaken off the incumbrance of this dangerous power. The growing crustaceum must free itself from the shell which has been its instrument of warfare, before it can expand to the natural dimensions of its ripening nature. What can present a more perfect anomaly than our actual position? Romanizers and Protestantizers are alike crying out that the Church's declarations are not borne out in action. The complaint of the first is, that according to our system, men may be Churchmen—that of the second, that they are taught to expect salvation—without obedience. Is there not some truth in the charge? Is Sir William Dunbar, for example, a Churchman or no? If he is, what is meant by our being in communion with the Church of Scotland? if not, why is no penalty affixed to those who fraternize with him at home? It is understood that some bishops would refuse him permission to officiate in their dioceses; while some, on the other hand, might permit it. This is the charge brought against us by Romanizers. On the other hand, Dissenters are daily publishing tracts in which they object, that we declare all those whose bodies are brought to our churchyards to be sure of salvation. We quote from the last paper of the kind which has come in our way—a broadsheet put out by a low and ignorant schismatic, who however expresses the common feelings of his class. One of Thomas Gosling's reasons for being a Churchman is, "because I seem sure of going to heaven if I die a Churchman. I went to the funeral of poor Dick Guzzle, who

lived with another man's wife, and was neither very sober, nor honest, and I heard the vicar say, 'Forasmuch as it hath pleased God of his great mercy to take unto himself the soul of our dear brother here departed,' &c. I thought—well, if poor Dick's safe, I need not be afraid, for I am sure he was a bad one."

Now to this the answer is obvious, that it is never impossible that on their death-bed men may repent, and that charitable hope cannot be unsuitable; but what answer can we allege to practical men when they see that this hope is expressed in a manner not less contrary to our own laws, than to their natural prejudices; in a manner as calculated to mislead the guilty, as to disgust the upright. For are there not canons by which such offenders are plainly sentenced to excommunication? and is not the use of the funeral service over persons excommunicated expressly forbidden? What answer then can we make to those, who except that our usage is *de facto* prejudicial, when we know that *de jure* it is really inhibited?

Let us suppose the case of a young man, of ardent mind, of self-denying habits, obedient himself to the Church's laws, fully satisfied that she is Christ's earthly kingdom, desirous to devote his life to her edification and service, to whom the care of a parish is allotted. Being charged with the cure of all the souls therein, he looks on his first arrival at the specimen afforded him in the parish church. He soon finds that the places of many parishioners are never occupied; he seeks, it may be, their dwellings. The usual antagonists await him—the world, the flesh, the devil; these are too powerful for his exhortations. He is told, probably, (we speak from experience,) 'I shall come to church when I please.' Meanwhile, some of those who plainly refused his invitations, or perhaps openly denied the name of his Master, are summoned hastily to that bar from which there is no escape. He grieves to think that men should pass so unprepared to such a fearful audit; but his sorrow is broken in upon by the summons to declare that the open adulterer or professed Atheist is a dear brother, whom God of His great mercy has been pleased to take to Himself.

But it may be said, is he compelled to such a crime? Ought he not, for example, to present the guilty party? and is it not, therefore, his own neglect by which he is embarrassed? Let us consider this statement. The 113th canon certainly provides that "every parson, vicar, or curate, may present crimes to the Ordinary." Why do not the clergy acquit themselves of this duty?

The objections appear to be twofold—some legal, the others practical. The legal difficulties are so great, that few crimes are recent and notorious enough, and few clergymen so wealthy and energetic, as to make it possible that a guilty party could be sen-

tenced to public excommunication. Besides, it is doubtless felt, that justice loses her character unless she is impartial in her vengeance. There seems an unfairness in punishing the fiftieth offender, when the previous forty-nine who are equally guilty

Deseruit pede Pœna claudo.

We have no time, however, at present to enumerate the legal impediments which have been heaped by the civil government in the way of ecclesiastical censures ; and those who are interested in the subject may find a full account of them in the recent work of Archdeacon Robert Wilberforce on Church Courts and Church Discipline. In particular, he has pointed out the effect of the Act of 1788, which has not, we believe, been elsewhere noticed. We pass, then, to the practical difficulties by which this subject is embarrassed ; and these arise from the nature of Church censures, and from the hands by which they are administered.

What is needed is the power of declaring who are, and who are not, Churchmen : we ask for no primitive censures, we do not wish to enforce morality or religion, but we desire that self-defining power which we have stated to be essential to the existence of every society. Now, for the exercise of this power, our Church courts and Church censures have a natural inaptitude. They were never constructed for such a purpose ; and to attempt it by these means, would be as preposterous as to send for the Duke of Wellington and a troop of horse, because the Prince of Wales refused to learn his letters ; or as if the serjeant-at-arms were substituted for Lady Littleton, whenever the Princess Alice was visited by a fit of perverseness. For what is the nature of these courts, and what are their weapons ? The laws by which they proceed were drawn up when no man could be an English citizen without being a communicant in the English Church, and while the ears and purses of heretics were in equal danger. The canons by which Mr. Escott was suspended the other day, were passed in 1603, and no additions have since been made to our laws ecclesiastical. A sort of fence, indeed, has been raised against them by the civil power : like Westminster Abbey they have been built about by the edifices of modern jurisprudence ; but such as they were they continue, and no new erections deface their antique strength : and to this day, their natural weapons are costs and imprisonment. The party thinks, perhaps, that he has escaped with a small punishment, when he has been suspended for a fortnight *ab ingressu ecclesiæ*, but he finds that herein is involved an expense of 200*l.* in the shape of costs.

Now, we fear that it is impossible so to dispossess men of their

ancient prejudices, as to convert such formidable instruments of coercion into friendly monitors of spiritual good.

Natis in usum lætitiæ scyphis,
Pugnare Thracum est :

And we fear that there will ever be the same feeling in our people, when it is attempted to use coercive courts for the mere purpose of self-definition. When you draw your sword, men will not be persuaded that it is merely to carve your dinner. To build a ship at Liverpool with all the machinery of a slave-trader ; to put on board iron chains, to pierce the hatches with grating, would be thought evidence enough of an intention to engage in that hateful traffic : and it is impossible to persuade the people of England that you do not aim at *enforcing* obedience to your laws, when you talk of an appeal to those venerable seats of law, which are now swayed by the mild rule of Sir Herbert Jenner Fust.

This, then, is the first practical difficulty in the way of carrying out the sentence of excommunication. The people will not hear of it. We have watched its effect upon respectable men of the upper classes—upon such parties as Sidney Smith was accustomed to call Foolometers. It was instructive to see the sudden start which they gave, the very instant that the subject was mentioned. It was as sure to infect them with the idea of a white sheet, dishevelled hair, naked feet, and a burning taper, as the mention of Popery to suggest the fear of fagots and Smithfield to a regular Exeter-Hallite. To attempt to effect our purpose through an instrument so signally unsuited to its purpose is manifestly hopeless. The fact mentioned by Professor Walter, that our canon law maintains all the features of ancient austerity, and that in England only of European kingdoms, excepting Russia and Turkey, (perhaps he might have added Sweden,) are such laws in existence, is the very reason why those milder offices of which we stand in need must be effected by other methods. The animal having once felt the spur, will never be at ease, so long as its rider's heel is armed with similar instruments of torture. And it were needless to caution mankind against being "like horse and mule, which have no understanding ;" if there were not the same propensity to blind alarm and wilful resistance. Nay, we doubt not that our express disclaimer will be so far from correcting this feeling, that even of those who open these pages, many will go away with the feeling, that somehow or another we aim at restoring the ancient rule of an un pitying severity.

But we must pass now to the other difficulty, by which the use

of Church courts is practically encumbered—we mean the hands into which they have fallen. To deny to our ecclesiastical judges the praise of learning, ability, and good feeling, would be the height of injustice. But they are ignorant of the real dignity of their office. Explain to them the sacred character of their calling, and they would be as much surprised as the good man who heard, for the first time, that he had been speaking prose all his life. There could not be a more singular instance of this, than the narrative for which we are indebted to Dr. Highmore, author of the curious volume entitled *Jus Ecclesiasticum*. Dr. Highmore, after taking Deacon's orders, was recommended by Bishop Halifax, now chiefly known as the editor of Butler's Analogy, but distinguished in his day as a learned civilian, to devote himself to the study of ecclesiastical law. His eleven years of academical study were ended by his taking the degree of Doctor of Laws, after performing the exercises, according to the testimony of Professor Jowitt, in a most creditable manner. He next presented himself to Sir W. Wynne, the dean of the arches, and craved admission into the college of doctors of civil law, who, having been incorporated by royal charter in the year 1768, have the exclusive right of practising in the archbishop's courts. He had obtained the archbishop's *fiat* or order, which the dean of the arches is compelled to obey, when he was suddenly stopped by an unexpected objection. "Sir William was pleased to inform me that I could not be admitted, it having been intimated to him, that I had formerly taken the order of a deacon, and my admission being consequently forbidden by the canons of the Church¹." This objection was afterwards repeated by Sir William Scott, and the archbishop was induced in consequence to withdraw his *fiat*.

Now what was the principle involved in this objection? It was afterwards virtually withdrawn; for when proof was required, no canon of course could be brought forward; but men of such ability and learning would not have hazarded such an assertion in the dark. They must, no doubt, have referred to canon 76. "Ministers at no time to desert their calling. No man being admitted a deacon or minister, shall from thenceforth voluntarily relinquish the same, nor afterwards use himself in the course of his life as a layman, upon pain of excommunication." To this canon, Dr. Highmore's admission into their college must have appeared to them opposed. Now it is true, as is shown in the work before us, with no inconsiderable learning, that as early as the time of Henry III. the clergy were forbidden to plead causes in the courts of common law. "*Nec advocati sint clerici vel sacerdotes in foro*

¹ *Jus Eccles.* p. 3.

seculari ; nisi vel proprias causas, vel miserabilium personarum prosequantur²." But it is not less true that this prohibition was confined to the courts of common law ; and so far were the clergy from being excluded from the practice of the civil law, that no other parties were permitted to partake it. It was only in the 37th year of Henry VIII., that doctors of law were released from the obligation of celibacy, which had been supposed to be necessary for those who discharged what was plainly an ecclesiastical office ; and by the act of the 21st Henry VIII., confirmed as lately as the 6th of Anne, to be an advocate in a spiritual court was made an exemption from residence on an ecclesiastical benefice. What singular view of things, then, could have persuaded these learned doctors, that the clergy were excluded by canon from that which was so plainly supposed to pertain to them, that, saving by permission, no others were admitted to partake it ? What is this but the well-known decision—

That whenever the nose put her spectacles on,
By daylight or candlelight, eyes should be shut ?

Certainly these grave signors must have shut both eyes and ears before they ventured upon such a monstrous mis-statement. Considering the usual accuracy of Sir William Scott, a man not often caught napping, we do not wonder at his being startled at the objection which was pressed upon him by Dr. Highmore : " If it be contrary to the canon that clergymen should practise in the civil courts, how comes it, Sir William, that they can be judges then ?" Now, not only are clergymen chancellors, as at present in Chester and Winchester, and other dioceses ; but ecclesiastical judges, according to Bishop Gibson³, are only delegates of the bishops for whom they officiate. The answer given is recorded to have been, "It is very true, Sir ; the fact is as you have stated it, *and we think it a great grievance*⁴."

We come back, then, to the question, What could have blinded these wise men to the obvious untenableness of their objection ? They were manifestly ignorant of the real offices of a spiritual court. They thought, as nine-tenths of mankind would think, that it clearly was not a fit place for the exercise of a priest's office. What could be more unsuitable, men will say, than that a person who has vowed at ordination to employ his life in God's service, should give himself up to arguing testamentary causes for gain. We admit it ; but we assert, that the nature and objects of courts spiritual are equally mistaken by those who think such

² Jus Ecclesiasticum, p. 85.

³ Gibson's Codex, Preface, p. xxii.

⁴ Jus Eccles. p. 5.

pecuniary interests to be their highest work and main object. And we think, that judges who are so little conversant with the nature of their functions, cannot do justice to an office of which they know nothing, and to an object in the importance of which they have no belief. The college tutor who frankly told his pupils that he should not lecture on fluxions, because, to say the truth, he did not believe in them, could not be looked to with much reason for assistance in that intricate branch of thought; and with what hope can the clergy refer spiritual cases to a class of judges, who profess to disbelieve that they have any spiritual power?

This consideration is the more important, because the absence of a jury renders the influence of a spiritual judge the more important. Seldom, indeed, can it be possible to obtain justice against the will of those by whom it is administered. Even in the more equal arena of the secular bar, it was deemed no unnatural thing for the antagonist of Erskine to allude to the singular difficulty under which he laboured, because his rival was known to enjoy the favour of the bench. Lord Brougham records how Mr. Law (afterwards Lord Ellenborough), turning from his formidable opponent to Lord Kenyon, exclaimed,

. . . non me tua fervida terrent
Dicta, ferox: Di me terrent et Jupiter hostis.

What chance, then, has an unknown curate, who undertakes to force a perception of their spiritual office upon the collective body of our ecclesiastical judges? There are parts of Wales where no one of English origin would venture to plead his cause before a Welsh jury. And Dr. Highmore's treatment (for the poor man appears to have been entirely ruined) may instruct those who have to submit themselves to the ordeal of Doctors' Commons, that Cambrian prejudices are not without parallel. There is a strange system, however, of retribution in the dealings of Providence; and the Doctor, like another Dido, has found an avenger, whom he could as little have foreseen, as the Tyrian Queen the presaged conqueror of Cannæ. For several sessions of Parliament, such modifications of our courts have been proposed as might save them from positive destruction. Their present embarrassed state of action must lead, it was felt, to total dissolution. But those who reckoned upon such ameliorations found that they could not thus steal a march upon their enemies. The obvious policy of the practitioners in Doctors' Commons was to draw all the business of the country into one or two centres; to concentrate in London, and possibly in York, all the testamentary business of the country. If this object could be effected,

they were willing enough to co-operate in the extinction of those peculiar jurisdictions, the evil whereof had long been admitted. But here they were met by the local attornies, who are not without their influence in the House of Commons; and the amalgamation of all that lucrative business, which had formerly been spread over the whole country, was loudly condemned. And, in this case, the public convenience was attended to, because so serious an injury to suitors would also be prejudicial to the conservative interest in our cathedral towns. So soon then as the practitioners in Doctors' Commons found the diocesan courts too firm to be destroyed, it was not, perhaps, very surprising if they somewhat abated in their antipathy to peculiar jurisdictions. The multiplicity of jurisdictions, so long as the old system lasted, was the source of a large part of the metropolitan business; for any one who left goods of a certain amount (*bona notabilia*) in two districts, imposed on his executor the necessity of proving his will in the central courts.

Thus, between the conflicting tides of private feeling, has the cause of public reform been left in abeyance. Meanwhile, amidst these moves and counter-moves, as men were driven hither and thither by the various impulses of interest and public spirit, the real enemy has arisen, by whom Dr. Highmore, if we mistake not, will be ultimately avenged. The radical party has begun to denounce the court of Doctors' Commons as a corrupt relic of a by-gone age. They ask, what is the use of retaining spiritual courts at all? We should like to hear what answer Sir William Scott could have returned them. Felicitous as he was in the adjustment of apt expressions, we imagine that he would have found it hard to satisfy a *liberal* majority why a set of courts should be maintained, and why laws and maxims should be perpetuated, all of which pertain to principles long since abandoned, and of which the very nature and purpose is forgotten. We are not insensible to the loss which the Church would suffer by the demolition of these courts. We see a positive and immediate diminution in that influence which she exercises over some important bodies of men. The bishops would no longer dispose of such offices as engage young men of talent in the study of her constitution and laws. Such promising canonists as Messrs. Hope, Phillimore, and Harding, would have no professional calls to pursue subjects on which, in time, they will instruct their seniors. Yet sooner than that the Church courts should continue to present that glaring anomaly which they now exhibit,—to promise law, and practise injustice,—to be more conformed than any judicatures in Europe to the constitution of our ancient tribunals, and to inherit less of their spirit

than can be found throughout the old world,—to be mediæval in phrase, and latitudinarian in sentiment;—sooner than see such things longer enacted, we would join with their opponents to destroy them.

But we are far from thinking the evil so incurable, or that progress towards a healthier state of things is hopeless. The present ecclesiastical courts, indeed, we see little hopes of rendering serviceable to the Church, chiefly because their improvement could only be effected through parliamentary enactments; for the main hindrance to their usefulness arises from the parliamentary limitations of their power: and we wholly despair of seeing any great service done to the Church by resolutions of the imperial legislature—*Non tali auxilio*. But if something more satisfactory could be found in another quarter, we should not be unwilling to leave the ecclesiastical courts in their present condition, and to lend them such aid as the Church can always give to those who defend existing institutions.

But this is on condition that there can be found some remedial principle to supply the deficiency which at present afflicts us. And such remedies have often been suggested. The expedient recommended a century ago by Bishop Gibson, was to separate the offices of vicar-general and official principal, at present united in most chancellors of dioceses, and to assign to the latter what was secular, to the former what was properly spiritual, in ecclesiastical discipline. The latter office would then be properly filled by a layman, whereas the former ought always to be committed to a priest. “It is evidently desirable,” he says, “on many accounts, (whatever shall become of the place of official,) that the office of vicar-general was always vested in the hands of some grave and prudent clergyman, beneficed in the diocese, and usually resident in it⁵.” This would have been to return, in a great measure, to the old distinction between the *Forum Externum* and the *Forum Domesticum*, (our limits will not permit us at present to enter into the distinction,) and that which relates to the cure of souls would have been rescued from the secular associations which have degraded it. “The business we are now contending for (as remaining under the sole administration of the bishop, notwithstanding the appointment of an official or chancellor) is that which belongs directly and immediately to the episcopal office, viz. the government of the clergy as to manners and function, the visitation of their diocese, the detection of sin, the support of churches and ecclesiastical mansions, the care of all things which concern the public worship of Almighty God,

⁵ Gibson's Codex, p. 990.

and the like ; together with the power of inflicting *spiritual censures*, as the proper means of attaining these spiritual ends⁶."

This measure may, perhaps, be thought to give opportunity for supplying that which, in the present day, is either inefficiently performed, or absolutely neglected. But any such scheme would be open to the grand objection, that it would require the intervention of Parliament. The present processes are all bound up by prohibitions which would require to be removed ; the stump of the amputated bough has withered, and to restore it to life seems a fruitless attempt. For in the moral, as in the natural world, what is dead may be renewed, but cannot be resuscitated. There is no other resurrection, save that which the Spirit's power will display hereafter in the bodies, as now in the souls of men ; and the elements of society are left to work out their destiny according to the more usual laws of the providence of God. We shall find it more easy, therefore, for the Church system to put out new branches, than to regenerate old ones. If there be any principle of growth, any fructifying power, from which she can develop a fresh principle of spiritual cure, unincumbered by old laws, old names, and old associations, she will find this more easy to work, and less obnoxious to opposition, than to revive that which men have agreed to destroy. Of course we look to the moving power as being still the selfsame as of yore ; for we are not attempting to build up a new institution, but to give scope merely to an old one : we take for granted that the Church is a society which, by God's appointment, has existed from the days of the apostles, and which will exist so long as the world endures ; we accept it as endued with certain inalienable qualities ; we desire only that its acts may be so unfettered as to develop themselves with the most effect and the least prejudice. Now such a living principle of Church existence we still have among us, in the free right of the clergy to refuse to admit men to participation in the Holy Eucharist. This is *de facto* to possess the power of excommunication. The Church courts may engross the right of *promulgating* such a sentence ; they may have prostituted it to vile uses, and have committed it to unworthy hands ; its notification, in consequence, may have been obstructed by civil process : but so long as the clergy are unfettered in the exercise of their office, the punishment itself is still in their hands. What mattered it that a plebeian could not be sentenced without the sanction of the tribunes, so long as the dictator could, without sentence, inflict death or bonds ? Here, then, is the reality of power, which the repeal of the Test and

⁶ Preface to Gibson's Codex, xxiv.

Corporation Act has restored to the clergy. If not the *sentence*, yet the *act* of excommunication, is in their hands.

Now, how comes it that such a power is so inefficacious? Most clergymen, probably, have exercised it in certain cases,—we could mention various instances within our own knowledge; but why has it so little effect as it notoriously possesses? We believe the main reason to be, that it is not exercised in a judicial manner. Except in rare and peculiar instances, no minister would feel justified in exerting such a power, unless upheld by the sanction of some responsible functionary, who acted after inquiry, on precedent, and with deliberation. Indeed, to commit such power absolutely to an individual, would be, for the overbearing, too great a trust, and, for the humble, too heavy a responsibility. The right of rejecting men from the communion, therefore, will never be practically useful, unless it is administered in an authorized manner, by those whose advice and authority may be a stay to the parochial clergy. Such assistance they should get from the spiritual courts; but to look for it from those courts as at present constituted, would be ridiculous. But is it impossible that they should gain it elsewhere? The power of pronouncing sentences of excommunication our present courts have carried off; they have debased it by degrading associations, till it is involved in hopeless contempt, but excommunication itself remains altogether untouched. Is it impossible, then, to use the thing, because its name has perished? The man's shadow, it is true, is carried off; but the man himself still remains. Here it is, then, that we ask for the development of a remedial system. Here is a power of incalculable effect, of divine origin, inseparable from the Church's existence, the fruitful mother of national virtues, the grand reflex upon earth of heavenly realities, the great living principle which has come down to us from apostolic times; and shall we abandon it, because worldly men have dressed themselves in its robes, and travestied its actions? Why should not the Church act like the fabled prince of Eastern legend, when a designing usurper had got possession of the dead trunk which his spirit had deserted? He could not regain what was his own, till it was deserted by the phantom which had taken possession of it. Now these men who have robbed us of the privileges of spiritual authority, have lately thrown it to perish amidst the lumber of antiquity. The principal ecclesiastical lawyers of the present day have calmly set their names to a Report (p. 64), in which they state that “if our proposition for instituting a new tribunal for the correction of Clerks be adopted, and the cognizance of disturbances in the church and churchyard be transferred to other courts, very little would

remain on which the criminal jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts would, according to the present state of the law, operate." There cannot be a more suitable time, then, for displaying that inherent vitality, which, while the Church subsists, can never desert her, than when those whose mimicry has so long derogated from her dignity, have just cast away the insignia which they have contaminated. What is needed but out of her own store to invest this living power of Church authority with some new apparatus of names and symbols? We cannot use the name of excommunication, it is true,—the shadow has been made over to the enemy; but is not *separation* as good a word?

Weigh them together: mine is as fair a name;
Sound them, it doth become the mouth as well.

So long as we have the power, what matters it what happens with the cast-off and long-corrupted appellation? Why, then, should not our bishops give action and energy to that power which the clergy already possess, by leading them to act together, according to some recognized rules, in the exclusion and admission of communicants? It is manifest, whether we look practically at any individual parish, or theoretically at the nature of mankind, that, till some administrative system of this sort is introduced, the bare power which the clergy still possess must continue to be useless.

We must confess to one difficulty, which would still remain. The clergy would still be compelled, under the 68th canon, to inter persons who were, by profession, and in life, strangers to their creed. We are well aware, indeed, that it is still matter of dispute whether they are subject to such compulsion, and the Bishop of Exeter has given it as his opinion that no such legal necessity exists. And we feel no doubt that the intention of the law is as his lordship interprets it. We are well satisfied, and at some future time, perhaps, may show, that it was never designed by the framers of our canons to entitle those who were *ipso facto* excommunicated, to participation in our funeral obsequies. That we should communicate after death with those who during life had rejected our service, is not more contrary to common sense, than it is to every maxim of ecclesiastical law. We speak not now of the interment of children baptized by lay hands: this case stands upon a different ground, and to us appears open to less objection. Though, even here, the admission of notorious schismatics as prosecutors in our ecclesiastical courts is plainly contrary to the express order of our 98th canon, "Forasmuch as they who break the laws, cannot in reason claim any benefit or protection by the same." We will not enter now, however, upon this argument,

observing only that, according to the canon law, by which the baptism even of heretics is expressly admitted, (*Concilio Trident. Sess. vii. Can. 4.*) and which exempts children from loss of privileges for their fathers' sins, (*Causa xxiv. Quæstio 3, can. 1, Si habes,*) the interment of infants who had been baptized by schismatics, would certainly be admissible: but the cases to which we would direct attention are of a different character; the burial, namely, of those who, in adult years, have openly taken part against the Church of God, who have died expressing their refusal to be at peace with her, whose separation, therefore, is not her work, but their own, whom to admit with her hallowed words of acceptance, would be a contradiction to their own inward choice, not less than to her most solemn enactments. No doubt the Bishop of Exeter is correct in his conviction, that the English Church never designed to receive such parties in the same precise manner as her own children. But whether the sages of Doctors' Commons will so esteem is a different matter. The Bishop obviously refers as well to the declaration of the canons of 1603, denouncing excommunication *ipso facto* against "impugners of the rites and ceremonies established in the Church of England," (*can. 6.*) and against "authors of schism," as likewise to the constitution of Sudbury, founded in the celebrated decree *Omnis utriusque sexus*, which states that "qui ad Pascha sacramentum eucharistiæ non perceperit, vivens ab ingressu ecclesiæ arceatur, mortuus Christiana sepultura careat." (*Lyndwood*, v. 17, p. 344.) This canon is expressly referred to by Gibson, as though still in force. (*Codex*, p. 387.)

But we greatly fear that the prejudices of our practitioners against the idea of an *ipso facto* excommunication, will be proof against the arguments of the Bishop, as they have hitherto been against the express letter of our canons. What would we advise the clergy then to do? Certainly not to compromise their consciences by ministering those things which are sacred to such parties as the Church pronounces unholy. And yet their situation is one of great delicacy; for not only do they risk a doubtful prosecution, if in such instances they do their duty, but they are subjected to unreasonable risk in having to decide for themselves what ought to be settled in a judicial manner. They are liable to haste and passion, to prejudice and misinformation; they may be in error respecting the character of the departed, and may err in fact, even though they are right in principle. And few things would be more painful to the friends of the deceased, than to be called upon to substantiate his claim to the privileges of a Christian. For their sakes, therefore, as well as for that of the clergy, some responsible authority is needed, by

which the right of men to Christian interment may be plainly decided.

But where can such authority be found? The spiritual courts in name possess it, but in reality they have abdicated their power. Such a court as we have described would have no authority to pronounce any legal sentence, though it might sanction that virtual excommunication which the clergy have really the power to inflict. Here then we seem hampered by legal obstructions. We have already denied the policy of seeking relief from parliament. But happily, in this case, there is another medium to which we may revert. The only enactment which compels the clergy to administer indiscriminate burial is the 68th canon. Now this, like the other canons of 1603, stands on no parliamentary basis: it was passed by convocation, and convocation, with the crown's consent, might rescind it. And although great objections would be made to the general revival of convocational powers, yet if the royal license was obtained for the specific rescinding of this obnoxious enactment, no power being granted of making other alterations, we scarcely see what objection could be raised to its abrogation. We are very sure that the great body of the clergy would feel that they were relieved from one of their greatest difficulties, while at the same time one of the strongest objections which are put forward by dissenters would at once be obviated.

Who, it may be said, is to attempt such a measure? It must proceed, of course, from the heads of the Church. Their awful position involves them in higher responsibilities, as it opens to them nobler fields of service. But we can hardly expect the attempt to be made, till the increasing knowledge and interest of the mass of our priesthood has rendered the evil, and its remedy, familiar to other minds. Our governors must feel that they are sure of the support of a well-disciplined class of inferior clergy. With this view even such discussions as the present are not without use. They accustom men to realize the nature of the evil, and the principles which are contributory to its cure. And it is on this ground that we would recommend the work of Professor Walter to the study of all those to whom the stores of German literature are open. To observe the framework of the ecclesiastical machine; to know how its objects are supplied in other countries; to appreciate the mutual dependence of its parts, and the success of its operations,—this is the most likely thing, under God's blessing, to impress upon men the truth, that there is such an actual society as the Church of God.

ART. V.—*A History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America.* By SAMUEL WILBERFORCE, M.A., Chaplain to H.R.H. Prince Albert, and Archdeacon of Surrey. London: Burns.

THE history and the present state of the American Church are topics of great and increasing interest to all true members of the Church of England; and we doubt not that the volume now before us will be as generally read as it deserves to be. But there are materials in this history for very serious reflections, bearing on the condition and prospects of the Church in general; and we are desirous, in the following pages, of directing attention to facts bearing on such subjects, which have presented themselves to our notice in the perusal of Archdeacon Wilberforce's pages. It may be well, however, to offer some preliminary remarks on the general style and composition of the volume.

It would be almost superfluous to say to those who are acquainted with the other works of the accomplished and eloquent writer, that many of the graces of composition adorn that which is under consideration. Dry details are very successfully avoided, while important facts and documents are presented with all the minuteness that could be desired; and the narrative is enlivened by all those personal and biographical details which lend so much interest and animation to history, and change its character from a dry chronicle of events, to a memorial of human thought and action. The pains and research bestowed on the collection of materials have been very praiseworthy. In addition to the sources of information which are accessible in print, the author has availed himself of extensive collections in manuscript, from which much of the most interesting portion of this work has been derived. On the whole, we feel sure that in the volume before us a perfectly trustworthy and authentic history of the American Church has been at length produced; and we have no doubt that it will take its place amongst the standard works on ecclesiastical history.

It is our purpose, in the following pages, to trace the progress of the events and the nature of the causes which led to the almost total extinction of the Established Church in America, about the time of the American war of independence; and of the circumstances connected with the comparatively recent growth

and prosperity of the American Church. We really do not think that the attention of Churchmen can be too closely concentrated on the deeply tragic and most solemnly instructive events of this history. They are fraught with warning of the most serious nature to ourselves. They may in some degree aid in awakening the public mind to the dangers which may be impending over the English Church herself, and may induce men to lay aside, in some degree, the spirit of contention and division so unhappily prevalent, and to apply themselves to a rational consideration of measures which may be essential to the welfare of religion amongst us.

The establishment of the Church was coeval with the original colonization of America in 1606, when James I. granted a charter to a company for the settlement of Virginia. Several attempts had been previously made by Gilbert and Raleigh to establish colonies in this vast continent, but they had totally failed. The charter granted by James I. expressly ordered, that the presidents, councils, and ministers of the company "should provide that the true word and service of God be preached, planted, and used, according to the rites and doctrines of the Church of England, not only in the said colonies, but also, as much as might be, amongst the savages bordering upon them; and that all persons should kindly treat the savage and heathen people in those parts, and use all proper means to draw them to the true service and knowledge of God¹." The expedition was accompanied by a priest named Robert Hunt, who appears to have entered on his mission in a truly apostolical spirit. His exhortations and example were of essential service in promoting the union and harmony of the colonists, while his patience in maintaining the sinking spirits of his people by the exhibition of Christian truth was unwearied. This holy man was followed by other clergy of like spirit, amongst whom was Whittaker, who was established in a handsome church lately erected by the settlers at a town near the original colony. The name of Whittaker, who had resigned preferment and good prospects in England to carry the word of God to the heathen, is remarkable for its connexion with the first baptism of an Indian convert, of which we extract the following interesting narrative:—

"Pocohontas, the favourite daughter of Powhatan, the most powerful Indian chieftain of these parts, then a girl of twelve years old, saved from barbarous murder Captain Smith, the early hero of this colony, whilst a prisoner at her father's court. For years she remained the white man's constant friend and advocate; and even dared to visit, on

¹ Pp. 20, 21.

more than one errand of mercy, the new settlement of James Town. After Captain Smith's removal from Virginia, Pocohontas was ensnared by treachery, and brought a prisoner to the English. But her captivity was turned into a blessing. She received the faith of Christ; and was not only the first, but one of the most hopeful, of the whole band of native converts. Her after-life was strange. She formed a marriage of mutual affection with an English settler of good birth, who after a time visited his native land, taking with him to its shores his Indian wife and child. She was received with due respect in England; visited the English court (where her husband bore the frowns of the royal pedant, James I., for having dared to intermarry with a princess); and after winning the good-will of all, just on the eve of her return, died at Gravesend, aged twenty-two, in the faith of Jesus."—p. 28.

The Virginian company included amongst those who had influence in its concerns, the name of Sir Edwin Sandys, son of the Archbishop of York, and pupil of Richard Hooker, and that of Nicholas Ferrar; and it may be readily conceived that under such influence effective measures were taken to procure a supply of clergy for the colonies, and to provide for their support. The Bishop of London was requested to recommend fit persons for the mission, and the colonists imposed on themselves the obligation of raising the necessary funds; while churches were speedily erected, and a college was founded for the education of the Indian as well as the English youth. Subsequent laws (in 1622) confirmed the provision for the support of the clergy, and required the erection of a church in every plantation. They also required the colonists to attend on public worship, and enjoined conformity to the English Church. The Church in this colony suffered much during the great Rebellion, but from the Restoration of Charles it remained established and endowed till the American Revolution.

Virginia was, during this time, the principal seat of the Church in North America. The other colonies or provinces had been settled by various schismatics and heretics, who in most places refused toleration to all who were not of their own communion. Thus Maryland had been settled by English Romanists under Lord Baltimore in 1633. New England, including Massachusetts, Connecticut, Long Island, New Hampshire, and Maine, had been peopled by Independents and other Puritans in 1620 and the following years. Pennsylvania was colonized by Quakers in 1683; and Carolina (established in 1670) placed all sects on an equality with the Church. The civil authorities in all these provinces either would not tolerate the Church within their jurisdictions, or discouraged it by every means in their power. So that, with the exception of

Virginia and Maryland, (the latter of which, in 1692, passed from the sway of the Romanists, and established the worship of the Church,) there seem to have been very few clergy or churches in any part of North America at the end of the seventeenth century. The great mass of the population was either without the means of attending religious worship, or was attached to schismatical communities.

About the close of the seventeenth century, the Church seems to have been almost without clergy, except in Virginia and Maryland. In the State of New York, which had been ceded by the Dutch to England in 1667, we read of a *second* church being built in 1696; while in New England, it was found in the course of inquiries set on foot by Dr. Bray in 1700, that "throughout all that populous district, there were but *four* who called themselves ministers of the Church of England; and but two of these, who had been regularly sent forth to the work²." Somewhat later, it appears from the numerical returns called forth by the inquiries of the day, that in the Carolinas there were no clergy, in Virginia and Maryland half the parishes were without incumbents, while in New York, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Boston, there were 2800 attendants on the worship of the Church, out of a population of about 170,000 souls³.

As far as we can calculate from the dates supplied in Archdeacon Wilberforce's book, the population nominally or really communicating with the Church in America at this time, did not amount to one quarter of the whole, and happy would it have been, if even this proportion to the general population had been maintained in later times.

At the period referred to, however, the prospects of the American Church began at length to brighten for a time, after a long night of gloom and depression. Nearly a century had passed away since she had been planted in these distant regions, before any symptoms of growth and expansion began to manifest themselves. Crushed for a time by the dominant puritanism under Cromwell, she had arisen again to a feeble and sickly existence during the remainder of the century. But with the appointment of the venerable Thomas Bray to the office of commissary of Maryland, a new era in her existence commenced. We avail ourselves of Archdeacon Wilberforce's language:

"At this critical period, the clergy (of Maryland) feeling their weakness, and seeing that it was in great part owing to that want of union, of which the presence of their proper head is so great a spring and safeguard, besought the Bishop of London to send them at least a

² P. 90.

³ Pp. 91, 92.

commissary, clothed with such power as should 'capacitate him to redress what is amiss, and supply what is wanting in the Church.' The bishop assented to their wishes; and most happy was his choice. Dr. Thomas Bray, his first commissary in Maryland, was a man of rare devotion, joined to an invincible energy in action. He abandoned willingly the prospect of large English preferments, to nourish the infant Church in the spiritual wastes of Maryland. No sooner had he accepted the appointment, than he set himself to contrive means for fulfilling all its duties. His first care was to find pious and useful ministers, whom he could persuade to settle with him on the other side of the Atlantic; and in this he so far prospered as to increase the number labouring there from three to sixteen clergymen. He began also the formation of colonial libraries; and in the course of his exertions in this work was led on to still greater efforts. He perceived the need and the fitness of the co-operation of all ranks of churchmen in such attempts; and having once conceived this idea, he rested not until he had laid the foundation of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and that for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts."—p. 88.

Dr. Bray's useful career in Maryland was indeed but brief, for he was obliged ere long to return to England to counteract the exertions of the Romanists and other sectaries, who were prosecuting at head-quarters their opposition to any provision being made for the support of religion in the colony; and after his departure, the Church languished in consequence of the want of discipline; but an engine had now been set in motion which soon began to operate in the most effective way throughout the whole of America. This great instrument was the SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL. It arose from an inquiry into the condition of religion in the American colonies, and by a happy movement, of which Dr. Bray was the suggester, the bishops of the Church set themselves to find some means for the correction of the evil. "They determined to associate themselves into a body for this purpose, with such devout members of the laity and clergy as God should incline to join them in their work of mercy." And they met for despatch of business as the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, in June 1701, under the Archbishop of Canterbury as their president.

The missions of the Society were immediately established in all parts of the American Continent. Clergy were sent out, either fixed or itinerating, to all the districts except Virginia and Maryland, and their labours were successful in preaching the Gospel, and converting souls, not only amongst the masses who had lived altogether without religion, but amongst the Quakers, and the numerous sects of New England. One of these missionaries, who was a convert from the system of Quakerism, traversed in two

years, between 1702 and 1705, all the colonies between North Carolina and Piscataway river in New England, and baptized two hundred Quakers, besides many other sectarians. The truth was met by a most violent opposition from the prevalent systems of error. In New England, wherever the missionaries came, the ministers and magistrates of the Independents went from house to house, dissuading the people from hearing them, and threatening imprisonment and punishment to those who attended on them. In one place a magistrate, with officers, came to the missionary and read a paper, declaring that he was acting illegally in coming to establish a new form of worship, and was now admonished not to preach any more. The result, however, was, that the Church speedily gained ground in New England. In one of the provinces (Connecticut), which had been a few years before entirely given up to schism and heresy, the congregations adhering to the Church previously to the Revolution amounted to about one-fourth of the whole, and "there was every reason for believing that another term of twenty years' prosperity, such as she had last enjoyed, would have brought full half the population of the State within her bosom⁴." This happy result was, to a great extent, brought about by the conversion of the rector and two of the leading tutors of Yale College, the stronghold of the Independents. These excellent men were made the means, under the Divine blessing, of widely extending the Church throughout New England; and as the converts thus made were induced to unite themselves to her communion on grounds of intelligent conviction, and in consequence of the persuasions and arguments of men who were under the influence of an enlightened zeal and a fervent piety, the cause of religion was in reality far more firmly rooted in the colonies of New England, notwithstanding the comparatively small numbers of its adherents, than in Virginia and Maryland, where it was supported and established by the State.

In Connecticut the faithful adhered to the Church, because they recognized it as the appointed channel for conveying God's grace to his people. They had separated themselves from Independency, Presbyterianism, and other false systems, because they had learnt that they were false and unlawful. They were, therefore, on principle, and not merely from habit, Churchmen; and their conduct accordingly, in after-times, contrasted most remarkably with that of other branches of the American Church.

It was apparently a calamity for the colonies of Virginia and Maryland, that the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was prevented, by the establishment of an endowed clergy in these

⁴ P. 125.

colonies, from sending missionaries to them. There seems to have been a great degree of corruption in those branches of the Church. In Maryland we find Dr. Bray endeavouring to enforce discipline on clergy of "bad lives." One is spoken of as "notoriously corrupt;" and whether this wicked priest was actually brought to punishment seems rather uncertain, as after Dr. Bray's departure we find mention made of the "uncorrected evil lives of some of the clergy." And some time afterwards we are told, that "in the State of Maryland, where the scandal of ill-living clergymen *had risen to a fearful height*, Acts were passed by the provincial assemblies, subjecting the clergy to the jurisdiction of a board of laymen, or mingled laymen and clergymen⁵."

The condition of Virginia was still more deplorable. We must here quote from the work before us.

"From a contemporary writer it appears, that in the year 1722 there were in Virginia not fewer than seventy churches, with dwelling-houses and glebes for the incumbent in almost every parish. *Dissent was scarcely known*; since it is still a matter of dispute whether there were in the whole country three meetings of Quakers and one of Presbyterians, or whether one of Quakers stood alone. 'For one hundred and fifty years,' Dr. Hawks complains, 'the Church had been fixed in Virginia, and yet the state of religion was deplorably low.' 'Many of the clergy were unfitted for their stations,' and the laity, from 'loose principles and immoral practices, were often a scandal to their country and religion.' Here and there a light sprung up, as in the case of Morgan Morgan, a humble and zealous layman, through whose labours the faith was planted in the newer western settlements, amongst a population composed chiefly of Presbyterian emigrants from Ireland. It was in the year 1740 that he erected the first church on the south side of the Potomac, in the valley of Virginia. But such men were rare; while for the most part all was lethargy."—p. 127.

In consequence of the immoral lives of some of the clergy, and the absence of any ecclesiastical authority competent to take cognizance of their offences, the usual practice in Virginia was, "to receive a clergyman properly nominated, and give him in possession the fruits of the benefice, without presenting him for due induction; and then the vestry *could dismiss him when they chose*. This seems to have been meant *at first* to guard the people from unworthy pastors" (p. 134); but it appears to have been connected afterwards with unsound principles on the subject of the Church, calculated to degrade the clergy and impair their usefulness.

Some remarkable proofs are adduced by Archdeacon Wilber-

⁵ P. 137.

force of the lax and unsound principles which were prevalent in these colonies some time before the American revolution. The marriage licenses were, it seems, granted to *any* "Protestant minister," instead of to the legitimate clergy; and this false step was laid hold of by the prevalent latitudinarianism: it was argued, that "Protestant minister" must "intend a justice of the peace, as being a *minister* of justice, and a Protestant by religion," and they accordingly took on them to marry all applicants at their own pleasure. Where the Church was so willing to make concessions, it was very natural that other parties should avail themselves of her facility to the utmost extent. We cannot very much wonder, under these circumstances, at the spread of principles which were wholly inconsistent with those of the Church, and which prepared the way for open dissent.

"To secure that which lawful authority should have provided for them, the vestries at first desired to *try* their pastors before they confirmed their full appointment. And this, as was natural, soon grew into a great abuse. The vestry were now masters of the clergy. On the most paltry or unworthy grounds they changed their minister. If he testified with boldness against any prevalent iniquity, the people whom his zeal offended soon rid themselves of so disagreeable a monitor. Hence ecclesiastical appointments in the colony grew into disrepute. Few would accept such uncertain stations; and those few were led to do so by necessity. Thus the clergy declined both in numbers and character. From this sprang another evil. The lack of clergy led to a general employment of lay-readers. These lay-readers were naturally taken from a lower class than the ordained clergy; they were also natives. It was not difficult for them to insinuate themselves into the regard of the congregations which they served; and it happened frequently that the benefice was kept unfilled, in order to prolong the more acceptable services of the unordained reader."—pp. 138, 139.

We do not, of course, mean to deny that the want of episcopal superintendence was one great cause of this state of things; but it is evident, we think, that the whole tendency of the public mind in Virginia and Maryland was of a dissenting complexion. It would seem clear, indeed, that such must have been the state of things, when the population nominally connected with the Church in those colonies, were surrounded and penetrated by a vastly more numerous population attached to sectarianism in its various shapes; and when (as it would appear) there was no assertion of those principles which distinguish churchmen from schismatics. The planters of Virginia and Maryland were not taught that the power of calling and sending labourers into the vineyard is vested in the successors of the Apostles only, and that without this mission all ministrations are unauthorized in

the Church. Hence they borrowed from the Independents and other sectarians the principle, that the commission of the pastor was dependent on the will of his hearers ; and that laymen, when acceptable to a congregation, might lawfully be substituted for clergy. All this was evidently derived from their familiarity with the principles of dissent ; and although Archdeacon Wilberforce accounts for the subsequent conduct of the Virginians in reference to the proposed establishment of the episcopate in America, which they *resisted*, by remarking, that “the season had *gone by*” for the attempt, and that if it had been made *earlier*, the issue would have been different ; we cannot help connecting this disinclination to the episcopate with the same class of principles which had already placed the clergy under lay tribunals, and which rendered them wholly dependent on the will of their congregations. The Virginians were doubtless disinclined to the appointment of bishops, because they were conscious that the principles and practices which prevailed amongst them were wholly inconsistent with the establishment of the episcopate, and that they must be relinquished if it was introduced.

When the Virginian clergy were assembled, in 1771, to consider the expediency of appointing bishops, *so few made their appearance*, that the question was postponed. A second appeal only brought together *twelve* clergy (out of nearly a hundred), who at first decided *against* the proposal ; and though a majority ultimately agreed to petition the king in its favour, four of the number assembled actually *protested publicly against the vote* ; and such was the tone of feeling and principle amongst the laity, that these four clergy received the unanimous thanks of the lower branch of the Virginian house of legislature, for “their wise and well-timed opposition to the pernicious project for introducing an American bishop⁶.” Archdeacon Wilberforce observes, that “of this very body, the great majority would have termed themselves episcopalians ; and the reasons given for the protest refer only to present expediency, whilst it professes to revere episcopacy.” Doubtless, these “episcopalians,” as they termed themselves, could not openly oppose the introduction of episcopacy on any principle ; but we think it is very plain that they had more reasons for opposing its introduction than the disturbances about the Stamp Act, or the recent rebellion in Carolina, or the clamour (which they had themselves raised) against the proposal, or any other equally absurd pretences on which their opposition was grounded.

We trace throughout the same evil leaven working in the Vir-

⁶ P. 167.

ginian Church. In the insurrection against the royal authority, which terminated in the independence of the United States, the *southern* clergy were distinguished from those of the north by their want of firmness and consistency of principle. "One-third of all the clergy joined the Revolution, and more than one laid down his pastor's staff and censer to take up the musket and the sword. Two of the *Virginian* clergy had risen to the rank of brigadier-generals at the close of the war⁷!" It seems that "some of the most pious of the clergy" in that province "had lent their aid to nurture the beginnings" of *Wesleyan Methodism*. The adjoining province of South Carolina, which seems to have imbibed the same sort of principles as those of the Virginians, agreed after the Revolution to apply to England for the episcopate, only on the condition that "no bishop should be planted in her borders." When the Convention of the American Church met in 1785 to arrange the constitution of that Church, a *Virginian* deputy "proposed to omit the four first petitions of the Litany, in order to get rid of the direct acknowledgment of the Trinity in the adorable Godhead;" and, in *Virginia* generally, "the rule most objected to in all the Prayer-Book was that which allowed the minister to repel from the Eucharist *notorious* evil-livers⁸,"—a circumstance which plainly shows at once their disposition to reject all ecclesiastical authority, and the low tone of morals which must have been prevalent amongst them. In perfect accordance with such views, "the *lay* deputy sent by Virginia to Convention was an ordained presbyter, who in the time of the Church's sufferings had renounced his orders⁹," and who, accordingly, merited, instead of sitting as a member of Convention, to have stood before it degraded or excommunicated. Nor do we wonder to find that the bishop-elect of *Virginia* was unable to accompany his brethren to England to receive consecration. "He was too poor to bear the necessary cost of such a journey, and the *Virginian* Church *had not raised funds* to forward him upon his way¹."

Again, the proceedings of the early conventions of Virginia are all distinctly marked by the same characteristics. A committee, consisting of *laity* and clergy in equal numbers, is appointed to "amend the canons which respect the trial of offending *clergymen*." The convention appoints five clergymen to "visit" the different districts of the province; it adopts new canons respecting the trial of offending clergymen. With reference to the constitution of this convention, which thus assumed plenary ecclesiastical authority, it was resolved, that it should

⁷ P. 176.⁸ P. 212.⁹ P. 223.¹ P. 218.

consist in future of "two deputies from each parish, of whom the minister shall be one, *if there be a minister*, the other a layman, to be annually chosen by the vestry; who shall also choose *another* when there is no minister in the parish,"—a minister being thus regarded as no essential part of the parochial organization.

It was resolved that this convention should "regulate all the religious concerns of the Church, its DOCTRINES, DISCIPLINE, and WORSHIP;" that all such questions "shall be determined by a majority of votes." It was enacted that the clergy of neighbouring parishes should meet in *presbytery* (rather a significant name we think) annually, and appoint a visitor, who should visit the parishes, and report to the bishop, if there be one; if not, to the next convention. We should not attach any great weight to such regulations, were they not viewed in connexion with others, and more especially with that which subjects the bishop to the absolute jurisdiction of his own clergy and laity. "Bishops shall be *amenable* to the convention, who shall be a court to try them, *from which there shall be no appeal*;" and, "on a bishop's being convicted of offences, he shall be *reproved, suspended, or dismissed, at the discretion of the court*!"

After this, of course, it cannot excite the least surprise to hear, that the clergy were required to hold their appointments subject to removal on the determination of the convention; and that a *lay* committee was constituted a court to try them, with power of reproof, dismissal, or degradation. Archdeacon Wilberforce very justly remarks on this:

"The tendency of such a set of rules is plain. They do not merely secure to the laity that share of power which in the best times belonged to them, but they give to the convention the whole government; and confer upon a synod of deputies, clerical and lay, the office of degrading presbyters and bishops,—of taking, that is, from them, what it had no authority to give or remove."—p. 253.

All was unhappily consistent in Virginia. This wretched Church "headed the opposition to the Athanasian Creed," which was ultimately removed from the service; and "directed her representatives, by an unanimous vote, to express the highest disapprobation of the proposed allowance of a negative to the house of bishops," in the enactments of the house of clergy and lay deputies. In Virginia, "clergymen were found who began to substitute extemporaneous prayer for the appointed Litany³." In the sister Church of Maryland, which seems to have borrowed the tone and principles of Virginia, it was proposed, that "the

² P. 253.

³ Pp. 272, 273.

canons should be so modified, as to give rectors and vestries the power of admitting to the pulpits of the churches *clergymen of other denominations*."

The whole history of the Churches in Virginia and Maryland, from a period long antecedent to the American revolution, impresses us most painfully with a sense of their total and radical corruptness. To them it might have been said, "Thou hast a name that thou livest, and art dead." An immoral clergy, an ignorant and depraved people, a total oblivion of the privileges and responsibilities of Christians and of churchmen, a spirit of secret unbelief, and a pride which refused all control,—such were the characteristics of these fallen Churches at the period referred to. And woeful indeed was the result. It may be fairly said of them, that their candlesticks were removed out of their place. The Church in Maryland and Virginia became to a great extent apostate, and very nearly perished altogether. Let us trace the melancholy history.

In Virginia, about the middle of the last century, Whitfield found a universal "lethargy." *At the desire of Dr. Blair, Commissary for the Bishop of London*, he preached throughout the province, and without doubt his addresses paved the way for what followed. "A pious *layman* of the name of Morris" seems to have carried out his plans in parts of the province. This led to the introduction of sectarian teachers from New England in various places. The Anabaptists, who had already been settled in the province, rose suddenly to notice. At this juncture a dispute arose between the clergy and the legislature, as to the commutation of their dues for a fixed payment. The clergy, who seem on this occasion to have manifested an unwonted zeal, resisted the attempt by law, and, being defeated by the decision of a jury, "lost alike their rights and the little which remained to them of the affections of the people. *So rapid at this time was the progress of dissent, that a few years later it claimed, as belonging to its ranks, two-thirds of all the population* ⁴." Two-thirds of the population, where a few years before, i. e., in 1722, as we have seen, dissent was all but unknown! The clergy, who had by their immoral lives, and their spirit of indifference and compromise of principles, undermined the attachment of the people to the Church, and prepared the way for their apostasy, were severely and deservedly punished. To borrow Archdeacon Wilberforce's words,

"Compromise never saved the Church, and it did not shield it in Virginia. Its fiercest enemies, the Anabaptists, saw alone the favour-

⁴ P. 129.

able moment, and resolved to seize it. In their secret councils they had already doomed the provincial establishment, and they set themselves at once to work out their design. Their first step was to address the [state] Convention with a declaration of their entire concurrence in the war, and to offer the assistance of their pastors in enlisting the youth of their own denomination. This done, they petitioned for freedom of worship, and for *exemption from payments* to any but their own religious teachers. Their zeal was met by a permission to officiate in the army in common with the established clergy, and by promises of future favour. Encouraged by these beginnings, they pressed in on the legislature a multitude of similar petitions. In their prayer, says the Anabaptist historian, with wonderful simplicity, 'the Presbyterians, Baptists, Quakers, Deists, and all the covetous united.' A long struggle followed in the legislative body, which gave rise to 'the severest contest,' says Mr. Jefferson, the chief opponent of the Church, 'in which I have ever been engaged.' It resulted in an act repealing all former laws in favour of the Church; exempting dissenters from further contributions to its funds; only securing to the clergy existing arrears of salaries, with the glebes, churches, plate, and books, which they already possessed. In the present strife of parties, this act stopped at once the incomes of the great body of the clergy, and absolutely drove them from the country. Churches were now every where abandoned, flocks wholly broken up, and the sacraments administered only from time to time by a few zealous pastors, who travelled through the country for the purpose.

"Yet even this did not satisfy the hatred of the Anabaptist faction. The title to the glebes was still in the Church; and till this was wrested from her their spirit could not rest. Accordingly, as soon as the revolutionary war was over, they returned to the assault. The incorporation of religious bodies was rendered legal by the colonial legislature, and the Church availed itself of this permission. The first act of the dissenters was to repeal this measure, and dissolve the voluntary incorporation. This done, they rested not until, in 1803, they procured the confiscation and sale of all the glebes and churches. Even the communion plate was sold; and the offensive desecration of things long set apart to holy uses, which this violence occasioned, gratified their deep hatred to the Church."—pp. 176—178.

Never was there a more just retribution. These were the unworthy clergy who had a few years before stood neutral or in hostility, while the American Church sought for the episcopate. They now were driven from the place which they had dishonoured in every way. Before the war Virginia possessed one hundred and sixty-four churches and chapels, and ninety-one clergy. At the close of the war, "*ninety-five parishes were extinct or forsaken*; of the remaining seventy-two, thirty-four were without ministerial

services; while of her ninety-one clergymen, only twenty-eight remained ⁵."

"To this day the mournful monuments of that destruction sadden the Churchman's heart throughout the 'ancient dominion.' As he 'gazes upon the roofless walls, or leans upon the little remnants of railings which once surrounded a now deserted chancel; as he looks out through the openings of a broken wall upon the hillocks under which the dead of former years are sleeping, with no sound to disturb his melancholy musings, save the whispers of the wind through the leaves of the forest around him, he may be pardoned should he drop a tear over the desolated house of God.'"—p. 181.

There must be, indeed, food for deep and bitter reflection in contemplating the ruins of the Church in Virginia—not merely the material temples which lie thus prostrate, but the far more sad and fearful destruction of the spiritual temple—the Church of the living God, which once reared her head on high in this region, and which has so nearly perished. Well may Archdeacon Wilberforce add, that "the prospect was, indeed, depressing. The flocks were scattered and divided; the pastors few, poor, and suspected; their enemies dominant and fierce;" but we can scarcely go along with him in attributing to "the indestructible vitality with which God has endowed his Church," the preservation of some fragments of the Church in Virginia. We cannot forget, that the Virginian Church (if so it may be called) set itself from the moment of the re-organization of the American Church against all catholic principles, and was as much distinguished by its turbulent opposition to the essentials of the Church's doctrine and discipline, as it had been by its almost universal apostasy from the Anglo-Catholic communion.

Even the reception of episcopacy seems to have had little or no effect on this corrupt and fallen Church. It was impossible to produce good fruit from such materials. The period succeeding the appointment of a Bishop of Virginia is said by Dr. Hawks, the historian of Virginia, to have been "one, for the most part, of such gloomy darkness, that the smallest ray of light is felt to be a blessing." The Convention which elected Bishop Moore to the Bishopric of Virginia in 1814, consisted of *seven* clergymen and seventeen laymen⁶. So that it would seem that the Church had been steadily *declining* in Virginia, even after the institution of Episcopacy. The number of clergy had retrograded to what it was about two hundred years before, a few years after the founda-

⁵ P. 181.

⁶ P. 236.

tion of the colony. It is clear from this, that the Church had materially diminished even *since* the Revolution.

Maryland appears to have been in a condition scarcely less deplorable—a wide-spread *indifference* had reduced the Church there to the lowest ebb.

The result of these defections may be thus stated. In 1761, it is computed the adherents of the Church in America amounted to 293,000 out of a total population of 1,144,000, being about *one-fourth* of the whole. Had the same proportion been preserved to the present time, the American Church would now number more than *four millions* of adherents: as it is, they do not exceed a million and a half; and this, be it observed, is the result of the activity of the last thirty years, so that previously to the commencement of that period, the apostasy from the communion of the Church must have been of most appalling extent. We cannot refrain from contrasting with this, the state of things which would have arisen, if Virginia and Maryland had remained faithful, and if the same energy and zeal which has latterly manifested itself with such happy effects, had been displayed from the period of the Revolution. We have not the least doubt, that if this had been the case, the American Church would at this moment possess the majority of the population, and that its clergy might be numbered by thousands instead of by hundreds.

The ruin of the established churches in America, and the triumph of schism and heresy amongst them, is, certainly, most deeply humiliating and afflicting to all Churchmen; and, were there nothing to counterbalance it, might almost excite doubts whether the system of the Church is really what it professes to be—essentially catholic and apostolic. But the providence of God has not exposed faith to so severe a trial as this; it is with sentiments of unmingled gratitude and rejoicing, that we are enabled to turn to another aspect of this eventful history, and to contemplate a noble array of confessors who testified for the Church of Christ and its genuine principles, amidst this torrent of trouble, and rebuke, and blasphemy. To the admirable firmness and steadfastness of SEABURY, the first Bishop of Connecticut, and of the clergy and faithful people of New England by whom he was nobly seconded, is chiefly, under Divine Providence, due the preservation of those catholic principles in the American Church, to which her present prosperity, and the blessings so largely imparted to her, are wholly attributable. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel had the honour of sending forth this venerable man on the American mission; and it may truly be said, that the body of missionaries supported throughout New England by that Society, constituted the *whole strength* of the

American Church. We do not wish to undervalue the laudable exertions of Dr. White, the first Bishop of Pennsylvania, or of those who were more immediately united with him in reconstructing the shattered fabric of the Church after the Revolution, and who obtained the Episcopal succession from England in 1787; but it is clear from the volume now before us, that Bishop White and his immediate coadjutors were disposed, on every occasion, to give way to the demands of parties who were deeply tinged with the prevalent errors of the day; and that the American Church is far more deeply indebted to the Bishop and clergy of New England than to any other man or body of men.

We have already spoken of the progress of the Church in the provinces of New England, through the zeal of the missionaries of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and of the conversion of the rector and tutors of Yale College, Connecticut. But we feel it due to the importance of these events, and the character of the admirable men engaged in them, not to pass them over without some further notice. We have much pleasure in quoting the following interesting passages in reference to this subject:—

“In spite of all assaults, the truth steadily prevailed. ‘In Pennsylvania,’—was his⁷ concluding report,—‘where there was but one Church of England congregation, to wit, at Pennsylvania, of few years’ standing, there are now five. At Burlington, in New Jersey, a settled congregation; at Frankfort, in Pennsylvania, the Quakers’ meeting is turned into a church; and within these two years thirteen ministers are planted in the northern parts of America.’ These, and all save the settled clergy of Virginia and Maryland, were the missionaries of the Society, then newly formed, for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. To the labours of that venerable body, throughout a long season of sluggish inactivity and wintry darkness, the colonies of England are indebted for all the spiritual care bestowed upon them by the mother country. Well did its ministers deserve the honoured name of Christian missionaries. Theirs were toils too often unrequited, carried on in the face of dangers, loss, and extreme hardships. The hardly settled country was still liable to Indian incursion. The homesteads of the settlers lay far apart from one another, severed by woods, wastes, and morasses, across which, in many places, no better roads were yet carried than an Indian path, with all its uncertainty and danger. Day by day these must be passed by those who discharged in that land the office of the ministry. ‘In many places, also, there were great rivers, from one, two, to six, twelve, and fifteen miles over, with no ferry. He that would answer the end of his mission must not only have a good horse, but a good boat and a couple of experienced

⁷ The Rev. George Keith, a zealous and devoted missionary.

watermen.' In such a country he often had to minister at 'places above sixty and seventy miles distant, and found it a very laborious mission.' . . . These were their labours, for which they had no other recompense than such as have at all times animated martyrs and confessors; fifty pounds a year from the Society, and, sometimes at least, but 'thirty pounds paid during five years in depreciated paper,' was the stipend of such labourers. This mode of living embraced no luxuries. 'The water,' says one, describing what he saw around him, 'was brackish and muddy; their ordinary food was salt-pork, but sometimes beef; their bread of Indian corn, which they are forced for want of mills to beat.' 'My lodging,' adds another, 'was an old tobacco-house, exposed even in my bed to the injuries and violence of bad weather.' These were not their severest toils; long neglect had hardened the settlers' hearts against the truth; the dying sparks of religion had to be fanned into a flame amidst abounding opposition; the people were 'barbarous and disorderly;' they impiously profaned the holiest rites, and heaped upon these messengers of peace 'abuses and contumely.'—pp. 97—100.

Of the successful labours of these excellent missionaries we may form some notion from the fact recorded of one of them—the Rev. Clement Hall. "It is no excessive computation, that this good and most laborious missionary baptized *ten thousand persons*." (p. 101.)

We next turn to the movement at Yale College, the stronghold of the Independents:—

"So carefully had this been fenced from such attempts, that its fundamental law prescribed that no student should be allowed instruction in any other system of divinity than such as the trustees appointed; and every one was forced to learn the Assembly's Catechism, and other books of puritanical authority. For a time the dry metaphysics of this school excluded all healthier learning. But about the year 1711, the agent of the colony in England sent over 800 volumes, amongst which were many of the standard works of the divines of the English Church. These books were eagerly devoured by the hungry students; and amongst the first whom they affected were the rector of the college, Dr. Cutler, and two of its leading tutors, Messrs. Johnson and Brown. They were amongst the most distinguished of the puritan divines; and their humble adoption of the Church's teaching, their abandonment of their endowments in the college, laying down the ministry which without due warrant they had hitherto discharged, and setting out for England to receive ordination at the bishop's hands, drew general attention to the subject. Brown fell a victim to the small-pox in England; Cutler suffered severely from the same disease, but, recovering, was, with Johnson, ordained to the priesthood, and with him returned in 1723 to the colony, where their influence ere long was widely felt. Cutler was settled at Boston,

and, amidst increasing persecutions, maintained to the last the standard of the faith. For fifty years of patient trial Johnson laboured earnestly at Stratford."—pp. 102, 103.

We have deemed it due to the memory of these holy men to draw special attention to their names. The Church of America derived more benefit from their conversion and labours, than she did from all her endowments in Virginia and Maryland. We cannot refrain from transcribing the following interesting account of the conversion of a sectarian teacher, through the instrumentality of Mr. Johnson :—

"At Newtown in Connecticut, a young and zealous Independent teacher, Beach by name, was at this time settled over a flourishing congregational society. His ministry had been unusually successful, and he was himself the idol of his flock. Once in three months the Rev. Mr. Johnson visited five episcopalian families, then settled in the place: frequent meetings and earnest discussions between the two teachers resulted from these visits; until Mr. Beach began at length to doubt the soundness of his former principles. Slowly and cautiously did he make up his mind. The first serious alarm was suggested to his flock, after two or three years of patient meditation had passed over him, by his frequently employing the Lord's prayer in public worship, and even proceeding to read to them whole chapters of the Word of God. Then he ventured to condemn a custom, common in their meetings, of rising to bow to the preacher as he came in amongst them; instead of which, he begged them to kneel down and worship God. This, in the language of the day, was declared to be 'rank popery,' and no slight presumption that Mr. Beach would one day 'turn churchman, as did all people,' said an experienced matron of the body, 'who kept on reading the Church books.' In this, at least, they were not deceived; for in about a year Mr. Beach, whose mind was now thoroughly convinced, told the people from the pulpit, that from a serious and prayerful examination of the Scriptures, and of the writers of the earliest ages of the Church, and from the universal acknowledgment of episcopal government for 1500 years, compared with the recent establishment of Presbyterian and Congregational discipline, he was fully convinced of the invalidity of his ordination, and of the unscriptural method of organizing and governing congregations, and of admitting persons to the privileges of church-membership as by them practised; and further, that 'extempore prayer in Christian assemblies was a novelty in the Christian Church.' He therefore, 'in the face of Almighty God,' had made up his mind to conform to the Church of England, as being apostolic in her ministry and discipline, orthodox in her doctrine, and primitive in her worship."—pp. 116—118.

A large proportion of his people were disposed to acquiesce in his determination; but the congregational teachers of the

neighbourhood excited opposition to him, and deposed him from the ministry. A discussion ensued, which had the effect of opening the minds of some of the sectarians, and on the return of Mr. Beach from England, whither he had gone to receive ordination, and was appointed a Missionary of the Propagation Society, he ministered to a faithful and devoted flock. The divisions excited amongst the Independents by Whitfield's preaching led many to open their eyes to the claims of the Church, 'and Mr. Beach received so large an accession to his charge, that his church would not hold two-thirds of those who joined him. Not a few of these were of the first families within the colony, and a new and spacious building was soon erected for him.' Eight other churches were built in the adjoining towns, and the last of the Independent ministers joined him, and were admitted to holy orders. Thus "in Connecticut," as Archdeacon Wilberforce remarks, the Church "took a deeper hold in the soil, from the action of the storms, amongst which she had grown up. *In no part of America was her communion so pure and apostolical as here.* Her clergy were for the most part natives—men of earnest piety, of settled character, and well-established in Church principles."—p. 125.

And accordingly we find, that from the beginning of the Church in New England, the most earnest and touching entreaties were unceasingly coming from that Church for the institution of the episcopate in America. While the endowed Churches of Virginia and Maryland were totally indifferent on this subject, the poor but zealous converts from sectarianism in New England were keenly alive to the unspeakable evils which sprang from the want of bishops.

"The poor Church of England," they said, "in all these colonies is in a low, depressed, and very imperfect state, for want of her pure primitive episcopal form of government. . . . We cannot but think ourselves extremely injured, and in a state little short of persecution, while our candidates are forced, at a great expense both of lives and fortunes, to go a thousand leagues for every ordination, and we are destitute of confirmation and a regular government. So that unless we can have bishops, especially at this juncture, the Church, and with it the interests of true religion, must dwindle and greatly decay, while we suffer the contempt and triumph of our neighbours."—pp. 112, 113.

"At the same time," writes Mr. Johnson to the Bishop of London, "there are a considerable number of very promising young gentlemen—five or six I am sure of—and those the best that are educated among us, who might be instrumental to do a great deal of good to the souls of men, were they ordained; but for want of episcopal ordination decline the ministry, and go into secular business. . . . So that the

fountain of all our misery is the want of a bishop, for whom there are many thousands of souls in this country who do impatiently long and pray, and for want do extremely suffer.”—p. 115.

We will not follow up this heart-rending subject. The unceasing and most earnest appeals of these faithful churchmen were, we know, wholly unsuccessful in stirring up the Church at home to such energetic action as would have sufficed to overcome the opposition of the Whig ministry of the day. Looking back on those times, we cannot but feel, that although something was done by the archbishops and bishops in furtherance of this object, there was not sufficient perseverance, and resolution, and zeal in pressing it upon the government. It was a question which the whole Church should have taken up unanimously, and never ceased till they had carried it. All honour is due to those eminent prelates, Butler, Sherlock, Gibson, and Secker, who exerted themselves in behalf of the American Church; but we cannot help feeling that the question was not taken up by the Church at large as it might have been, and ought to have been.

But we must not lose sight of the Church in New England. To this Church the introduction of the legitimate episcopate in America after the revolution appears to be principally due. There is something most cheering and refreshing in the zeal which they exhibited on this occasion.

“ Amongst the Eastern clergy, as we have seen, was the most earnest piety, wedded to the strongest and most clearly-ascertained Church principles. In their new circumstances, they esteemed it their first duty to perfect their system by securing the presence and rule of a bishop. In this they were confirmed by the avowed temper of the South, from which they greatly feared the adoption of a spurious and nominal episcopacy. They began, therefore, at once to act for themselves, and refused to take any share in organizing their scattered communion until they had a bishop at their head.”

We must here observe, that allusion is made in this passage to a proposal of Dr. White, afterwards Bishop of Pennsylvania, who in August, 1782, “ despairing of the speedy recognition of American independence, and ‘ perceiving their ministry gradually approaching to annihilation,’ while England was as unwilling to give, as America to receive, the episcopate from her, proposed a scheme for uniting their different parishes in convention, and on behalf of the whole body, *committing to its president and others the powers of ordination and discipline.*” (p. 189.) It seems also, that there was some notion of receiving ordination from the *Danish* bishops, whose orders are invalid. So that it is clear, that the Church in

Connecticut had very sufficient reasons to act independently. Accordingly,

“As soon as the peace made it possible, [March, 1783,] the clergy met in voluntary Convention; and before the British troops had evacuated New York, Dr. Samuel Seabury, formerly a missionary of the Gospel-Propagation Society in Statin island, had sailed for England to obtain consecration there. Besides the certificate of his election, Dr. Seabury bore with him testimonials from the leading clergy of New York, and letters earnestly requesting of the English bishops the boon which America had so long sought in vain.”—p. 195.

We shall not follow Archdeacon Wilberforce through the interesting details of Seabury's visit to England, and of the negotiations which issued in his consecration by the bishops of Scotland, in November 1784, the English bishops being prevented by the state of the law, and by the reluctance of the government, to take any step at that juncture. In June, 1785, the Bishop of Connecticut had reached his diocese, and was received with joy by the clergy and people. But during his absence, the prospects of the Church in other parts of America had begun to brighten. Dr. White had relinquished his plan for establishing a nominal episcopacy in America, and had (in March, 1784,) set on foot, at Philadelphia, a movement for organizing the Church on the basis which it subsequently assumed. This movement was joined successively by the Churches of various states in the course of 1784, and by the time of Seabury's return, matters had made such progress, that the first general Convention of the American Church was to meet in a few months, and to take steps for obtaining the episcopal succession from the English Church.

The Convention met in 1785, and it was agreed to apply to the English bishops to ascertain their willingness to consecrate American prelates. So that Connecticut had been full two years and a half in advance of the other Churches in America in applying for the episcopate. Nor was the watchful zeal of Seabury and his clergy less distinctly manifested in the jealousy with which they refrained from uniting in any proceedings which they deemed calculated to compromise the great principles of the Church.

“Bishop Seabury had declined, with his clergy, attending its session [Convention], from a fear that it would carry measures to which his principles would not allow him to assent.”—p. 213.

And it seems that there was considerable reason for such fears. The unsound opinions of the Southern States of Virginia, Mary-

land, &c., were well known; and, in fact, the Convention was divided on the most material points.

"On the general terms of union the two parties disagreed; one proposing to declare the bishop *ex officio* president of the [*diocesan*, we presume,] Convention; the others fearful of the bishop's power, and so *denying him this right*. The grounds, too, of this difference lay deep. The Western [query, "Southern"] States would have *restrained the bishop from all rule; made him subject to his own Convention*; and distinguished him from other presbyters only by his possession of the powers of ordaining and confirming. The Southern [query, "Western"] States, with a more instructed faith, truly acknowledged the bishop as possessing, by the appointment of Christ, the charge of spiritual government. Their tendency, indeed, lay strongly to the opposite extreme. They would not only have given to the bishop spiritual rule, but would have deprived the laity of that power of co-ordinate deliberation and assent, which appears to have been in the earliest times their Christian birthright."—p. 212.

We may here observe, by the way, that we cannot at all agree with Archdeacon Wilberforce's views on the subject last mentioned. Some of the laity were almost always present at ecclesiastical synods in ancient times; but we do not recollect any instance in which they were allowed to take part in the deliberations and discussions of the synod on matters of doctrine or discipline, *or to exercise the right of suffrage*. Such a mode of proceeding, whatever may be its fitness or unfitness on other grounds, appears to us without precedent in ancient ecclesiastical history. Bishop Seabury and the Church of Connecticut disapproved of the introduction of the laity into the Convention; and he sent an apology to the Convention for not appearing, and explaining fully his sentiments as to their degradation of the episcopal dignity. It remained *undetermined* for the present, by the General Convention, whether bishops should preside in their own Conventions or Diocesan Synods! Two of the bishops elected after the General Convention, for the purpose of being consecrated in England, were "probably not wholly orthodox" in their doctrinal tenets (p. 215). The changes in the ritual proposed were very serious. "I learn from others," writes Bishop Seabury to his friends the Scottish bishops, "that at this Convention they have discarded the use, at least left it discretionary, of the Athanasian and Nicene Creeds, and the observation of Saints'-days; omitted the Article of the descent into hell in the Apostles' Creed; reduced the Thirty-nine Articles to twenty; made such alterations in the Liturgy and Offices as makes a new Prayer-Book necessary."—p. 217.

Providentially, the English bishops refused to sanction such

alterations by consecrating bishops; and they required the restoration of the Nicene Creed, and other points of importance, which were conceded, previously to the ordination of White, bishop of Pennsylvania, and Provost, bishop of New York, in 1787.

But we have not yet concluded the series of important services rendered by the Church of Connecticut to the cause of religion. In the adjourned session of Convention in September 1789, the Bishop of Connecticut and two of his New England clergy gave their attendance, to the joy of all. Their presence was of the greatest importance, because, as Archdeacon Wilberforce justly remarks, "it brought to those councils, by which their infant institutions must be formed, the aid of *principles* which are most wanting in the Southern States."

"Amongst them, the prevailing tone, both as to discipline and doctrine, was low and uncertain. . . . To a temper thus bordering on latitudinarian views, Bishop White, if he had stood alone, would, from natural kindness, and perhaps from personal inclination, have been too much disposed to yield, and some fatal bias might have been given to their earliest institutions; but in the presence of Bishop Seabury and those about him, a check was provided on such innovations. With the strongest attachment to the distinctive articles of the Christian faith, the New England clergy held, as we have seen, most firmly to the model of apostolical order. . . . This difference of views between the east and south was seen at once. Before the Eastern clergy gave in their adhesion to the articles of union, they required that by the alteration of the third, there should be given to the board of bishops the power of originating acts for the concurrence of the lower house, *with a negative on their conclusions*. The first point was easily conceded. The second, for the present, was made the subject of a compromise. It was agreed that the non-assent of the bishops should negative all acts to which four-fifths of the lower house did not still adhere. The absolute negative was referred to the collective judgment of the several Diocesan Conventions."—pp. 224, 225.

Having thus provided to the utmost of their power for the security of essential principles, the Church of New England cordially united in the remaining measures for the re-organization of the American Church, and throughout those measures exercised an influence of incalculable value and importance—on every occasion in favour of orthodoxy. We cannot withhold the tribute of our admiration from this band of Christian confessors, who amidst almost universal error, or weakness, held on their way stedfastly and unfalteringly, until they had secured the great principles of the Church in that land of dissension and heterodoxy. The names of SEABURY and of the Church of

CONNECTICUT should for ever be enshrined in the memory and affections of all faithful churchmen.

We do not see the same high qualities in Bishop White, who, however, was a pious and excellent man, and undoubtedly had the principal part in combining the discordant materials of the Church in America. He it was who succeeded in bringing the latitudinarian and fallen churches of the South within the influence of sounder principles; and although the good seed was reluctantly received, and the soil long remained barren, it must always be a matter of rejoicing, that the labours of White were undertaken, and brought to a successful conclusion.

The American Church, from the period of its organization by Bishop White and his worthy coadjutors, does not seem to have made any progress whatever. It seems to have remained stationary for about thirty years, until the election of HOBART to the bishopric of New York, in 1811, from which its era of prosperity may be dated. This may be attributed, we should think, to the continued prevalence of the low and latitudinarian views which had acquired so much influence before the revolution. The American Church, in short, had not awakened to a full sense of her privileges and responsibilities. She was, in the estimation of a large portion of her adherents, one denomination out of many in the Christian Church. Episcopacy was in their opinion most conformable to the ancient or apostolical model; and the Liturgy had many advantages over extemporaneous effusions. But beyond this, we apprehend, there were few inclined to go. Few seem to have put forward the claims of the Church as the authorized channel of God's grace; or to have pointed to her communion as the medium of catholic unity; or to have held it forth as a refuge from the perils of schism. Where this was not done, it could not, of course, be expected that the old systems of error by which she was surrounded should recognize her claims. They were set aside and forgotten, when the Church herself did not put them forward; and even her own adherents were held by an uncertain tenure, depending more on private opinions as to fitness and edification, than on any deeply-rooted sense of obligation.

"Many causes," says Archdeacon Wilberforce, "tended to produce this deep depression. . . . The first great hindrance to its strength was the low tone of feeling and of doctrine which, in the former days of our neglect, had crept over its members. There was little attachment to the Church, little veneration for her character, little knowledge or value of her distinctive claims; there were many recollections of careless shepherds, of clergy who disgraced their calling. . . . On the other hand, there was amongst them little of the strength of the

Church's youth ; for this is founded on the ardent affection of fresh converts to the great heart truths of Christ's blessed gospel."—pp. 237, 239.

We have seen that, especially in Virginia and Maryland, the Church was so far from gaining ground, that she was continually declining for many years, even after the introduction of the Episcopate, which might have been expected to have infused a new energy and life into the Church.

It remained for the energetic and devoted Hobart to raise the Church of America from this state of decline, and to give an impulse which has been felt even to the present day. In 1811, Bishop Moore, of New York, being seized by paralysis, called a Convention of the diocese, and urged them to appoint an assistant bishop. The Convention accordingly elected JOHN HENRY HOBART, at that time one of the assistant ministers of Trinity Church, New York.

"This was a turning point in the history of the Western Church. Hobart was a man who at any time would have left on his communion an impress of his own character ; in the unformed state of institutions and opinions in that land, it could not fail of being deeply and broadly marked."—p. 295.

We must pass over the earlier years of this remarkable man, and proceed at once to the conduct and principles which elevated him to the episcopate.

"He came, then, to New York when the universal tone of thought and feeling in the body which he joined was low and torpid. The impression of their first bishop's character was plainly legible upon the churchmen of New York, in their indistinct views of Christian doctrine ; moralists for the most part, rather than believers ; conscious of being objects of suspicion, and almost thinking that suspicion just,—they never ventured in defending their position beyond the cautious tone of timid apology. In this state of things Hobart found matters ; but their continuance in this state he would not endure. Trained in a Presbyterian college, he was a churchman on the fullest conviction of his reason. He early declared his own principles, to sum up in brief into these two : 'That we are saved from the guilt and dominion of sin by the divine merits and grace of a crucified Redeemer ; and that the merits and grace of this Redeemer are applied to the soul of the believer by devout and humble participation in the ordinances of the Church, administered by a priesthood who derive their authority by regular transmission from Christ, the divine head of the Church, and the source of all the power in it.'

"Many must have been startled by such a voice as this, whether true or false in its commencement, from one so resolute and thoroughly in earnest : and Hobart was both. He was convinced that this was

the truth, and he was ready to live or to die for it. All his ministry spoke this conviction. In the pulpit 'he warned, counselled, entreated, and comforted, with intense power and energy.' . . . And what he was in the pulpit he was every where; by the sick bed or in society, abroad or at home, this was still his watchword, 'The gospel in the Church,' 'Evangelical truth and apostolical order;' these he pressed on all as the subjects closest to his own heart, and the most concerning theirs. . . . His sincerity could not be questioned, and none could doubt his kindness; whilst his talents for business were seen and felt by all. Hence his constant re-election as secretary to his own, and delegate to the general, Convention.

"Other effects also were soon visible. The cold timidity which had benumbed all men began to pass away. He was gathering round him a band of younger men, laity as well as clergy, of a new temper—men who believed that Christ had indeed founded a spiritual kingdom, and that they had functions in it to discharge, and powers with which to fulfil them. The fruit of this was soon seen on all sides: in the increased attendance on Conventions; the growing support of Church societies; and, which was far better, in the new religious earnestness of all."—pp. 300—303.

The altered temper of the Church drew immediately on it the attacks of sectarians. The leading Presbyterian writer of the day, Dr. Mason, assailed the principles maintained by Hobart, and received from him a complete overthrow. The contest was renewed at the board meetings of Columbia College, New York, which, though open to all denominations, had been endowed by the members of the Church. In the Board of Trustees Dr. Mason had acquired an almost unlimited sway; and in the struggles with this powerful antagonist, Hobart again succeeded, and the management of the college was restored to those who provided its funds.

Thus tried and approved, Hobart was elevated to the episcopate; but the two first years of his rule were troubled by the discussions and oppositions raised by men of opposite principles. After that time he was able to carry out his views; and the first task which engaged him was the formation of *Church* societies for education, Christian charity, and missions. The effect of this system, which concentrated the powers of the Church for her own improvement, instead of frittering them away on the promotion of plans of a latitudinarian character, was soon strikingly visible. The issue of prayer-books from the depository, which amounted to 500 in 1815, had in two years swelled to 2239. So greatly did the Church spread in the diocese of New York, that in twenty years its clergy outnumbered the whole body of the American clergy when Hobart was raised to the episcopate. The impulse

which was thus given was felt in every part of America. In all Churches a new life seemed to animate its members. Six bishops had presided over the American Churches till the year 1811. The number has now swelled nearly *five-fold*. Less than 200 parochial clergy then ministered at her altars; they have increased more than *six-fold* in about thirty years. Such a movement as this is evidently the work of more than human power, and it could not have been effected by the mere inculcation of the distinctive principles of the Church. We rejoice to see in it an evidence of religious fervour and zeal; of practical religion; of genuine faith in its highest sense. The zeal of Hobart for the Church arose from a still higher source—his desire to promote the salvation of souls.

“With this attention to the organic framework of the body over which it was his province to preside, the bishop joined a watchful care over the secret fountains of its hidden life. On laity and clergy he pressed, by precept and example, the supreme importance of truly spiritual religion. In answering the solicitations of affection which would have persuaded him to lessen his own labours, he revealed the spring of all his conduct. ‘How,’ said he, ‘can I do too much for that compassionate Saviour who has done so much for me?’ He reminded his convention that but little satisfaction could be gathered ‘from the increasing attachment to their distinctive principles, and veneration for their institutions,’ unless with it were seen ‘an increase of evangelical piety.’ His clergy he continually urged to ‘exert with prudence, fidelity, and zeal, all their talents and attainments in the service of their Divine Lord, and of the Church which He purchased with his blood,’ reminding them that ‘the spirit of the ministry must still be formed in retirement, by study, meditation, and prayer.’ He cautioned them as plainly against any inclination towards ‘the gorgeous and unhallowed structure of the papal hierarchy’ on the one side, as against ‘the tumults of schism on the other.’”—pp. 313, 314.

It was in this spirit that the glorious movement in the American Church took its rise; and happy are we to believe, that such throughout has been its character even to the present day: and such, we most devoutly hope, will always be the spirit of that living Church—now no longer depressed and deadened by latitudinarian apathy, or heartless timidity, but engaged in all her energies in the great and lofty mission before her. May the spirit and the example of the admirable Hobart for ever animate and sustain her amidst the difficulties by which she is surrounded. Sure we are, that there are very few names in ecclesiastical history which are more deserving of remembrance than that of Hobart.

The history of the American Church presents three great

features—the utter ruin of the established Churches ; the preservation of the Churches which had been gained by conversion from the ranks of Dissent ; and the wonderful movement of late years. The whole is fraught with instruction and warning to ourselves. It is plain, in the first place, that mere endowments and temporal privileges do not always contribute to the strength of the Church. If the clergy be neglectful of their duties, and immoral in their lives ; and if the State avails itself of those endowments to interfere with the essential discipline of the Church, and to degrade its ministers from their legitimate authority, not all the efforts of politicians, or the struggles of the clergy to retain endowments, can prevent the day of reckoning from arriving ; and the Church then sinks irretrievably beneath the weight of her own corruptions, and of the assaults of her enemies. No system of concession, no system of assimilation to the forms of error, can avert this result. There is but one remedy. The simple and unswerving discharge of *duty* will receive the Divine blessing, and protect what would not, under other circumstances, deserve to be protected. The strength of the Church consists wholly in her consciousness of the high end for which she exists, and her zealous application to the accomplishment of those ends. Without this consciousness, her temporal endowments are a source of danger,—*with* it, they are a source of strength. It is her wisdom to seek, in the first place, the promotion of the kingdom of God ; and to be ready, if need be, to risk the temporalities which contribute to her support—not to place her reliance on the arm of flesh, or on the favour of temporal rulers ; not to compromise one particle of her principles in the hopes of propitiating their favour ; never to consent to measures calculated to disturb her established discipline, or to sanction any proposals which may infringe on the spiritual rights and legitimate influence of her ministers ; above all, never for a moment to give way to clamour raised by irreligious or faithless men ; but to resist firmly, and at all hazards, when organic changes are demanded, either in the direction of latitudinarian error, or of Romish superstition. Virginia and Maryland fell through this miserable cowardice and want of principle. Connecticut stemmed the torrent of innovation by its bold and unflinching steadfastness. Hobart lifted up the standard of the Church, and went forth to spiritual conquest and victory. May the mother Church derive from these examples of her beloved children in the West, increased watchfulness over the precious deposit committed to her own care, and a cheering confidence in the strength and the truth of those principles which constitute her glory and her crown.

ART. VI.—1. *Considerations on the State of the Law regarding Marriages with a deceased Wife's Sister. By a Barrister of the Middle Temple.* 1840.

2. *Remarks on the Law regarding Marriage with the Sister of a deceased Sister. By A. HAYWARD, Esq.* 1845.

3. *A Letter on the proposed change in the Laws prohibiting Marriage between those near of kin. Reprinted from the British Magazine, Dec. 1840. By the Rev. E. B. PUSEY, D.D., &c.* Oxford: J. H. Parker. London: Rivingtons. 1842.

THROUGHOUT the whole range of private law, there is perhaps nothing more important in its effects on the well-being of the community than the laws which regulate marriage. A moment's consideration will suffice to show that this is no exaggeration. That contract is truly described by Mr. Justice Story, as the parent, "not the child of society; *principium urbis et quasi seminarium reipublicæ*¹." It is a society—the foundation of all other societies², and the most natural of all societies³. A great jurist, treating of the origin and nature of government, commences that matter with the subject of marriage, thus:—

"As it is impossible to conceive any government excepting among a plurality of persons, and as, according to the undeniable testimony of Holy Writ, God first created one man and one woman, who were the chiefs of the human race; before entering on the subject of civil government, it is necessary to speak of marriage, from whence proceed families, and which is as it were the nursery of states. And as the human body has divers members each of which forms a species of separate body, so a state contains several little societies, some simple and positive, and others of a more composite nature. The latter are usually called corporations and companies, or colleges, and there may be a great number of these, differing in their nature. The former are only of three sorts, that is to say, that of the *husband and the wife*; that of the father and children; and that of the master and servants or slaves. They are called simple because they are not composed of other smaller societies⁴."

By this comprehensive view, the learned writer shows how the

¹ Story, Conflict of L. L., 2nd edit. p. 170.

² Burlamaqui, Principes du Droit de la N. et des G., t. iii. p. 315.

³ Grotius, Dr. de la G. et de la P., tom. i. l. ii. ch. v. § viii.

⁴ Puffendorf, Dr. de la N. et des G., tom. ii. l. vi. ch. i. § i.

matrimonial association is the first element and the foundation of the social state and of all government. It follows from thence, that marriage is a contract essentially *juris gentium*, without which there can be no distinct families, and without which, consequently, there can be no social state⁵. Now it is evident, that the welfare of the community must depend most essentially on the wisdom, the fitness, and the policy of the laws regulating that important contract which lies deep among the roots of the social state, and at the inmost penetralia of public law.

Let us now look upon this subject as Christians. The great nations of antiquity attached a religious character to marriage, but the Church has elevated that contract to something of a sacramental dignity. From the earliest period, it was a rite performed by the ministers of the Christian Church, and accompanied by a benediction, as appears from the writings of Tertullian, Ambrose, Augustine, Gregory Nazianzen, Chrysostom, and other fathers and early councils⁶; and one of the homilies of our Church calls it "the sacrament of matrimony." It moreover figures the spiritual union between Christ and the Church. The great Spanish bishop and canonist Covarruvias says, after remarking that it is a visible sign of an invisible sacred thing,

"Significat enim matrimonium dilectionem inter conjuges futuram, quam Deus per gratiam ipsis conjugibus nectit. Significat etiam spiritualem unionem Christi et ecclesiæ, id est Christi et animarum fidelium. Item repræsentat conjunctionem Christi cum unica sponsa Ecclesia per carnis assumptionem⁷."

Thus the sanction of religion concurs with most cogent reasons of natural and public law, to render the contract and state of marriage a matter requiring the exercise of the utmost wisdom, and the most deliberate, mature, and dispassionate investigation at the hands of the legislator. And yet, there is no branch of law more liable to be perverted by human passions and interests.

We fear to attempt any amplification of this last position; for it would be difficult to do so, without falling into truisms and common-places. What, indeed, can be more evident than that the relation between the two sexes is the most powerful among the causes naturally inherent in mankind, to which the events of man's history may be directly or indirectly traced? What can be more undoubted than that that mysterious portion of human nature is the most uncontrollable, and the most difficult to bring within the empire of reason? It must indeed remain to some

⁵ Ibid. § v.

⁶ Palmer, *Antiq. of the English Ritual*, vol. ii. p. 208. Bingham, *Antiq. b. xxii. ch. iv. sec. i.*

⁷ Covarruvias, *Op. Omn. l. i. p. 129.*

considerable extent beyond the power of all human laws. No subject is more frequently viewed through the medium of passion, or sympathy for the passions of others; and with direct reference to the ardently desired attainment of an end which thus appears to hold out a promise of the certain possession of the perfection of temporal happiness, however unreasonable and absurd the hope of that happiness may in reality be. These reflections are very strongly exemplified by the important and painful subject which is about to be here considered.

It appears that there are in this country a considerable number of persons bearing towards each other the relation of brother-in-law and sister-in-law who are desirous of intermarrying together, and urgent that the law of the land may be so modified as to allow their union to take place. Many of them are, no doubt, persons who deserve sympathy, however erroneous their views may be, and we shall most scrupulously avoid every expression which might give them unnecessary pain; but we must not hesitate to approach the subject, disregarding the interests and wishes of individuals, however amiable and respectable. By these persons, impelled by the strongest feelings of passion or interest, this grave question of expediency, morals, and religion, is now being agitated; and the legislature is urged to grant what they ask as a measure of *relief*.

We are told that there is a committee of persons interested in promoting this object, who exert every means which the confederation of many places at their disposal to bring about the desired change; and the newspapers inform us that public meetings have been held, at which much oratory and not a little zeal have been displayed in that cause. But let us see Dr. Pusey's able representation of this part of the subject:—

“The case is this—a number of persons, it is reported, (some of whom I grieve to say are said to be clergymen,) wish to marry the sisters of their deceased wives; this union, which has all along been contrary to the law of the Church, has lately been made, ipso facto, null and void by the law of the land. . . .

“Of this restriction some interested parties are now compassing the repeal; should they succeed, (which one cannot contemplate without great dismay, and which will not be unless persons are taken by surprise,) the laws of the Church and of the State on marriage would be at variance, and the nation would bring upon itself the guilt of sanctioning incest.

“The activity however of those interested in the repeal of the law is such, that the Church must look to it that it be not taken by surprise. A respectable firm has been retained as solicitors: advertisements, canvassing for support, have appeared in most of the local papers;

secrecy is promised to those who may wish for it; the names of clergymen are eagerly sought for to sanction it; ex-parte statements are gratuitously sent to them; the names of the Archbishop of Dublin and the Bishop of Llandaff are used currently to silence objections, by the influence of their name and known acuteness. It has been even represented that the whole bench of bishops had virtually sanctioned the principle because they assented to Lord Lyndhurst's bill, which legitimatized the children for the past, but which was carried on the express condition that those unions should be absolutely illegal for the future." "In this way the names of one hundred clergymen, chiefly in the diocese of Norwich, have been obtained, who have been rash enough to commit themselves to this measure on these ex-parte statements, and with this nucleus the parties seem confident that the snowball will readily grow." "The repeal is urged as an act of charity to the motherless children, in providing for them the best substitute for her whom they have lost⁸."

It is natural that this "*agitation*" should be so carried on; and every allowance ought charitably to be made for its promoters: but this is evidently a very dangerous way of bringing such a question before the country and the legislature. There is manifest danger that persons engaged in such a cause may mislead others as well as themselves. The sympathy of those not directly interested in the matter is excited by the mode in which it is brought before them, as an appeal from persons suffering a terrible privation,—to whom the law denies what would, if it were permitted, confer on them the greatest happiness and consolation. The law of the Church and the law of the State are held up to public execration, like the tyrant in a romance, who is constantly persecuting the two lovers, and who must be made an example of before they can be united. And thus there seems to be some danger that the real merits and sound principles of this subject will be overwhelmed by a torrent of passion, interest, declamation, and sentimentality.

We will therefore endeavour to examine the question at issue in a calm dispassionate way, without partizanship, on grounds of law, morality, and religion, casting aside all the popular trappings and ornaments with which it has been dressed up, even at the risk of appearing severe and inaccessible to compassion for those unfortunate persons whose grievances have been lately so pathetically brought forward in pamphlets, at public meetings, and in Parliament.

Let us first see how the law stood before the passing of Lord Lyndhurst's act, making the marriage with a deceased wife's sister null and void, which was previously only voidable.

⁸ A Letter on the Proposed Change in Laws of Marriage, pp. 4, 5.

"Now these disabilities (to contract marriage) are of two sorts: first, such as are canonical, and therefore sufficient by the ecclesiastical laws to avoid the marriage in the spiritual court; but these in our law only make the marriage voidable, and not ipso facto void until sentence of nullity is obtained." "Of this nature are precontract, consanguinity, or relation by blood and affinity, or relation by marriage, and some particular corporal infirmities." "And these canonical disabilities are either grounded on the express words of the divine law, or are consequences plainly deducible from thence: it therefore being sinful in the persons who labour under them to attempt to contract matrimony together, they are properly the object of the ecclesiastical magistrate's coercion; in order to separate the offenders, and inflict penance for the offence, *pro salute animarum*." "But such marriages not being void ab initio, but voidable only by sentence of separation, they are esteemed valid to all civil purposes, unless such separation is actually made during the life of the parties." "For after the death of either of them, the courts of common law will not suffer the spiritual court to declare such marriages to have been void: because such declaration cannot now tend to the reformation of the parties⁹." "And therefore, when a man had married his first wife's sister, and after her death the bishop's court was proceeding to annul the marriage and bastardize the issue, the Court of King's Bench granted a prohibition *quoad hoc*; but permitted them to proceed to punish the husband for incest¹." "These canonical disabilities being entirely the province of the ecclesiastical courts, our books are perfectly silent concerning them." "But there are a few statutes which serve as directions to those courts, of which it will be proper to take notice." "By stat. 32 Hen. VIII. c. 38, it is declared, that all persons may lawfully marry but such as are prohibited by God's law; and that all marriages contracted by lawful persons in the face of the Church, and consummated with bodily knowledge and fruit of children, shall be indissoluble." "And (because in the times of Popery a great variety of degrees of kindred were made impediments to marriage, which impediments might however be bought off for money) it is declared by the same statute, that nothing (God's law except) shall impeach any marriage, but within the Levitical degrees, the furthest of which is that between uncle and niece²." "By the same statute all impediments arising from precontracts to other persons were abolished and declared of none effect, unless they had been consummated with bodily knowledge: in which case the canon law holds such contracts to be a marriage *de facto*³."

Here we have the exposition of the state of the law before Lord Lyndhurst's act, by the great Blackstone. The advocates of those who wish to marry their deceased wife's sister have attempted ingeniously to mystify these plain rules and enact-

⁹ Co. Litt. 33.

¹ Salk. 548.

² Gilb. Rep. 158.

³ J. Blackst. Conv. 434, 435.

ments by bringing in a good deal of prejudice and declamation about Henry the Eighth and his wives, and the successive alterations in the law during his reign and that of Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth. Thus Mr. Hayward says,—

“It is obvious that these legislative declarations did not originate in moral or religious motives. . . . They were political measures, having for their main objects the gratification of the sovereign’s wishes, and the settlement of the succession to the crown. . . . In Mary’s reign, it became necessary to sanction all marriages in the same degree of affinity as that of her mother, Catherine of Aragon. . . . In Elizabeth’s, it was thought necessary to discredit them, in order to set up the marriage with Anne Boleyn; and the twist thus given to opinion lasted for more than half a century,—in fact, so long as the Protestant Succession was at stake⁴.”

All this does not affect the question before us, which is simply, whether marriages with a deceased wife’s sister ought to be permitted by a law to be now enacted for that purpose. Nobody supposes that King Henry the Eighth is a very respectable authority on the law of marriage; but if the statute, 32 Henry VIII. c. 38, is in accordance with the laws of the Church and the principles of good morals, the conduct and character of that king afford no reason whatever for altering it.

We must apply similar observations to the colour of religious partizanship ingeniously thrown upon the question, with a view of engaging the prejudices of those who call themselves *Protestants*. Mr. Hayward says,—

“Prior to the Reformation, the degrees within which persons might marry were prescribed by the Canon Law, and the restrictions were made as numerous as possible, that the Romish Church might extort a revenue by dispensing with them. . . . At this period, a marriage with the sister of a deceased wife stood on the same footing as a marriage with a sixth or seventh cousin. . . . Both were formally prohibited, and both actually took place⁵.”

This paragraph is evidently intended to raise a prejudice against the Canon Law and the prohibitions of the Church, by asserting that they sprung from extortion and covetousness. But it is, moreover, *incorrect in point of law*. We were not a little amazed at the statement, that during the period before the Reformation a marriage with a sixth or seventh cousin was formally prohibited by the Canon Law; but finding that statement deliberately put forth in print, we thought it necessary to refresh our memory by referring to the *Corpus Juris Canonici*. What do the Decretals say on the point? They show, that under Pope Innocent III.,

⁴ Remarks, &c. p. 15.

⁵ Remarks, &c. p. 14.

as early as the twelfth century, the prohibited degrees were restricted, by the council of Lateran IV., within and inclusive of the fourth degree⁶. And it appears from the Institutions of Devoti, (the text-book used in the university of Rome,) that the Canon Law on this point has remained unchanged from that time to this⁷. It would moreover be easy to show, (but this would be irrelevant to the subject,) that the extension of the prohibited degrees to the seventh degree was introduced by the Roman emperors; whereas the restriction of the prohibition to the fourth degree was the work of the Church at the fourth Council of Lateran. So much for this attempt to throw discredit on the Canon Law.

The law set forth above, according to Blackstone, remained unaltered until Lord Lyndhurst's act, 5 & 6 Will. IV. c. 54. But the only effect of that statute, so far as it regards the marriage with a wife's sister entered into since that act, was to make the law of the State identical with that of the Church. Blackstone says, that such marriages were not void, but voidable by sentence of separation. The reason of this is manifestly that the canonical disabilities of consanguinity and affinity were entirely within the province of the ecclesiastical courts; and, therefore, the marriage of persons incapacitated by reason of those disabilities was held good by the temporal law until it was set aside by the ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

Now what did Lord Lyndhurst's act do? It did not enact a new prohibition. It only, in substance, made the temporal law confirm and carry into effect that of the Church. It said, that those marriages entered into contrary to the law of the Church should be held void by the temporal courts, although they had not been set aside by the ecclesiastical courts, as they would be if they had been so set aside. Thus the only question that we have to consider, is the authority of the law of the Church forbidding marriage with a wife's sister. If that law is of no authority and may be disregarded, then the statute ought to be repealed. By the statute of Hen. VIII., all persons may marry *but such as are prohibited by God's law*. Lord Coke says,—“That by the statute in question it is declared, that all persons may marry that are not prohibited by the Levitical degrees.” And this construction of the words *by God's law* is adopted by the judges in various decisions⁸.

Now the learned author of the two pamphlets which stand at the head of this article, undertakes to prove, first, that the mar-

⁶ C. 8. De Consanguin. Decretal Gregor. l. iii. tit. xiv. cap. viii.

⁷ Devoti Inst. Canon. tom. i. p. 540, edit. iii.

⁸ Co. Litt. 235 a. Vaughan, 302. 5 Mod. 448.

riage with a wife's sister is not within the Levitical degrees; and, secondly, that that portion of the Levitical law is not binding on Christians; and he argues, that the decisions against the validity of marriage with a wife's sister originated in mistake, and ought, therefore, to be disregarded; and that thus the legal as well as the religious reasons against such marriages totally fail.

He says,—

“The whole question (as to whether these marriages are within the Levitical degrees) turns on the eighteenth verse: *Neither shalt thou take a wife to her sister to vex her . . . beside the other in her lifetime.*—Levit. xviii. 18⁹.”

Now this position we deny to be correct. Mr. Hayward appeals to the authority of Adam Clarke and Dr. Dodd. Adam Clarke only says that the marriage of a sister-in-law is not made illegal *by this law*, which we do not deny. Dr. Dodd, however, carries the case a step further. He says, *it seems a natural conclusion, from the phrase ‘in her lifetime,’ that he might marry the sister of his deceased wife.* This seems to us an unsound argument. Assuming that the English translation is literally correct, it does not follow, from the prohibition to marry two sisters together, that it is lawful to marry them successively. The former verses contain prohibitions founded on propinquity; but the eighteenth verse is grounded on a totally different reason, as appears from the words *to vex her*. It is a law against a particularly offensive and mischievous species of polygamy, whereas the former verses are levelled against incest. The eighteenth verse provides for a particular special case, and does not restrict, by implication, the general effect of the former verses. So that, if the former verses make marriage with a deceased wife's sister illegal, the eighteenth verse clearly does not make it legal. And let us hear, on this text, the learned Dr. Hammond:—

“And if, by the English reading of our Bibles, (Lev. xviii.) it is thought that the marrying the wife's sister *in her lifetime* be the only thing forbidden, and that, consequently, to marry her after the wife's death is not forbidden, that will be presently answered from the margin of our translation, where the Hebrew is fitly and truly rendered not *a wife to her sister*, but *one wife to another*; and so is a direct prohibition of polygamy, at least, when the first wife is deprived and vexed by the taking in of the second, but not a permission to marry any that was otherwise prohibited. . . . And that this is the meaning of the place may be first more generally concluded from the variation of the style in this from the former verses. . . . The former interdicts had been

⁹ Remarks, &c. p. 10.

given upon the reason of *propinquity*; and accordingly, that reason distinctly mentioned first in general verse six, and then pursued in all needful particulars of it to the end of verse seventeen. . . . But the interdict here is upon a new reason, that of *vezing*, which is an evidence that the first sort of interdicts (continued for twelve persons) is now quite finished, and that another head is begun against *more wives than one*; and, accordingly, upon that ensue divers other new and particular commands to the end of the chapter¹."

And then the learned divine goes on to show that the law in question only forbids having *two wives at a time*, because the word *sister*, in Hebrew, referring to something precedent, signifies any other thing of the same kind, and is an ordinary Hebrew word to express parity or likeness. On this point, however, it appears, from Hammond, that there was a difference of opinion between the two schools of Scripturarians and Talmudists.

But whether the eighteenth verse of Leviticus means that a man shall not have two wives at the same time, or that he shall not have two wives being sisters at the same time, the prohibition to marry the sister of a deceased wife does not rest on that text. That prohibition is *necessarily* inferred by parity of reason from the former verses of the same chapter. Dr. Pusey—after showing the unsoundness of the inference, that because the law forbids the marriage with a wife's sister in her lifetime, therefore it permits such a marriage after the wife's decease, and citing St. Basil (ep. 160. ad Diodorum,) in support of his opinion that such an argument is captious,—goes on to say:

"It is remarkable, further, that they who plead the scripturalness of these unions on the ground of this inference, themselves protest against the prohibition, as being founded on an inference. . . . In this case, however, the prohibition does lie so clearly in the words of Scripture that it cannot be called an inference. . . . Scripture prohibits peremptorily all commixtures of those of kin. . . . *None of you shall approach to any that is near of kin, to uncover their nakedness. . . . I am the Lord. . . .* The solemnity of these last words might well deter any one who knew that he was one day to be judged by that Lord, from tampering with the command to which they are annexed. . . . But if people really wish to know the meaning of that prohibition, not simply to find a plea for passion, it is plain enough. . . . The original is still more expressive; it is literally, *none of you shall approach to the flesh* (and hence near kin) *of his flesh*. . . . Since then the wife is 'bone of his bone, and *flesh of his flesh*,' (the very word,) and again, 'and they twain shall be *one flesh*,' one sees not on what plea the *flesh* or *near kin* of the wife should not be held to be included in this prohibition. . . . As St. Basil argues, 'What can be more akin to the husband than his

¹ Dr. Hammond's Works, vol. i. p. 583, 2nd edit.

own wife, yea, rather than his own flesh?' . . . We need, therefore, go no further for a distinct prohibition in the very letter of Holy Scripture than this first verse; the more you press the very words of Scripture, the more distinctly does the prohibition appear to be conveyed in those words. . . . And the coincidence certainly is remarkable, that St. Basil does appeal to this verse alone as in itself containing the prohibition. . . . But further, in the following verses, instances are given of what is meant by *near of kin*, and among these is the husband's brother². . . . Since then marriage is the same in the two sexes, and purity the same, and breach of purity the same, it can scarcely be called an inference, to say that the union with the wife's sister is included in the general prohibition, 'none of you shall approach to any that is near of kin to him to uncover their nakedness.' . . . Certainly it includes the specific case much more clearly than 'thou shalt not commit adultery,' does fornication or other sins of impurity, or 'honour thy father and thy mother,' obedience to kin, and respect for the grey head. . . . What an undutiful, captious spirit is it which pleads for self-indulgence in every thing which the very letter of Scripture does not absolutely in set words prohibit; which will do nothing, give up nothing, unless it find it in the bond, though it be ever so plain that the whole class of actions to which it belongs is included even in the very letter, and one exactly corresponding is specified! . . . In what way will such arguers prove on Scripture grounds suicide to be self-murder? . . . It is plain then that all union with the sister of a deceased wife is condemned in spirit as defilement: the very words in which it is prohibited imply this; they are such as this age, so refined in words, so carnal in thoughts and actions, does not like to repeat. . . . Will it then be pleaded that the wife's sister is not 'near of kin,' although the husband's brother is? . . . And if the one union is pollution, what else can the other be³?"

These arguments seem to us most unanswerable; but if any further authority is desired, it is to be found in Hammond.

Let us return to Mr. Hayward's argument. The learned writer argues the lawfulness of marriage with a deceased wife's sister from the text of Deuteronomy, (xxxv. 5.) where the marriage with the widow of a brother is commanded under certain circumstances⁴. But this is manifestly an exception which proves the rule. *Exceptio probat regulam in casibus non exceptis*. This text requiring for a special reason that a man should marry his brother's widow, does not necessarily render lawful a marriage with a wife's sister to whom those reasons are manifestly inapplicable.

Hammond demonstrates two separate points: first, that marrying a wife's sister was forbidden by the Levitical law; and,

² Levit. xviii. 16.

³ Letter on the proposed Change in the Laws of Marriage, pp. 7, 8.

⁴ Remarks, &c. p. 11.

secondly, that the subsequent command in Deuteronomy, to marry a brother's widow, did not supersede that prohibition in Leviticus. Let us see what he says on both points :

"The first of these appears by the parity of reason. . . . And the Jews have resolved in this matter, even those of them (the Karæans or Scripturarians) that bind themselves most to the Scripture rule. 1. That there is place for argumentation and deduction from the words of the law: and 2. That whatsoever can be deduced thence, either *à fortiori* or *à pari*, either because the remoter degree is prohibited, or that which is equally remote is to be deemed piously and rightly concluded. . . . Thus when (*ver.* 7) the father and mother are both named; and (*ver.* 12) the father's sister, and (*ver.* 13) the mother's sister, and (*ver.* 14) the father's brother, yet the mother's brother is not named, nor the sister's daughter, which would be equivalent with that. . . . And yet this being the marriage with the uncle on the mother's side with the niece, and the aunt on the mother's side with the nephew, from the naming and prohibition of these *ver.* 13, 14, by the parity of reason that which is not named is by all resolved to be prohibited."

"And just thus it is in this matter: this is the wife's sister which is not named, being directly the same degree of propinquity that the brother's wife which is named and prohibited. . . . And that will appear by either of the two ways of measuring the propinquity, the wife's sister being as near to the husband, as the husband's brother is to the wife, and the sister's husband as near to the other sister as the brother's wife can be to the other brother. . . . And accordingly, the scripturarian Jews, as well as the rest, do here resolve, that a man is forbidden to marry two which are kin to one another, and specify in a woman and her sister⁵."

This is a most conclusive refutation of the arguments of those who say that marriage with a deceased wife's sister is not forbidden by the Levitical law. Let us see how Hammond establishes the second point :

"The first part of the consequence being thus cleared, viz. that the taking the wife's sister was to the Jews forbidden; the second branch (viz. that this prohibition was not afterwards superseded and dispensed with by the countermand in Deuteronomy, of marrying the brother's wife,) will immediately appear both by the force of the old rule, that the law of exceptions confirms the obligation of all those that are not excepted, and especially by the cessation of the reason for the taking away this latter, which held and prevailed for the taking away the former obligation. . . . For whereas the preserving the elder brother's family depended on the younger's marrying the relict and *raising up seed to him*, which might succeed to his name and patrimony, it is manifest, that the sister succeeding the sister and bearing children to

⁵ Hammond's Works, p. 563.

the husband, would bring no such advantage along with it: for any other wife of any other family would as probably bear him children, and doing so, as certainly bear up his name and family, as his wife's sister could do: whereas the son of another family, marrying the relict of the eldest brother of this, would certainly beget all the children to his own name and family, and not to him whose wife he married⁶."

Mr. Hayward cites a strange argument of archbishop Whateley on this law of Deuteronomy.

"As for the allegations from Leviticus, (says his Grace,) if any one brings them forward in sincerity, he should be prepared to advocate adherence to it in all points alike; among others, the compulsory marriage of a brother with his deceased brother's widow."

But can it be shown that the law of prohibited degrees rests on the same reasons as that commanding the marriage with a brother's widow? Unless this is so, the archbishop's argument fails. But it is clearly not so. The law of prohibited degrees is grounded on the reason, that marriages within those degrees are incestuous and polluted,—a reason which applies to us as well as to the Jews; whereas the command to marry a brother's widow springs from reasons peculiar to the Jewish institutions, the perpetuation of the lines of their families and tribes.

Having thus shown the groundlessness of the opinion that the marriages in question are not forbidden by the law in Leviticus, (chap. xviii.) we will proceed to demolish the position that that law is not binding on Christians.

Mr. Hayward first cites Jeremy Taylor in support of that opinion. But, with all reverence to that great divine, it must be admitted that his ideas were so unsettled on the law of incestuous marriages, that his authority on the point in question cannot be rated very high. Dr. Pusey informs us that Jeremy Taylor, speaking of the marriage of *own brothers and sisters*, says that it is "unlawful only because forbidden by positive law; but because the prohibition is not at all in the Laws of Christ, therefore it cannot be accounted against the prime laws of nature, of which that is a perfect system." But if the marriage of brothers and sisters is unlawful only because forbidden by positive law, *where is that positive law?* If it is a positive *human* law, it must follow that the legislator may repeal or dispense with it, which is monstrous: and indeed Jeremy Taylor himself says that "it cannot be dispensed withal by any power of man⁷." It must therefore be a positive *Divine* law,—that is to say, the Levitical law. Thus if the Levitical law of forbidden degrees is not binding on Chris-

⁶ Hammond, p. 586.

⁷ Proposed Change, &c. p. 11, note.

tians, the civil power may permit the marriage of brothers and sisters, which is absurd;—and if it is binding on Christians, —the prohibition to marry a deceased wife's sister is binding together with the rest of the Levitical degrees.

Mr. Hayward continues; “To this opinion upon the present validity of the Jewish Judicial Code, it may be sufficient to add the venerable name of Hooker, that of Sir James Mackintosh, and of Michaelis⁸.” Now Hooker only says, (b. i. c. 15.) that the law of rites and ceremonies is abrogated, but we are not aware that he ever said that the law of the Levitical degrees is not binding on Christians. As for Sir James Mackintosh, we cannot admit that his opinion ought to have great weight on a question of Ecclesiastical law and theological learning. Besides, the passage cited by Mr. Hayward from the History of England, written by that learned person, is expressed in very doubtful language. He says, “surely the law of Leviticus may be understood as divine, yet prescribed only for the Jewish people.” “It seems indeed to be a part of their national code.”

Michaelis gives a more decided opinion. He states,—

“That the marriages prohibited by Moses naturally divide themselves into two classes,—of which, the first comprehends those of the closest possible affinity, as between parents and children, brothers and sisters, and those of step-parents and parents-in-law with their respective children; and the second class, those *who do not reside constantly in one house*, and whom we cannot precisely determine in the same manner among every people.” “He pronounces his opinion that marriages of the first class only are reckoned by Moses among the abominations which God disapproved and punished in the Canaanites;” and adds, “that even if Moses did consider marriages of the second class abominations for which God punished the Canaanites, still that his prohibitions of such remote connexions do not affect us⁹.”

This distinction is specious, but nothing of the kind appears on the face of the Levitical law. Does not this seem a rather dangerous way of tampering with the plain words of Scripture, by drawing distinctions where none are set down by the inspired writer?

Grotius, it is true, seems to incline to a distinction of this kind¹; but that great jurist looks upon the Levitical law only with reference to what is and what is not natural law, which renders his opinion somewhat foreign to our purpose. Hammond however remarks upon the passage of Grotius referred to above, in a way which affords an answer to Michaelis.

⁸ Considerations, &c. p. 20.

⁹ Considerations, &c. p. 20.

¹ Grot. de Jur. B. et P. l. ii. c. v. § xiv.

"Besides that the Karæans have prevented this interpretation, by affirming the whole kind of incestuous marriages (of which say they, those that follow are but some examples) to be comprehended in the first words of the interdict, ver. 6, '*none of you shall approach to any that is near of kin to him*;' 'tis obvious to conceive how ill a precedent this is, and how dangerous a way of interpreting, to restrain where the law does so distinctly not restrain, to except some particulars when the words are repeated over and over in the most unlimited comprehensive form of universality: '*Defile not yourselves in any of these, for in all these the nations*,' &c. ver. 24; and, '*ye shall not commit any of these*,' ver. 29; '*for all these abominations*,' &c. ver. 27; and, '*whosoever shall commit any of these abominations*,' ver. 29; and, '*not any of these abominable customs*,' ver. 30. And so again, c. 20. 23, '*The nations committed all these*.' 'Tis not possible words should be more providently formed to exclude all exception or restraint, and to define *every* of the forenamed practices to be abominations first, and those very abominations (*all* of them) for which the Canaanites were cast out²."

We must moreover warn the learned writer of these pamphlets, that if he admits the validity of the doctrine laid down by Michaelis, he must admit that the prohibition of marriages between nephews and aunts, and uncles and nieces, is not binding on Christians, which would be absurd. Such a necessary conclusion shows the danger of these specious and ingenious distinctions. Dr. Pusey has some valuable reflections on this part of the subject:—

"There are, as I said, gradations of course in incest, as in every other sin." "Natures which revolt not at some, yet revolt at others; but each outer prohibition is a fence drawn round the inner and yet more sacred; any removal of the outer brings the question close to the inner." "God sets so many lines, as it were, to keep man from rushing in upon what is most sacred; whoso removes the first, risks all." "There is consistency in adhering to the canons of the Church, to the principles of the Levitical law, and with these we are assured the principles of pure human nature coincide." "But if there be any one point violated, consistency is at an end, and we are told that 'the difficulty of discovering any precise limit, sufficiently distinct and universal, within which the prohibition of marriage shall be confined, is pointed out by all the most eminent jurists and divines who have written on the subject³:' i. e. if the prohibitions of the Church are set aside, it is found impossible to substitute any other principle. Surely then these admissions shall be our warning." "C'est le premier pas qui coûte." "The whole question is wrapped up in the first decision; it then remains only for the rest to be unravelled in proportion as passion or secular ends prevail against the remnants of natural feeling; there

² Hammond, p. 588.

³ Considerations, &c. p. 41.

are no more knots to be undone, it but hangs together until a little stronger external impulse be given to dissolve it⁴."

We now come to a very important part of this disquisition; namely, the judgment of the Church on the obligatory force of the Levitical prohibitions, and the validity of these marriages.

Mr. Hayward disposes of that judgment in a very summary way :—

"The Apostles," he informs us, "are silent on the point, but reference has been made to the practice of the early Christians." "Now admitting that their inclination was to condemn such marriages,—their inclination was certainly much stronger to prevent clergymen from marrying at all." "They also considered any second marriage, or marriage with a widow, as communicating a taint." "It is impossible therefore to adopt their practice or doctrine without distinguishing what is reconcilable with the present state of society, and what is not; and the moment we come to distinguish, the force of the authority (as such) is at an end⁵."

It is difficult to see how these statements affect the question at issue. The celibacy of the clergy and second marriages have nothing to do with the determination of the Church, *that the Levitical law of incestuous marriages is binding on Christians, and that marriage with a wife's sister is within the prohibited degrees*. Those matters are manifestly within the jurisdiction of the Church, and her decisions thereon must be of great weight with Christians. We do not refer merely to the practice of the early Christians, but to the decrees of councils.

Let us see what Hammond says :

"Beyond this, it is further manifest that the Church of Christ (which will bear sway with all sober and humble Christians, and to whose canons none did obstinately deny submission without the brand and reward of schism, that great sin of carnality in the Apostle's account, most contrary to the unity of members and to the meekness prescribed by Christ,) hath, through all ages, from the Apostolical first and purest times, been most strict in prescribing abstinence from such liberties, particularly this which we have in hand, which appears partly from the infamy which hath attended such marriages, which suppose them to have been unlawful by some former law, partly by the plain words of the canons which have forbidden them⁶."

Here is a strongly expressed opinion of this great divine of the Church of England, that the marriages in question were condemned by the Church *in all ages from the apostolical times*. But

⁴ Proposed Change, pp. 11, 12.

⁵ Remarks, &c. p. 12.

⁶ Hammond, p. 590.

Mr. Hayward allows little weight to the practice and judgment of the early Church, because, as he says, in those days,—

“ the fair face of Christianity began to be deformed by the dark stain of asceticism, altogether alien from the benevolent and social spirit of its Divine Founder. And thus the venerable rite of marriage, which in our admirable Liturgy is described as ‘instituted of God in the time of man’s innocency, signifying unto us the mystical union that is between Christ and his Church;’ that holy law, by which

‘ Relations dear, and all the charities
Of father, son, and brother, first were known,’

began to lose the mysterious reverence with which it was regarded by the earliest followers of that Saviour, ‘who had adorned and beautified it by his presence,’ and to lie in disgrace with most of the ancient doctors as a work of the flesh, almost a defilement, wholly denied to priests, and the second time dissuaded to all; as he that reads Tertullian and Jerome may see at large.”—*Milton*’.

We are not going either to discuss or to give any opinion respecting the merits or demerits of asceticism: but this we will say, that those who have really studied and considered that system, must see that it does not involve any derogation from the sacredness of marriage. The ascetic system, strictly so called, was only intended for a particular class of persons, or for particular times, ill-calculated for marrying and giving in marriage. It was never intended to pervade society, nor to interfere with the continuance of the human race and the due performance of all the duties of the social state, by those whose lot was cast in the secular life of the world. It was the state and condition of penitents—men of prayer and meditation. It had its abuses, no doubt; and in certain places and times those abuses were great. But we submit, with all deference, that Mr. Hayward has not an accurate notion of what it was. As for the name of Milton, he was too prejudiced to be of any authority on such a subject.

The learned writer is of opinion that asceticism brought marriage into disrepute, and that hence the prohibited degrees were extended “under a state of feeling in which the natural emotions were branded as a crime, and marriage only tolerated as a necessary evil.” And yet at that time marriage was actually held to be a sacrament of the Church! But the extension of the prohibited degrees seems to imply respect for the sacredness of marriage rather than the contrary. What does Grotius say?—

“J’avoue pourtant que les premiers Chrétiens ont bien fait de

⁷ Considerations, &c. p. 35.

s'imposer eux-mêmes la nécessité d'observer non-seulement les loix préscrites en commun à tous les hommes, mais encore plusieurs autres qui n'avoient été établies que pour les Hébreux en particulier; et de s'interdire même le mariage dans quelques autres degrés plus reculés, afin de porter la pudeur comme toutes les autres vertus plus loin que n'avoient fait les Hébreux. . . . Cela s'introduisit de bonne heure, avec un consentement fort unanime, comme il paroît par les anciens canons. . . . St. Augustin, parlant du mariage entre cousins-germains, tant du côté du père que du côté de la mère, dit que les Chrétiens profitoient rarement de la permission que les loix donnoient là-dessus, qu'encore que ces sortes de mariages ne soient pas défendues par la loi Divine, on les avoient en horreur à cause de la proximité des autres degrés qu'elle défend. . . . Les rois et les peuples ont suivi dans leurs loix ces idées de pudeur. . . . L'Empereur Théodose défendit les mariages entre cousins-germains, quels qu'ils soient, et St. Ambroise loue cette ordonnance comme un règlement saint et pieux ⁸."

It appears then, that the extension of the forbidden degrees arose from the high ideas which the early Christians entertained of the purity and chastity of marriage, and not, as Mr. Hayward supposes, from an ascetic horror of that state. But let us return to Hammond.

"The Apostolick Canons forbade the taking any man into the clergy, making him a Bishop or a Deacon, which shall have married two sisters (one after the death of the other), or the brother's daughter. . . . And Zonaras styles it there an *incestuous* marriage ⁹."

The advocates of marriage with a wife's sister have strangely enough argued from this canon, that such a marriage was only forbidden to the clergy, but permitted to the laity. To such reasoners, Hammond answers:—

"This will be the same strange way of arguing, as if from the qualifications of the Bishop, set down by St. Paul, that he should be no drunkard, no covetous person, &c.; *i. e.* that such as are so should not be admitted to holy orders, we should conclude, that these qualities might be lawful and free for other men who were not ecclesiastics ¹."

So as St. Paul says that a bishop should be the husband of one wife, it would follow that whoever is not a bishop may have more than one wife; and that St. Paul only considered a plurality of wives as a disqualification for the office of a bishop.

This is, indeed, a most complete *reductio ad absurdum*!

It is remarkable that Constantine, the first Christian Emperor,

⁸ Grot. Dr. de la G. and de la P., l. ii. ch. v. § xiv.

⁹ Hammond, p. 590.

¹ Ibid.

enacted a law against the marriage with a wife's sister: The Emperor decrees thus:—

“Etsi licitum veteres crediderint, nuptiis fratris solutis, ducere fratris uxorem, licitum etiam post mortem mulieris aut divortium, contrahere cum ejusdem sorore conjugium; abstineant ab hujusmodi nuptiis universi, nec æstiment posse legitimos liberos ex hoc conjugio procreari; nam spurios esse convenit qui nascentur².”

The Emperor refers to those marriages as having been believed to be lawful among the Pagans—but positively forbids them, and declares them illegal for the future. And this law was confirmed by the Emperors Constans and Julian, and Honorius and Theodosius³.

The council of Eliberis, held under Pope Marcellus I. A. D. 306, threatens those who are guilty of marrying their deceased wife's sister with excommunication for five years,—in those days a most dreadful punishment: and the council of Neocæsarea, held in 314, declares in still more severe terms,—*Mulier si duobus fratribus nupserit, abjiciatur usque ad mortem*. She was to be an outcast from the Church to the day of her death. And the council of Epaon, in 517, forbids the admission to penance of those who contracted incestuous marriages, and among such marriages mentions that with a deceased wife's sister⁴. These are very weighty authorities, and must be conclusive with those who do not reject the authority of the Church altogether on such matters. Those who do we cannot hope to convince.

Even they will however give some weight to the prohibition of the laws of the land:—

“To these I shall add but this one thing, that if the authority of the universal Church of Christ be so vile to them, yet the authority of the civil magistrate and municipal laws being not so profestly under their prejudice, it is sufficiently known that thus much of the canon law is received into and confirmed by the law of this land, and the marrying of the wife's sister prohibited⁵.”

Mr. Hayward argues, that the doctrine held in the case of *Hill v. Good*⁶, which is the leading case in which the temporal courts have decided against the validity of a marriage with a deceased wife's sister, originated in mistake, and ought, therefore, to be disregarded. Let us examine this point.

In that case Chief Justice Vaughan refers to the table pre-

² Cod. Theodos. lib. iii. tit. xiii.

³ Van Espen, *Jus Eccles.* tom. ii. p. 471.

⁵ Hammond, p. 590.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Vaugh. Rep.*

pared by Archbishop Parker in 1563, containing an enumeration of the prohibited degrees, which is hung up in churches, and added to the prayer-book. That table is confirmed by the canons of 1603. Those canons, however, not having been confirmed by Parliament, are not binding, *as law*, on the laity. Mr. Hayward argues, that as the Chief Justice's judgment depends almost exclusively on the assumed validity of those canons, therefore the case of *Hill v. Good* is of no authority.

But in the first place, if the canons of 1603 are not binding on the laity, they are binding on the clergy. It therefore follows that the clergy could not lawfully celebrate marriages within the degrees enumerated in Archbishop Parker's table; and that such marriages, celebrated contrary to the canons, are invalid, as they are expressly declared to be in that table. The canons of 1603, undeniably binding as law on the clergy, deprive them of all power to celebrate marriages within the prohibited degrees, and make their acts done contrary to the canonical prohibitions of no effect. Thus Archbishop Parker's table, by affecting the validity of the acts of the clergy, on whom the canons of 1603 were binding, affected the marriages of the laity, which could only be valid if lawfully celebrated by the clergy, who were bound by those canons.

In the second place, we have seen that the statute of Henry VIIIth refers to the prohibitions of *God's law*, as the test of what marriages are and what are not incestuous. Now the judgment of the convocation must be a very high authority to determine what *God's law* is. It follows, that the canons of 1603, confirming Archbishop Parker's table, are an authority to show what degrees are forbidden, though they are not binding on the laity as law.

But this is, after all, not very material, for we have shown that a marriage with the sister of a deceased wife *is contrary to God's law*, as set forth in the Bible.

Mr. Hayward seems to assume, that as the canons of 1603 are not binding as law on the laity, therefore they are to be utterly disregarded and condemned by the laity. It however appears to us that such a conclusion is by no means warranted by the premises. The judgment of the Church in convocation assembled, on a point of religious duty and conscience, ought indeed to be held sacred by every member of that Church. Though not invested with the sanction of temporal law, it is still a decision of the Church. The Church has solemnly decided that marriages contracted between persons related to each other within the degrees contained in Archbishop Parker's table, including brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, are "incestuous and

unlawful." Is such a determination to go for nothing because it is not confirmed by Parliament?

We must dismiss without answer the many sneers at the canon law with which Mr. Hayward's pamphlets abound. He, probably, used those sneers only *serviens causæ*, as an advocate. But however this may be, the learned gentleman is a person of acknowledged and undoubted ability and high literary attainments, and we feel confident that if he were to bestow the necessary time and application on the study of the canon law, he would readily see and acknowledge the profound wisdom and the venerable dignity of that grand and splendid system.

The unlawfulness of marriage with a wife's sister has now been shown, not only from ecclesiastical canons, imperial constitutions, and the laws of this realm, but from holy writ itself. The statute 5 and 6 William IV. c. 54, only confirms the law established by those great authorities. Ought that statute to be repealed? Ought the law of the State to be rendered diametrically opposed to the canons of the Church of England, and to the law of the Catholic Church in all ages? Such an innovation would be most pernicious.

Let us remember how great is the importance of the law regulating marriage to the good order, and morality, and happiness of society. That law ought not to be tampered with, unless on grounds most weighty and undeniable. But we will not repeat what has been said at the commencement of this article. Dr. Pusey has some valuable remarks on the danger of repealing the law in question, which deserve careful consideration.

"The repeal of the law would in three ways shake the sacredness of marriage itself.

"1. That sacredness depends upon the whole tone of our moral feeling; whatever weakens that feeling undermines that sacredness, even when it does not immediately bear upon the nature of *all* marriage; every thing which lowers marriage any way, affects it altogether; pollution of any sort *injures* the reverence felt towards the whole institution; a lowered tone about incest cannot consist with a high sense of marriage itself.

"2. The way in which the change is proposed to be made adds to this evil, for it implies that marriage is only a civil institution, if incest is to be only what the State declares such, not dependent upon the Law of God, or of the Church, or of human nature." "If the State claims to make and unmake incest, it has virtually claimed the whole law of marriage as belonging to it."

"3. The very principle whereon the sacredness of marriage depends, the unity of those united by it, is involved in this very first case." "It is because 'they are no more twain, but one flesh,' that the wife's

sister becomes the sister of the husband." "And so, as St. Basil says, '*as a man would not take the mother of his wife, nor the daughter of his wife, because neither would he his own mother nor his own daughter, so neither the sister of his wife, because neither would he his own sister.*'" "Those, then, who deny that the sister is akin to the husband, must deny that the husband and the wife are really one, and so at once strike at the very root and mysteriousness of marriage, and in so doing treat very irreverently our Lord's words⁷."

This is a most serious point, for the words of our Lord have a direct bearing on the question in dispute. The authority of St. Basil is, moreover, not to be neglected. But let our readers consider what would be the danger of breaking in upon the limits within which marriage is forbidden. If once those limits are infringed, where shall we stop? What new relaxation of the law may not be attempted? What rule is to be followed? All will be uncertainty and doubt, as it is easy to perceive by the mere inspection of the works of jurists who have attempted to decide questions of this nature on mere abstract principle.

With regard to the expediency of marriage with a wife's sister, considered in itself solely on grounds of morality and policy, the Bishop of London's profound and eloquent reasoning is unanswered and unanswerable. His lordship says:—

"Now, my lords, with regard to the question of expediency. I look at the state of society in this country, and I see reason to think that the prohibition which prevents the intermarriage of persons within certain near degrees of affinity is the very safe-guard of our domestic relations. Whatever advantages, my lords, might result from its removal, in my opinion they would be more than counterbalanced by the evils that would flow from that measure. There are cases, my lords, I admit, where a widower is desirous of marrying the sister of his deceased wife, because he thinks that he has thereby a fairer chance of obtaining for his orphan children a kind mother, and a faithful protectress, than if he were to introduce under his roof a strange step-mother; but there are many more cases, *in the proportion of fifty to one*, where the husband would be desirous of having the benefit of the same maternal care over his orphan children shown them by the sister of his deceased wife, without any intention of marrying her; where perhaps his affections so linger about the grave of his deceased partner as shut out altogether from his mind thoughts of future marriage; where he would be grateful to have bestowed on his children the tender care of his deceased wife's sister, an advantage from which they would be utterly precluded if it was known that it was possible for him to marry that sister. For, my lords, the state of society in this country is such, that it is held impossible for a man and a woman, not past a

⁷ Proposed Change, &c. p. 16.

certain age, to live together with respectability and propriety without marriage, if they are persons not prevented by any legal impediment from contracting it. My lords, I hold that this is a distinction between ourselves and some nations of the continent very much in our favour; and most sorry should I be to see the day when that distinction should be removed. My lords, a deceased wife's sister may now with propriety undertake the care of her orphan nephews and nieces, because she can never stand to their father in any nearer relation. If the prohibitions were removed, it would be impossible for the husband to invite her to come and live under his roof, unless he held out an offer of marriage. The instances where the deceased wife's sister now fills that situation are so many, compared with those where the husband would be desirous of marrying her, that I think a great deal more will be lost on the one hand, by permitting such marriages, than you could by possibility gain on the other."

These arguments Mr. Hayward cites for the purpose of refuting them, but the intended refutation really seems to us to leave them untouched. This part of the subject, however, becomes comparatively immaterial, when we take into consideration the unlawfulness of such marriages, and the grounds on which they are unlawful. Even if it could be shewn that there is no danger of the proposed change in the law seriously affecting the maintenance of domestic morals in this country (a position which has not been as yet established), still, most unanswerable objections would remain. This innovation would still be a subversion of the ancient law of this realm, the canons of the Church of England, the law of the Catholic Church in all ages, and the rules laid down in the Holy Scriptures. No one having a spark of Christian charity can refrain from lamenting that there should be persons driven by unresisted passion or interested motives to disobedience against such authorities as these. We exhort those unfortunate persons to obedience. But let them at least distrust their own judgment on a subject so strongly moving their desires and their interests. Let them refrain from striving to induce the legislature to defy the authority of the Church. Let them pause for the sake of themselves, and for the sake of each other, lest they involve themselves and those whom they hold most dear in the guilt of incest, the profanation of the holy sacramental rite of marriage, which must bring a curse on them, and on their posterity.

May the wisdom of our rulers protect these realms from the subversion of those laws, whereby the sanctity and purity of that holy ordinance is by Divine appointment preserved.

ART. VII.—*Hawkstone: A Tale of and for England in 184—*.
In two volumes. London: Murray.

WE can generally conclude the perusal of anonymous publications without any very great curiosity as to the authors who may have composed them; but we must say that the volumes now before us have tempted us to spend no small amount of conjecture and examination, with a view to resolve the question which their title pages so provokingly refuse to answer. We confess that we have arrived at a very decided opinion on this point, for, on the whole, it appears to us that there is only one writer in England, who combines the various powers, accomplishments, and principles which characterize the publication before us. As, however, the Author of *Hawkstone* has doubtless an excellent reason for concealing his name, we shall not attempt to disclose the result of our examination on this subject, merely remarking, that if our opinion be correct, the Author has now for the first time entered on a track which is calculated to afford full scope to his high powers.

From what has been said, it will be easily collected, that we consider *Hawkstone* no ordinary work, and that we deem it deserving of public attention. For ourselves, we can only say that we have not for years found ourselves so deeply absorbed in the perusal of any work of fiction. A tale of more profound and sustained interest we have never met. The skill with which incident after incident is made to sustain the attention; and with which moral and religious truths of the highest moment are interwoven without effort or affectation; the rich and exhaustless variety of thought, and imagery, and diction which affords a continual relief and enjoyment—the exquisite beauty of its descriptions—the force and grandeur of its tragic incidents—and the high philosophy which breathes in every page, and brings out such a noble moral throughout—all appear to us to place this work on so high an elevation, that we should not find it easy to point to any work of fiction characterized by so great a combination of excellencies.

The tale opens thus:—

“ It was a dark stormy night, and the wind was sweeping in gusts down the now deserted streets of the town of *Hawkstone*, when Mr. Bentley, the young curate, was startled as he was sinking into his first sleep, by a strange distant sound, mingling confusedly in the pauses of

the wind, and growing louder and louder. He rose up on his elbow, and after listening for a few moments, sprung from his bed, threw open the window, and through the trampling of feet, and the hoarse broken clamour of a crowd, he caught distinctly the cry of fire. In a few moments, a man, breathless and half dressed, ran down the streets, knocking and ringing at the doors. Windows were thrown open, and anxious terrified faces were thrust out, calling for information to the watchmen who were hurrying by. The fire-bell rang. The hollow iron rattle of the engine was heard as it galloped past, amidst the cracking of whips and the cries of the men and boys who had seated themselves about it; and on going to another part of the house, Bentley saw at once a red lurid glare, which showed him where the calamity had occurred.

“Bentley was neither a cool nor a courageous man, but he was a man of warm sensibility, and the curate of the parish; and he lost no time in flinging on his clothes and hastening to the spot. . . . As he turned into one of these narrow passages, a strong red light fell on a crowd of terrified faces, who were gazing on the scene of destruction; and the cries of ‘More water!’ ‘More hose!’ ‘Move the ladders!’ ‘Pump away!’ mingled with oaths, and screams, and the roaring of the flames, and the howling of the wind, struck a cold chill upon him, and almost broke his resolution to go nearer; for Bentley, as we said before, was a man of feeling rather than a man of courage. But as he stopped and leaned for a moment against the wall, a wild piercing shriek was heard; the flames shot up suddenly above the roofs, and as a cry of terror and anguish burst from the crowd, Bentley found himself, he scarcely knew how, standing in front of the burning building. . . . The first floor had already fallen in; the lower part of the staircase was destroyed, and the firemen, hopeless of saving the house, were beginning to play on the adjoining buildings, when, to the horror of the crowd, a boy about fourteen years old was seen shrieking for help at one of the garret windows. At the same moment, a man and woman half clad rushed to the house, and, but for the interposition of the firemen, would have thrown themselves into the flames. ‘My child! my child! save my child! O God! save my child! save him! save him! O God! O God!’ were the sounds that reached Bentley’s ear just as he gained the spot. The man, a strong, muscular, swarthy ruffian, struggled with the desperation of a maniac to escape from the policeman who held him back from rushing into certain destruction.”

Bentley in vain endeavours to persuade some one to undertake the rescue of the boy by the offer of a large sum. The case is relinquished as hopeless, and the ladder is about to be removed, when—

“A stranger made his way through the crowd. He was a man tall, vigorously formed, and with all those marks of high birth and com-

manding mind which the lower orders so instinctively recognize and obey. There was a quickness and steadiness in his movements which contrasted strongly with the tumult about him; and even Bentley, a man of education and religion, felt himself in the presence of a superior, and was unconsciously abashed at his own agitated state of feeling.

“ ‘Let the ladder stay, my good fellow,’ said the stranger gently; ‘let it stay. I have a protection here against the flames; hold it fast at the bottom, and let me mount.’ And the words were uttered in a tone of command which threw the firemen back. He stopped to put on a pair of thick gloves and a mask of wire over his face; knelt down for a moment as in prayer, folded his hands over his cheeks, and those who stood near him asserted that he made the sign of the cross on his forehead, and then sprung up the ladder before the bystanders had recovered themselves to interfere. He had seized the moment when a fall of one of the inner walls had lulled the flames which were bursting around him; and the crowd, who were looking on with intense anxiety, hailed him with a loud cheer as he reached the window. The boy had already disappeared, having sunk down stupified with the smoke and with terror. The window was closed and fastened within; but the glass was broken, and the stranger, with all his strength, tore away sufficient of the wood work to obtain an entrance. As he disappeared within the room, another volley of flame and smoke broke forth from the room beneath, and cries of ‘Make haste! make haste! the floor is falling! for God’s sake make haste! save yourself!’ burst from the people, followed by a tremendous cheer as he appeared on the sill of the window with the boy wrapt up in a blanket. Another moment, and it had been too late. A frightful crash behind him announced the falling of the floor. A heavy chimney at the side staggered, bowed, and fell upon the ruins; and before the flames could shoot out again, the stranger and his burden had slid down the ladder. Scorched and nearly stifled as he was, his first act on reaching the ground was once more to kneel down, and bury his face in his hands in silent prayer.” pp. 1—6.

We need not say, of course, that the stranger is the hero of the tale; and a more magnificent conception than that of the character of Villiers we have never met. The trials through which his powerful and constant spirit had passed, and which strengthened him to acts of high self-devotion to the service of God and of his Church, form some of the most deeply interesting portions of the tale. His conversion to the Roman Catholic religion is the object of a series of plots and contrivances which are admirably carried out. But his steadfastness in the communion of the Catholic Church of England, to which he sacrifices the dearest affections of his heart, involves him in a tissue of calamities, from which he is in part extricated at the commencement of the

tale. He has recovered the extensive possessions of his ancestors, of which he had been deprived by the enmity of an emissary of the Jesuits, and he is now at Hawkstone, bent on examining the condition of his tenantry, and on devising plans for their welfare. The description of the stranger's visit to his paternal home, and of his meeting with the Lady Eleanor is, we think, very beautifully written.

"A short turn of the path soon brought the stranger in view of the house. It was one of those 'old and reverend piles' which no one has so well described as Wordsworth, with deep bay windows, and wrought gables, porches, and mullioned arches, high twisted chimneys, and pinnacles wreathed with ivy, and all the rich quaint carving of the Elizabethan age. At one corner stood a fragment of an older building, in the shape of a square massive tower, called Sir Bevor's tower, which rose up from the terrace, and recalled, by its dark solid masonry, the days when the lords of Hawkstone had been knights in armour, and Sir Bevor himself, whose figure lay cross-legged in the cathedral of —, had led a body of its yeomen to the holy wars. . . . On the whole, few English mansions were more striking than Hawkstone. Its green terraces sloped up the hill behind, and were connected with the house by balustrades and vases. In front, beneath a rough overhanging bank, lay a small sheet of water, reflecting in that calm sunny afternoon every line of the building, its oriels glittering with the sinking sun, and the rich foliage which bent over it from the back. . . . A young grand-daughter (of the housekeeper), to whom the stranger gave a note from Mr. Atkinson the steward, led him timidly through the great hall, hung round with pieces of armour and stags' heads, and through the ante-room and dining-room, with its oriel window and huge cumbered chimney-piece, and the retiring-room, which more modern taste had enlivened with gilded cornices and fretwork, now faded and dull. And there were pictures of mailed knights, and stiff ladies in ruffs and farthingales; and venerable old gentlemen in wigs and brocaded coats; and a few good busts, . . .

"At the top of the staircase, a pair of folding-doors, with pillars and richly-carved capitals, opened into the long gallery, ceiled with stucco work, and lined with portraits, and furnished with old cabinets, and curious encoignures, and high-backed ebony chairs and marble tables, all of which the stranger passed unnoticed. His eye was fixed on a door at the end of it, which he seemed rather surprised to find ajar. He opened it gently, very gently, almost as if he was afraid of disturbing some one within."

It was the bed-room of his mother, the Lady Esther; and his thoughts turn to the dying hours of that loved mother, in that very apartment; and other recollections, too, force themselves upon him. He remembers that his cousin, the Lady

Eleanor, had shared his boyish pleasures in presence of that mother.

“ He dared not trust himself longer, but moved with his arms crossed to another door, which opened seemingly into a little sitting-room belonging to the suite. The curtains were closed, and it was nearly dark; but a door beyond was open, and a stream of rich light from the narrow lancet window fell beyond it, into a small gothic oratory which had been fitted up for the use of Lady Esther. There was the richly-wrought niche over the altar, containing a crucifix of the purest ivory; the canopied fan-like roof, the silver lamp, the illuminated missal, the small gold candelabra, the footstool where Lady Esther used to kneel. . . .

“ But the stranger saw none of these. For before the altar, her back towards him, and her head upturned as in a posture of the deepest devotion, there was a female figure kneeling, who did not hear his approach, and yet whose thoughts at that moment were full of him, were praying for him. It was Lady Eleanor. He could not doubt it. It was her tall graceful form; the exquisite shape of her head, the slender neck. Even the dress he recognized; the same which she had worn when they parted, three months before, at Florence. What a meeting! He stood for a minute fixed to the spot; not astonished to see her, for he knew she was in the country, but amazed that their first meeting should be in such a place, so consecrated to the recollection of them both. Gathering all his resolution to bear the meeting as he ought, he recollected himself sufficiently to endeavour to withdraw from intruding or disturbing her at such a moment. But the noise he made in moving roused her attention. As she turned round, she caught his figure retreating through the outer door; and before she knew what she was doing, his name had escaped from her lips. In a moment he was at her side, on his knees before her, covering her hands with kisses; and she slightly endeavouring to withdraw them, was looking as if a load had been taken from her heart, and a long-hoped-for, long-delayed joy, a joy too great for utterance, had suddenly arrived. But it lasted only for a minute. His eye caught the crucifix over the altar, and he shuddered; and dropping his hands, and rising up before her, with an altered tone, which made the blood forsake her cheek, and leave on it a fixed look of disappointment and despair, he faltered out, ‘Forgive me! forgive me, Lady Eleanor!—I have no right—I am not master of myself. I am much to blame—I was not prepared to meet you.’”—pp. 157—163.

It would be quite in vain to attempt even an outline of a story which is so replete with varied and striking incident. Some of the scenes appear to us not inferior in power to the very best of Walter Scott. The discovery by Margaret of Wheeler’s wickedness; the escape of Villiers and Bentley from the destruction

meditated by Pearce ; the attack of the mob on the inn, and its defence by Villiers ; the death of Wheeler ; the recovery of the lost child by Villiers, and his repentance ; have been, we think, very rarely equalled. Of the principles of the work, as an exposition of Church principles, we cannot speak too highly. The comprehensiveness and depth of its views—the noble examples which it presents—the singular judgment with which it discriminates true Catholicism from Romanism ; and the advice which it administers to some persons who have verged towards the Church of Rome ; all render this work an invaluable resource to those who are really attached to the English Church on the highest and purest principles. The doctrine of development, in particular, is handled in such a way, that we are persuaded it will not be very popular in future.

ART. VIII.—*The subject of Tract XC. historically examined, &c.*
By the Rev. FREDERICK OAKELEY, M.A. (Second Edition.)
London: Toovey.

WE may not be disposed to attach quite as much importance to the recent proceedings against Mr. Ward in the University of Oxford as some of his friends have done. We may not anticipate any very fearful consequences to the Church of England—any immediate disruption of her whole system—any very formidable secessions from her communion—or any other of the alarming events which have been hinted at, as the probable effects of the decree of Convocation. We feel disposed to abide the result very patiently, in the opinion that the Church which has for ages resisted the assaults of so many enemies from within and from without, is not very likely to perish because Messrs. Ward and Oakeley's views of the Thirty-nine Articles have been condemned by authority. But, although we do not consider the crisis quite as awful as those gentlemen have assured the world that it is, we think that what has just taken place is of importance, not merely as recording the judgment of the great mass of members of Convocation in very decided opposition to Romanizing views, but as having been instrumental in eliciting still more distinctly the character of those views, and the lengths to which they are carried by a certain small class of thinkers. We are satisfied that the result of all this will be highly salutary to the Church. It will induce somewhat of more real study and consideration of the great questions now before us; will discourage that flippant and conceited ignorance, and that overweening self-confidence, with which men wholly unfitted for the task have undertaken to direct the public mind on religious matters; and will distinctly and unequivocally point out to those who are in the possession of Catholic truth, the dangers and the absurdities which await on deviations from that faith in the direction of Rome. We deeply lament the impediments which the assiduous inculcation of Romish tenets has placed in the way of real improvement, and the prejudice which they have excited against Church principles in general. They have been instrumental in repelling innumerable minds from those principles; and they have caused dissension and disturbance which would not otherwise have arisen. But we cannot help feeling a thorough con-

viction, that doctrines such as those advocated by Messrs. Ward and Oakeley are destined to have no very lengthened existence within the communion of the Anglo-Catholic Church. We rest this conviction first, on the evident and continual change and progress of their opinions; secondly, on the extremely feeble tenure by which they are retained in communion with the Church; and thirdly, on the evident impossibility of remaining satisfied *permanently* with the principle on which they subscribe the Articles.

When men have placed themselves in a false position, by adopting doctrines and practices which their Church condemns, it is natural that they should exert every possible ingenuity to reconcile their actual tenets with their obligations as members of the Church; and the length to which they may be led under such circumstances is strikingly exemplified in the fact, that Arians and Socinians have ere now persuaded themselves that they might with a safe conscience subscribe the Articles, and retain their ecclesiastical preferments in the English Church. Dr. Sykes, in his "Case of Subscription," actually maintained the right of Arians to subscribe the Articles. The novel principles which have been developed on the subject of subscription by Messrs. Ward and Oakeley, and in a less degree by Tract XC, clearly arise from the same sort of cause,—the change of view, we mean, on the part of certain members of the Church, and their approximation to tenets which are really not consistent with the doctrines of that Church. Tract XC, we know, was written with the express object of meeting the case of certain persons who were "straggling in the direction of Rome;" that is to say, who had adopted views which were plainly more or less objectionable, and inconsistent with fidelity and obedience to the English Church. The object of the Tract was to keep such persons from actually joining themselves to the communion of Rome; and with this view it endeavoured to give such a colouring to the Articles as might be supposed calculated to remove the scruples of those for whom the Tract was designed. And we believe it is now generally admitted that the author has not been successful in his interpretations of the articles,—that several of them are strained and forced,—to say the least. In truth, when men enter on the interpretation of the formularies of the Church, not with the purpose of discovering their real meaning, but of reconciling a certain set of opinions with them, we can hardly expect a fair and satisfactory view. The mind is unconsciously swayed and biassed by influences which may pervert the soundest judgment and the acutest intelligence; and the result is, that some system is devised which wears all the appearance of dishonesty and absurdity, and which issues in the disgrace of those

who sustain it, and the scandal of many weak minds. Such remarks apply, we conceive, with especial force to the theory on subscription to the Articles advanced by Messrs. Ward and Oakeley, in pamphlets which made their appearance in 1841, shortly after the publication of Tract XC, and at a time when public attention was so entirely absorbed by that celebrated Tract, that the devious course of these satellites of the grand luminary was overlooked, or attracted very little attention. Nor, in truth, did it seem that there was any thing in these publications which called very urgently for reply on the part of those who might not feel satisfied at their arguments or statements. It was, we doubt not, the wish of all men of Catholic minds, that these pamphlets might share the fate of the multitudinous array of controversial tracts which then made their appearance, and rest in safe oblivion. They disclosed an unsound and unhealthy spot, which it was hoped might, by gentle treatment and patience, gradually disappear. We have no doubt that the apparent neglect with which these publications were treated, and the absence of any reply to them, were the result of an unwillingness to irritate and excite an evil which had so distressingly manifested itself; and we are obliged to dissent entirely from the very comfortable inference which has been drawn by their authors, that pamphlets which have been before the world for some years *without an answer*, must be *unanswerable*. We really do not recollect to have met for a long time so amusing a little bit of quiet self-gratulation as in Mr. Oakeley's "Advertisement to his Second Edition."

"The particular argument here attempted, being purely historical, depends for its force entirely upon the *truth of the alleged facts*; and upon this point I have only to say, that the pamphlet has now been more than three years before the public, and has gone through an edition; while on the other hand, I am not aware of any attempt which has been made to dispute its chief position. Had that position, indeed, been one of abstract argument only, I might have been led to interpret this silence as a testimony to its insignificance. Not however being of that kind, but depending simply on matters of fact, conclusive of a very important question if true, and capable of an easy refutation if untrue, I feel it no sort of presumption to suppose, that the statements on which it rests have not been disputed, because they are in reality indisputable."—pp. x. xi.

We do not wish to discuss the "presumption" of such an inference; but most assuredly the conclusion at which Mr. Oakeley has arrived, however gratifying to himself it must be, is a very great mistake; and we should really think that common modesty and self-distrust might have suggested some other causes for the

silence with which the announcement of such statements was received. "Matters of fact" undoubtedly deserve attention; especially when they refer to important subjects; but "even matters of fact" do not require an answer, unless they seem likely to exercise some influence, and to have weight; and it might, we think, have occurred to Mr. Oakeley, that many persons who were by no means ready to admit the validity of his arguments, might have been deterred by a variety of reasons from attempting to refute them. It seems to us, that Mr. Oakeley's assumption in this place is only paralleled by his recent letter to the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, in which he assures the University, that he shall *infer*, in case no proceedings are taken against him, that his sentiments on subscription are sanctioned and approved! Whether such declarations as these are intended by way of challenge to those who are of different opinions, or whether they are really and simply the conviction of the writer, we cannot, of course, tell: in either case, however, we think that their appearance has been peculiarly unfortunate for Mr. Oakeley.

Recent occurrences have brought forward these doctrines on subscription into a degree of notice which could not have been anticipated three years ago. Mr. Oakeley himself admits, that "since then the controversy has seemed to sleep, and the emergency to subside; so that there seemed no object whatever in republishing a pamphlet, *the interest of which had passed away* with the occasion which gave rise to it. Now, however, the aspect of affairs has changed." (Advertisement, p. v.) It has been changed by the publication of Mr. Ward's "Ideal of the Christian Church," which encountered the charge of Romanism advanced by another writer against the *British Critic*¹, and those whose views it represented, by a most unequivocal *admission* of the justice of that charge, and even by the confession that the charge in question fell short of the real state of the case. And to carry out this more fully, the author proceeded to make certain avowals of his views, which were, undoubtedly, not deficient in *candour*, whatever else they might be in other important respects, and which, accordingly, necessitated the interference of authority. Amongst the most prominent of these were the doctrines on subscription to the

¹ We must take leave to correct a mistake of Mr. Oakeley's on this subject. "*The British Critic*," he says, "*by the spontaneous act of its editor*, has been brought to a close; but its spirit is not allowed to rest. And where is the voice that has recalled it into active and vigorous life? It is that, not of a friend, but of an enemy. It is Mr. Palmer whom we have to thank for our present prospects," &c.—(p. xiv). Mr. Oakeley must surely be aware, that the resignation of an editor does not necessarily bring a periodical to a close; and we have been informed, on excellent authority, that the discontinuance of the *British Critic* was not determined on till some time *after* the publication of Mr. Palmer's pamphlet, which, indeed, supposes throughout that the *British Critic* was *still in existence*.

thirty-nine articles, which the author now again advanced ; and in which he has been seconded by Mr. Oakeley, by the republication of the pamphlet now before us.

The opinion which the author of this pamphlet has expressed, that his statements of facts are *indisputable*, has been re-echoed by Mr. Ward, and in other quarters ; and this being the case, it is really a matter of some curiosity to investigate the alleged facts on which, as it appears—the whole justification of subscription *by "Roman Catholics !"*—we really can hardly help smiling while we pen these words—is made to rest. We have, accordingly, refreshed our memory by a perusal of Mr. Oakeley's second edition, and we can only say that his "facts" are as unsubstantial as the arguments by which they are accompanied ; and that we are quite at a loss to comprehend the influence which they apparently have attained over some minds.

The position which Mr. Oakeley has endeavoured to establish is thus stated in the Advertisement :

"The main object proposed in the following pages is quite of another kind, that, namely, of defending, on *historical* grounds alone, the subscription of those clergymen of our Church, or members of the University (be they more or fewer), who, in subscribing, *reserve to themselves the power of holding all Roman Catholic doctrine*, as distinct, on the one hand, from popular perversions of it, and on the other, from the question of the Papal jurisdiction."—p. viii.

He further states his opinion :

"That the sense in which the Articles are propounded, was not a Catholic, nor a Protestant, but a vague, indecisive, and therefore comprehensive, sense ; that the Reformers themselves were without any precise doctrinal views of their own upon the points in controversy ; that they were, consequently, the victims, alternately, of extreme Catholic and extreme Protestant influences ; that, so far as they had any doctrinal sympathies of their own, they were Protestant rather than Catholic, but that the necessities of their position, as having to provide for the religious pacification of a country partly Catholic, partly Protestant, obliged them to a course (so far as doctrines at issue between the contending parties were concerned) of the strictest neutrality ; and that the mode by which they sought to carry out this principle of neutrality, was that of couching their formulary in language at once sufficiently Protestant in tone to satisfy the Reformers abroad, and sufficiently vague in expression to include the Catholics at home."—p. ix.

Such is Mr. Oakeley's general position. The historical arguments by which he endeavours to sustain it are as follows : First, it appears from history that the articles were not drawn up with the view of excluding Roman Catholics from subscription ; and

that accordingly they were subscribed by Roman Catholics, with the concurrence or acquiescence of the Church and State, for some time after the accession of Queen Elizabeth. Secondly, there were circumstances which were likely to have inclined the compilers of the Articles to make them as comprehensive as possible, and to frame them so as to provide for the subscription of Roman Catholics. Thirdly, many divines of the English Church have put forward, and without reproof, doctrines which are essentially Roman Catholic, and therefore the doctrines of Romanism must be supposed reconcileable (in their opinion, at least) with subscription to the Articles.

The first of these arguments is of considerably more importance than the second and third, and if it could be established, would render it quite needless to enter on them. It would be of course quite conclusive of the question, were it clearly established that the Church really intended Roman Catholics to subscribe the Articles, and that they did so with her sanction and concurrence. As for the circumstances which "*may*" have inclined our Reformers to such a course, or which "*probably*" led to their adoption of them, we can very well dispense with them, until it has been ascertained that such a course was *actually* adopted. Nor do we see any great weight (comparatively speaking) in the third argument, because it is certainly conceivable, that individual writers may at times have, whether consciously or otherwise, put forward sentiments not very strictly in accordance with the Articles. The two latter arguments are, then, of vastly inferior cogency to the first, and to this accordingly we shall devote our special attention. We shall take the liberty of dismissing the introductory matter, extending from page 19 to page 28 of the Pamphlet, without any particular notice at present. It comprises some remarks on the nature of the argument, derivable from the testimonies of divines, which forms the third argument above referred to, and an apology for the general line of argument adopted in this pamphlet, which might appear indiscreet to some of the author's friends. To these preliminary observations we may have occasion to refer hereafter, but we proceed in the first instance to examine the *facts* on which the leading argument of the tract is based.

Mr. Oakeley remarks, that "the result of recent inquiries into our ecclesiastical annals of the last three centuries has been to convince him" that the Church of England has been remarkably unwilling to protest, *as a Church*, against the doctrines of Rome, and that her authoritative protests have been chiefly against a different school of theology (p. 28). As we know that the Romanists *separated* themselves wholly from the communion of

the English Church in the reign of Elizabeth, while the Puritans, and other schismatics and heretics continued to infest her communion for a much longer period, and were invested with far more formidable powers of injuring her, we cannot attach any weight to this remark of Mr. Oakeley, as indicative of any favour on the part of the English Church to Roman Catholic tenets. *That question had been settled substantially by the Church at the Reformation.* But we now come to the real point, "Certain at least it is," says Mr. Oakeley, "that history gives *no countenance whatever* to the opinion that the Articles were drawn up *with the view of excluding Roman Catholics.*"—(p. 28.)

This point is established as follows :

"With respect to the original Articles of 1552, it seems doubtful, whether they were ever enforced ; if at all, it was but in few instances². After the revision of 1562, they *were* enforced ; but, as it appears, against *Non-Conformists*, and not Roman Catholics. The question with Rome was then, as in after times, regarded in a merely political point of view.

"*Against Papists* (says Fuller, who certainly cannot be suspected of any Romanistic bias,) it was enacted that, to write, print, &c., *that the Queen was a heretic, &c.*, should be adjudged *treason*. *Against Non-Conformists*, it was provided that every priest or minister should, before the nativity of Christ next following, declare his assent, and subscribe, to all the Articles of religion agreed on in the Convocation of 1562, under pain of deprivation³."

"And accordingly it appears that Roman Catholics continued in the communion, and even in the ministry, of the Church of England, for several years after the first promulgation of the Articles.

"*'Hitherto,'* (i. e. till A. D. 1570,) *'Papists generally without regret repaired to the places of divine service, and were present at our prayers, sermons, and Sacraments. . . . In which sense, one may say, that the whole land was of one language and one speech. . . . Hitherto the English Papists slept in a whole skin, and so might have continued, had they not wilfully torn it themselves.'*

"It farther appears, that many members of the lower house of Convocation, who were Roman Catholics, subscribed the Articles upon the revision in 1562⁵."—pp. 28—30.

² "He (Cranmer) laboured to have the clergy subscribe them ; but against their will he compelled none." Strype's Cranmer, p. 272. Cf. Bp. Short's Hist. of the Church of England, § 484.

³ Fuller, p. 98. Eliz.

⁴ Fuller, p. 98. Eliz. See also Strype's Grindal, p. 98. "Of the subscribers (to Queen Eliz. injunctions for conformity). . . . there were many, who had said Mass in Queen Mary's time, and such as would not change their custom of old Pater Noster." Vice Short's Hist. of the Church of England, § 437.

⁵ Strype (Ann. of Ref. c. xxviii.) gives their names : and, among them, we find that of the celebrated John Bridgwater (called, in Latin, Aquapontanus), who, in

Mr. Oakeley is perfectly correct in his statement, that the Articles of 1552 were not enforced on the clergy at large; for the death of King Edward VI., and the accession of Mary, followed so immediately on their publication, and on the attempts of the council to procure their subscription, that there was no time to effect this object. So far therefore we have no fault to find with Mr. Oakeley's statements; but we certainly do find very serious fault with what immediately follows:—"After the revision of 1562 they (the Articles) *were* enforced, but, as it appears, against *Nonconformists*, and not Roman Catholics," &c. And then follows the citation from Fuller, the design of which is, apparently, to prove that immediately after the publication of the Articles in 1562, and *before* the Romanists forsook the communion of the English Church, subscription was only enforced against the *Nonconformists*; the Roman Catholics being allowed to remain in security. The nature of the argument impresses us with the conviction that such is really the purpose of advancing these facts and citation: it is meant, *that subscription did not incommode the Roman Catholics*; and the next sentence shews clearly that such is the meaning—"And accordingly, it appears that Roman Catholics continued in the communion, and even in the ministry, for several years after the first promulgation of the Articles." Thus then we have the very striking fact brought out, that for several years after the publication of the Articles, Roman Catholics subscribed them, and continued to be clergy of the English Church. It is true, that this alleged fact *does not prove anything whatever as to the intention of the Church*, because those Roman Catholics (supposing them to have subscribed) may have done so dishonestly, and in direct contravention of the intention of the Church; and, consequently, the fact is *wholly worthless* as an evidence that the Church had any design that Romanists should subscribe her Articles; and it is also true, that there is an odd sort of confusion in the account itself; for according to the comments of Mr. Oakeley on the first citation from Fuller, it would seem that Roman Catholics were not called on at that time to subscribe at all; or that only persons of Puritan sentiments were called on to subscribe. But, undoubtedly, it would be a remarkable fact in itself, if it were susceptible of proof, that Roman Catholics subscribed the Articles for several years after the accession of Elizabeth. There is however *one* serious difficulty in the way of this proof, which might, we think, have occurred to Mr. Oakeley, as it arises from a circum-

1582, published the Treatise called "*Concertatio Ecclesiæ Catholicæ in Angliâ adversus Calvino-Papistas et Puritanos*," being an account of the sufferings of English Roman Catholics in the time of Elizabeth.

stance of which we cannot for a moment suppose him ignorant. This circumstance is, that the articles were *not required to be subscribed by the clergy until the year 1571, after the Romanists had left the communion of the English Church*. In that year Parliament enacted, that in future all clergy instituted to benefices should previously subscribe those of the Articles which related to matters of doctrine; thus, as it would seem, opening the door for the admission of Puritans, by not requiring them to subscribe the Articles relating to discipline, to which they felt scruples. But the Convocation enacted a canon, that the clergy should subscribe the whole of the Articles; and thus the present custom of subscription commenced⁶. Previously to 1571, a *different Formulary* had been put forth by the archbishops and bishops, which all clergy were required to profess publicly on their admission to benefices. This Formulary, which was drawn up by both archbishops, with consent of the bishops, and by authority of the Queen, in 1561, was taken in part from the Articles, but it comprised many points which a Romanist could not be expected to accept, and which are plainly directed against the doctrines and practices of Romanism⁷. There seems indeed to be very little probability that any persons *suspected* of holding such sentiments were appointed to benefices, and thus called on to make this profession. However, it is perfectly clear, that Romanists were not called on to subscribe the Articles previously to 1571, and that when subscription was imposed, they had forsaken the communion of the Church.

How then, it may be asked, can Fuller have led us into the belief that subscription was enforced immediately after the revision of the articles in 1562? The reply is very simple,—Fuller has done no such thing. Mr. Oakeley has so arranged his quotations from Fuller as to leave us under the impression that they refer to different periods—that the former refers to what happened immediately after 1562, and the latter to what occurred in 1571; but will it be believed, that the two citations refer to the *same year, 1571*—and that the former *actually follows the latter*, in

⁶ Wilkins, Concilia, tom. iv. p. 265.

⁷ See Strype, Life of Parker, book ii. ch. 5. Wilkins, Concilia, tom. iv. p. 195. Amongst other things, the person making the profession was obliged to say, “Touching the Bishop of Rome, I do acknowledge and confess, &c. . . . and, therefore, the power which he now challengeth, that is to be the *Supreme Head of the Universal Church* of Christ, and to be above all emperors, kings, and princes, is an *usurped power*, contrary to the Scriptures and the word of God. . . . The doctrine that maintaineth the mass to be a *propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and dead*, and a *mean to deliver souls out of purgatory*, is neither agreeable to Christ’s ordinance nor grounded upon apostolic doctrine,” &c. We give these as *specimens*.

Fuller's pages? We shall just print a few extracts consecutively, to shew how this is:—

"Now the *twelfth* year [A.D. 1570] of the Queen fully past with her safety and honour. In which the credulous Papists, trusting the predictions of soothsayers, had promised to themselves a golden day as they called it⁸."

"Hitherto Papists generally, without regret, repaired to the public places of divine service, and were present at our prayers, sermons, and sacraments: what they thought in their hearts He knew who knoweth all hearts; but in outward conformity, they kept communion with the Church of England⁹. In which sense, one may say, that the whole land was 'of one language and one speech.' But now began the Tower of Babel to be built, and Popery to increase, which brought with it the division of tongues, and the common distinction of Papist and Protestant, *the former now separating themselves from our public congregations*. . . . Indeed, hitherto the English Papists slept in a whole skin, and so might have continued had they not wilfully torn it themselves. For the late rebellion in the North, and the Pope thundering in this excommunication against the Queen, with many scandalous and pernicious pamphlets daily dispersed, made Her Majesty about this time first to frown on Papists, then to chide, then to strike them with penalties¹."

After this follows Mr. Oakeley's *first* citation from Fuller:—

"Against Papists it was enacted, that to write, print, preach, express, publish or affirm, that the Queen was a heretic, schismatic, &c. should be adjudged treason. Also, that it should be so accounted and punished to bring and put in execution any bulls, &c. . . . Against *non-conformists* it was provided that any priest or minister should, before the Nativity of Christ next following, in the presence of his diocesan or his deputy, declare his assent, and subscribe to all the articles of religion, agreed on in the convocation, one thousand six [five] hundred sixty and two, upon pain of deprivation on his refusal thereof²."

We must say that the way in which these two quotations have been made in Mr. Oakeley's pamphlet to refer to *different* periods, does not look well. Whether it be that he relied on some literary friend for these extracts, and was led involuntarily into mistake; or whether he had Fuller before him—in either case,

⁸ Fuller, p. 96. Eliz.

⁹ We think that, in strict good faith, Mr. Oakeley ought not to have omitted this clause as he has done. It seems to infer plainly, that, in Fuller's opinion, Romish doctrines were not permitted to be *openly* held and maintained at that time.

¹ Fuller, pp. 97, 98.

² Fuller, p. 98.

it proves him to be very undeserving of confidence in his statements of "facts."

We think that Mr. Oakeley's proof that the articles were not drawn up with the view of excluding Roman Catholics has, so far, signally failed. But there are one or two references in his notes on these transactions, which may possibly lead to something more conclusive. Let us examine them. The following is cited from Strype's *Grindal*, p. 98 [97]. "Of the subscribers (to Queen Elizabeth's Injunctions for uniformity), . . . there were many who had said mass in Queen Mary's time, and such as would not change their old custom of Paternoster."

We shall take the liberty of citing the passage more at length :—

"Archdeacon Mullins (1564), by the bishop's commission, visited St. Sepulchre's Church. Whither the ministers being cited and appearing, he signified to them the Queen's pleasure, which was, that all in orders should wear the square cap, surplice, and gown . . . They were also required *to subscribe their hands that they would observe it*. Accordingly an hundred and one, all ministers of London, subscribed. And eight only refused, if the account be true, which I have cited out of the aforesaid journal. But of the subscribers, he makes many to be such as had said mass in Queen Mary's days, and such as would not change their old custom of Paternoster; and shaved their faces and wore long hair, which was accounted ruffian-like in those days³."

We have cited this in order to shew that it has nothing whatever to do with subscription *to the Articles*, which Mr. Oakeley's little extract might not perhaps convey to the reader. These "subscribers," many of whom had said mass, &c. only subscribed then a promise *to wear the cap, surplice, and gown*. This will not help Mr. Oakeley much.

The next reference is to "*Short's History of the Church of England*, § 437." The only fact of importance stated in the place referred to is, that the Roman Catholics conformed to the worship of our Church for part of Elizabeth's reign, and that Lord Montague, a devout Romanist, defended at the Spanish court the religion brought into England, as consonant with the Bible, and the four first œcumenical synods. Here again, there is not a single word about the Articles, or subscription to them.

We now turn to the concluding paragraph, in which it is stated that "many members of the lower house of convocation, who were Roman Catholics, subscribed the Articles upon the revision in 1562." And we are informed in a note, that Strype

³ Strype, *Life of Grindal*, p. 97.

"gives their names, and among them we find that of the celebrated John Bridgwater," &c.

It might be supposed from this, that Strype actually asserts that many of the lower house were Roman Catholics *when they subscribed*, and that he includes amongst the names of such persons that of Bridgwater. This is not the case; Strype only observes that amongst the members of the lower house, whom he divides into several classes, were some who had "*complied with the Popish religion*," and been "in place and dignity under Mary⁴." The "names" which he mentions are, Thomas White, Andrew Perne, Francis Mallet, Cottrel, Turnbull, "and divers others." It is not said that these persons were Roman Catholics *when they subscribed*—but that they *had* complied in the time of Mary. And as to Bridgwater, his name is not included with the rest. It is even evident that he was not at this time a Romanist in Strype's opinion, for immediately *after* the enumeration of those who had been Romanists, it is said, "John Bridgwater was Rector of Lincoln College, in Oxford, and *after divers years* went over sea, and took several young men along with him, and *turned Papist*." So that, as far as we can see from Strype, he had neither complied with Romanism in the time of Mary, nor was he at the time of his subscription a Romanist.

But Mr. Oakeley is resolved if possible to extract from the subscription of the lower house of Convocation in 1562 some precedent favourable to his views. A few pages further on, he makes the following citation from Heylin, who, after stating his own opinions with regard to the wisdom and moderation observed by the compilers of the articles, and the unanimity with which they were adopted in the upper house, proceeds thus:

"But in taking the subscription of the lower house, there appeared more difficulty. For though they all testified their consent unto them, yet when subscription was required, *many of the Calvinian or Zuinglian gospellers, possibly* some also which were inclined rather to the *old religion*, and who found themselves unsatisfied in some particulars, had demurred to it⁵."

Mr. Oakeley continues, "He adds, that at length *all subscribed*. This appears doubtful; however, very many at all events subscribed, including Roman Catholics."—(p. 40). His note on that part of the above extract where those of the "*old religion*" are referred to, is as follows.

"This is remarkable. He speaks as if the objections had come rather from the other quarter. The passage is likewise important, as

⁴ Strype, *Annals of Reformation*, c. 28.

⁵ Oakeley, p. 39.

intimating that the Catholics [Roman Catholics] (for it is a fact, vid. sup. p. 13 [30], that many were in the Convocation,) *demurred* to the terms of the articles; did not, I mean, regard them as a mere *unmeaning declaration of conformity*; yet they eventually yielded."—p. 39.

We must complete Mr. Oakeley's argument by the addition of the following passage.

"From all this, it would appear, that the object, both of the original framers and subsequent revisers of the articles, was to form a National Church upon the most comprehensive basis; consisting of all *who could by any means be brought to subscribe* its characteristic formulary. Had they wished to exclude Roman Catholics, as persons holding views dangerous to the National Church, it is quite inconceivable why they should present (as they did) the articles again and again, to members of Convocation, (many of whom had offices in the Church in the preceding reign,) until all, or nearly all, had subscribed them. Had their purpose in the articles been what the modern view supposes, as soon as any Roman Catholic refused to sign, it would have been answered. They had framed their test, and it was successful. What then remained, but that the objectors should quit the ministry. Instead of which, they took the best means in their power to overcome the scruple."—p. 40.

The whole of the above argument is based on Dr. Heylin's *conjecture*, that some of those who refused to subscribe the articles at first in the Lower House, were rather inclined to the "old religion." But this conjecture may be wholly mistaken; and if it be so, Mr. Oakeley's argument falls with it. What *evidence* is there, we would ask, that these recusants were Romanists? Mr. Oakeley has not furnished us with any. If they were Romanists, there is not the least evidence or even presumption that they were *avowedly or openly such—that they were known to be such*: indeed, every member of the Convocation had, as a beneficed priest, taken the oath of supremacy rejecting the papal supremacy and jurisdiction in England, and thus the most effectual means had been taken for extirpating Romanists from the ministry of the Church. For proof that there *were* Roman Catholics in the Convocation, Mr. Oakeley refers us to his preceding extract from Strype, which is, as we have seen, wholly inconclusive on the point. Before we can admit the force of his argument here, it requires to be *proved*, that the Convocation comprised persons who were *avowedly* Romanists—that the Church was cognizant of the fact, and that she pressed them to subscribe the articles, and at the same time to *retain all their own opinions*. If this be not shewn, it is quite fruitless to urge that some persons *inclined* to Romanism first demurred and then

subscribed. The Church could not know the secret motives of their conduct; and she might have supposed that they were subscribing in the sense which she approved, and which was inconsistent with Romish tenets. Mr. Oakeley has not supplied any such evidence, and thus far his argument from the conjectural statement of Heylin is worth absolutely nothing.

But we must really not pass over without some notice the very singular argument of the concluding extract cited above. We have been in no small degree amused by the gravity with which Mr. Oakeley reasons, in support of his position, from the fact, that the articles were repeatedly *presented* for subscription to the refractory minority of the lower house. This, according to him, furnishes a clear proof that Roman Catholics were to be included in the Church, with full liberty to maintain their doctrines. On what other ground is it possible to conceive that they could have been pressed so earnestly and obligingly to subscribe? One might suppose, from Mr. Oakeley's expressions, that his Romanists were pressed very tenderly to subscribe—" *They took the best means in their power to overcome the scruple.*"

What these means were, we shall show from Heylin, whose pages were actually lying before Mr. Oakeley.

" But in taking the subscriptions of the lower house there appeared more difficulty. For though they all testified their *consent* unto them on the said 29th of January, either by words express, or by saying nothing to the contrary, which came all to one; yet when subscription was required, many of the Calvinians, &c. [as in Mr. Oakeley's extract]. With this demur their lordships were acquainted by the prolocutor the 5th of February. By whom their lordships were desired in the name of the house, that such who had hitherto [not] subscribed the articles, *might be ordered to subscribe* in their proper house, or in the presence of their lordships. *Which request being easily granted*, drew on the subscription of some others, but so that many still remained in their first unwillingness. *An order, therefore*, is made by their lordships on the 10th then following, that the prolocutor should *return the names of all such persons who refused subscription, to the end that such further course might be taken with them as to their lordships might seem most fit*. After which we hear no news of the like complaints, which makes it probable (if not concluded) that they all subscribed⁶."

In short, those who demurred about subscribing were given pretty plainly to understand, that if they did not promptly obey, they should lose their benefices, or perhaps be handed over to the tender mercies of the High Commission Court! These were "the means" which were taken to "overcome the scruple;" and we

⁶ Heylin, p. 159.

really cannot discern in them any of that very tender consideration for the consciences of Romanists, or any of that very liberal and "comprehensive" view of the subject, which Mr. Oakeley insists on ascribing to these excellent prelates.

We must notice one or two other arguments of our author. "The articles," according to him, were "never urged or felt as a ground of dissension between the Churches; and this fact, as I must consider it, is further attested by the statement so commonly made, that Rome *withdrew herself*, and *was not driven* from our communion; and again, by the plea, upon which the penal enactments, carried out from time to time in this country against Roman Catholics, have always been defended, viz., that they were enforced upon merely civil, and in no wise upon religious grounds." —(pp. 30, 31.) It is most true, that the Articles were not intended to interfere with the communion of Churches, or to amount to any anathema against the Church of Rome; and we fully admit, that the capital penalties against Romanists of former times were only justified by their *treasons*; but we really do not see what this has to do with subscription to the Articles. The English Church might surely take measures, by publishing her Articles, *to prevent certain doctrines and practices from existing within her own borders*, and might disapprove them even in other Churches; and yet she might not deem it necessary to cut off those Churches from communion. We are therefore unable to perceive the force of Mr. Oakeley's argument.

We believe that we have not left any point of importance in the historical argument of this pamphlet unnoticed; and on the whole we must confess our surprise, that statements like these should be considered "indisputable." We are really at a loss to comprehend the frame of mind which could inspire so singular a confidence in the author.

So far from matters being as Mr. Oakeley supposes, it is pretty evident that Romanists, during the first years of Elizabeth's reign, had as much reluctance to subscribe the articles as they would have at the present day. Though the thirty-nine articles were not imposed on all the clergy, yet occasional instances occurred in which they were required to be subscribed, either as equivalent to *recantation* of Romish errors, or for other reasons. We shall mention an instance or two from Strype. In 1563, Dr. Marshall, late Dean of Christ Church (a violent Romanist in the time of Mary), who had been in the rebellion with the Earl of Cumberland, was taken up and committed to the Bishop of London in custody. This person made a formal subscription to the articles, and would have given a more public testimony by word of mouth

in St. Paul's cathedral, but was prevented by death⁷. In this case the act of subscription was evidently considered equivalent to *recantation* of his errors, and as a kind of satisfaction to the Church and State. On the other hand, those who were more obstinate *refused to subscribe*. In March 1564, the Court of High Commission required certain of the clergy to subscribe their assent to wear the canonical dress, and "inviolably observe the rubric of the Book of Common Prayer, and the queen's majesty's injunctions; and the book of convocation [that must be the thirty-nine articles]." The result was, that many refused to subscribe, and of these "some went over sea; and these were *papists chiefly*. For among these non-subscribers were some *papists*"⁸.

This does not look much as if the Romanists at that time understood subscription to leave them at full liberty to maintain their doctrinal tenets; and as Strype has been referred to so frequently by Mr. Oakeley, there will, we presume, be some weight attached to the following passage, which we think disposes tolerably well of this subject. It is in reference to the composition of certain articles at Lambeth in 1561.

"In the Church many *popishly affected* priests still kept their hold by their *outward compliances*; but to make the best provision that could be against such for all times hereafter, all parsons, vicars, and curates that took ecclesiastical livings or cures, were now bound to make a public declaration, &c. . . . to testify their common consent in certain sound doctrines".

We think it needless to offer any remarks on this: it effectually demolishes Mr. Oakeley's theory; and with it we shall close our remarks on his primary argument. As to the remaining branches of his argument, they are very easily disposed of, in our opinion.

The *second* argument to which we referred at the commencement of our remarks, is founded on certain circumstances which, in the author's opinion, "*would be likely to influence the English Reformers in favour of a very great latitude of expression,*" &c. (p. 31). This argument might have come in very well as a further illustration or corroboration of a clear historical proof, that the Reformers framed the Articles with the express intention of permitting those who subscribed them to retain Roman Catholic tenets; but such a proof being *entirely wanting*, we do not see of what value or force these supplementary considerations can be in determining the real question. The whole of Mr. Oakeley's

⁷ Strype, Annals, &c., chap. 36.

⁸ Strype, Life of Grindal, pp. 98, 99.

⁹ Strype, Life of Parker, book ii. chap. 5.

argument, then, from page 31 to page 38 inclusive must be set aside. We reply to it by admitting that there were considerations which *might* have influenced the Reformers to such a latitude as Mr. Oakeley contends for. But on the other hand, there is no evidence that they *actually did so*, or that *other considerations* of a more conscientious nature may not have really influenced them. We firmly believe that the Reformers drew up the Articles with a view to establish what they believed in their hearts to be Catholic and Evangelical truth; and it would not be difficult to adduce reasons for this opinion; but it is quite unnecessary to do so in order to meet Mr. Oakeley's argument.

The third argument of his pamphlet rests on a series of extracts from English Divines, who, according to Mr. Oakeley, have taught Roman Catholic doctrines, notwithstanding their subscription to the articles, and who must, consequently, have been of opinion, that it was lawful to hold and even to teach Roman Catholic doctrines within the communion of the English Church (pp. 19. 41. 63, &c.).

The Divines from whose works citations are made, are bishop Andrewes, Thorndike, bishop Montague, Mr. Spinckes, and bishop Forbes. The two last are, we think, of little or no weight in this question. Spinckes was, apparently, *not in the communion of the English Church* when he published the tract from which a single citation is made (p. 66); and it was an *anonymous* publication. It, however, certainly contains nothing whatever that can be justly charged with Romanism, or that is inconsistent with subscription to the articles. As to bishop Forbes, his authority can have no weight whatever. He was a bishop in Scotland, *where the Thirty-nine Articles were not in force*; and the work from which extracts are made was not published till after his death. We have, therefore, only to deal with the quotations from Andrewes, Thorndike, and Montague. The quotations from Andrewes (pp. 63, 64. 72, 73) are entirely free from Romanism. We cannot conceive what is the meaning of adducing passages so wholly inoffensive, and so perfectly consistent with the evident meaning of the Articles. As to Thorndike, if he does not condemn prayer for the dead (which he was certainly not bound to do by his subscription to the Articles), he takes care, even by Mr. Oakeley's admission (p. 64), to say, with Archbishop Usher, that the practice does not imply "the *Romish* doctrine of *Purgatory*," which he rejects. It is true, that he does not *condemn* the use of images (pp. 70. 71), or charge with idolatry the honour paid to them; and in this he certainly is inconsistent, in some degree, with the *Homilies*; but he did not consider himself bound by them in the same way as by the articles; and it has been

maintained by bishop Jebb and many other divines, that the clergy are not tied to all the particular arguments and statements of the Homilies. With reference to the remaining quotations from Thorndike (p. 73, 74), we cannot see anything that is decidedly Romish, or inconsistent with the plain meaning of the articles. The term "sacrament" has undoubtedly been employed in different senses, and was applied by some of the ancient writers to several rites besides Baptism and the Eucharist. Thorndike does not *himself*, in the passages cited, speak of Confirmation, Orders, &c., as "sacraments." He is apparently in favour of the unction of the sick; but he expressly guards himself from being supposed to approve the practice of "*the Church of Rome.*" On the whole, Mr. Oakeley's citations from Thorndike are wholly insufficient to prove that he avowed *Roman Catholic* tenets.

We may say the same of the extracts from Montague. If he does not condemn the invocation of saints as positively and simply *idolatrous* (p. 67, 68), he certainly does not by any means *recommend* the practice. With reference to images, the extracts (p. 69, 70) prove that he objected to *images*, but not to the use of pictures, *provided* that they were employed as mere memorials, and *not as objects of worship*. He permits respect to be paid to the relics of saints, *provided any genuine relics could be found*; but he intimates that such respect *may be abused*, and lead to "*scandal, danger of the soul, and shipwreck of piety and religion.*" With Calvin, he does not object to call Ordination a sacrament (pp. 74, 75). And he is of opinion, that *true* general councils cannot err in *fundamentals* (p. 75). We think that such moderate statements as these; made, too, in controversy with the Puritans, who maintained that the visible Church had become wholly apostate during the middle ages; are wholly insufficient to prove that Montague held and avowed *Roman Catholic* tenets.

But supposing that Mr. Oakeley had been able to adduce passages from a few of our divines, which might seem, on examination, to be of a Roman Catholic complexion, surely it would be most unreasonable to infer that such a fact establishes at once the *lawfulness* of holding Roman Catholic doctrines. This would be jumping to a conclusion with a vengeance indeed. We should be glad to know, whether Mr. Oakeley is of opinion that Pelagianism, or Socinianism, or Sabellianism, or Arianism, or Deism are consistent with subscription to the Articles, because a few ministers of the Church may have been favourable to them, or may have in some way excused them. We must really protest against this extravagant notion, that the Church sanctions every expression of individual writers in her communion which she does not expressly condemn. Much must be left at all times to

the conscience of individuals ; and most assuredly, even the best men are capable of mistaking the intention and meaning of the formularies of the Church, and are, therefore, liable to hold doctrines which are not, in fact, reconcileable with them.

Mr. Oakeley attaches great importance to the case of Montague, who in the reign of Charles I. was persecuted by the Puritan party, in consequence of a publication in which several tenets of the Calvinistic party were disclaimed. In proof that this divine really held "Roman Catholic" doctrines, Mr. Oakeley adduces the *charges* advanced against him by the Puritans. (p. 78—82.) We really think that these *charges* of his enemies are not exactly to be taken as *proof*; and Mr. Oakeley's own pages furnish evidence of the actual unfairness of those charges ; *e. g.* the first erroneous doctrine attributed to him (p. 78) is, "that the Church representative cannot err." Now it appears from a preceding extract (p. 75), that Montague had taught this doctrine with a very important *qualification*, which is *omitted* in the charge, *viz.*, "that the Church representative cannot err *in fundamental points*." This may suffice as a caution in reading the charges. But we must say, that bearing this caution in mind, there is nothing in the charges themselves which bears out the imputation of his holding Roman Catholic doctrines. Passages are adduced from a work which he had written *in controversy with Romanists*, and in which he had defended the English Church and her doctrines, not on the Calvinistic view, which presented the Reformation in the light of a new religion, and the Church of former ages as an *anti-Christian* community, but as a real reformation of the existing Church. And of course this led him to argue that the essentials of Christianity had not been lost in the Church of Rome. This was the *gravamen* of the charge against him throughout ; and bearing it in mind, we cannot arrive at any other conclusion than that which the bishops nominated by the king to examine the case arrived at, *viz.*, that Mr. Montague "had not affirmed any thing but that which is the doctrine of the Church of England, or agreeable thereto." He may have held some points which would not be acceptable to all sound Churchmen ; but there is certainly no evidence of his having taught Roman Catholic doctrine, or of his having conceived himself at liberty to retain such doctrine consistently with subscription to the Articles. It is true that he did not consider the Church of Rome to have actually apostatized, or to have inculcated absolute heresy or idolatry. But there is not a single proof that he held himself, or recommended to others, the distinctive doctrines or practices of Romanism ; or that he deemed such a liberty allowable to ministers of the English Church.

We must also observe, that Mr. Oakeley attaches vastly too much weight and importance to the decision of the five bishops who acquitted Montague. From his speaking of them as “a *committee* of bishops,”—a “body of *representative* prelates,” (p. 82, 83,) one would suppose that they were delegated by the Church at large for this inquiry. And such would seem to be Mr. Oakeley’s view. He regards their judgment as “something very like an *authoritative decision*, on the part of the then Church of England, *in favour* of the consistency of certain very close approximations to Roman doctrine with the language of her formularies; such decision having been pronounced, after a careful deliberation, by a committee of bishops, appointed by the king to represent the national Church.” (p. 19, 20.) The notion that these bishops were appointed to *represent* the Church, owes its origin simply to Mr. Oakeley’s own mind; the facts of the case being merely that Montague being proceeded against by the Puritan House of Commons, three bishops, of whom Laud was one, wrote to the Duke of Buckingham, then prime minister, requesting his interference in favour of Montague¹. These bishops, with three others, were appointed by the king to examine the affair, and they made their report accordingly²; but we hear nothing of their *representing* the Church: they were, in fact, royal commissioners, authorized to deliver their opinions to the king; but the Church at large was in no way responsible for their proceedings.

There is one very important consideration, however, which is connected with this subject, and which goes very far, we think, to prove that Mr. Oakeley is conscious of the weakness of his cause. If, as he contends, or intimates, these divines, in the passages selected from their works, actually maintained Roman Catholic doctrine without reproof,—if Bishop Montague, in his works, upheld that doctrine, and was acquitted by the representative Church of England of all fault,—surely the inference is that it is lawful to *teach* Roman Catholic doctrine in the English Church—to *avow* it—to proclaim it in the face of the world. These pretended articles of Romanism were published, and avowed by their authors. How, then, is it, that Mr. Oakeley abstains from any pretension to *teach* Roman Catholic doctrines, and merely asserts his right of *holding* them?

“I claim,” he says, “the right of *holding* (as distinct from *teaching*) all Roman doctrine, and that notwithstanding my subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles.”—p. xiii.

“As respects *teaching*, however, there is no duty which I hold *more*

¹ See Collier, vol. viii. p. 3.

² Oakeley, p. 83.

sacred than that of abstaining in sermons, and other acts of public ministrations, *from the statement* of theological opinions, or the recommendation of devotional practices, allowed, as I conceive, by the articles, but foreign to the views and habits of our Church."—*Ibid.*

The same distinction is reiterated, and very pointedly insisted on, in Mr. Oakeley's recent letter, addressed to his diocesan.

Thus then, Mr. Oakeley has collected proofs to establish his right of *holding* Roman Catholic doctrine; but those proofs go too far for him: they establish (if they establish any thing) his right to *teach* those doctrines, as well as to *publish* them to the world. Mr. Oakeley here shrinks from his own conclusion: and why? He is conscious that were he to *teach* as well as to *hold* Roman Catholic doctrines, those very articles which he asserts were framed with so much latitude, would speedily expel him from his ministry; and thus practically refute all the theory which he has attempted to establish. It can be nothing else but a secret consciousness of the invalidity of all his proofs, that can induce Mr. Oakeley to shrink from the clear inference which results from them.

If the Church of England designed to leave her ministers at liberty to hold Roman Catholic tenets, it is to be presumed at once, that she did not mean to forbid them from teaching and publishing those tenets. Mr. Oakeley has not even attempted to show that the Church sanctioned the one, and prohibited the other. Why then this hesitation and reluctance to act on the assumed intentions of the Church?

We have to offer one further remark on this distinction. Messrs. Ward and Oakeley have charged the Reformers of the English Church with "a deliberate and disingenuous purpose;" with "artifices," "want of explicitness," and "unworthy compromise." We cannot think that such imputations come with a very good grace from those who *scrupulously abstain* from *teaching* what they believe to be *Catholic truth*. They feel themselves bound to hold certain tenets as *Catholic*, as articles of faith, as the tenets of the Catholic Church, as opposed to "Protestant" errors. But those very tenets, the distinctive doctrines of the Catholic Church, they *conceal*, and are content to hold them *in private*. They are withheld by the prevailing "views and habits of our Church" (which they consider to be *heretical*) from avowing and defending Catholic truth! They are willing to permit prevailing errors to remain uncounteracted by the exhibition of the Gospel! Assuredly, we cannot see any very high principle in such a mode of proceeding. This was not the conduct of the apostles, the martyrs, and the saints of old. It seems to us

altogether inconsistent with Christian honesty and sincerity, and with the clear duty of confessing the faith before men. If the mere *right* of holding Roman doctrine is claimed without *actually* holding it, the question loses all its character of religious earnestness and reality; if Roman doctrines are actually held as *Catholic*, and yet *concealed*, we have no words to express adequately our abhorrence of such a mode of proceeding.

Before bringing our remarks to a close, we must advert to Mr. Oakeley's view of the relation of Tract XC. to his own doctrine of subscription. He very justly admits (p. vii.) that Mr. Ward's view "goes beyond the Tract." This is most undoubtedly the case. Tract XC. falls far short of the views put forth by Messrs. Ward and Oakeley; and this being the case, and the Tract having been already censured by authorities of much more weight than the Oxford Convocation, we most strongly deprecate any attempt to bring it under the censure of that body. Such a measure, even if it were successful, (which seems extremely problematical,) would not in the slightest degree alter the position of the author of that Tract, or provide any remedy against the inculcation of its views. It would probably have the effect of exciting renewed interest in favour of those doctrines; and it might, not improbably, issue in the total defeat of those who should propose gratuitously and unnecessarily so mistaken a measure. The censure of Mr. Ward's book was strictly necessary: some protest against his doctrines was imperatively called for in self-defence. But this cannot be said of Tract XC. To proceed against it *now*, after the heads of the Church have pronounced their judgment, would be a perfectly *unnecessary* disturbance of the peace of the University and of the Church. It would indeed be any thing but respectful to the heads of that Church to take a step, which would plainly infer that *their* authority was insufficient, and that the University considers itself authorized to *confirm* their decisions. Such a measure would have all the appearance of a factious and a vindictive proceeding; and, as such, we cannot have any doubt that it would be opposed by a large proportion of those who either voted *against* Mr. Ward, or stood neutral in the recent contest.

ART. IX.—*Simony. A Visitation Sermon. By W. D. WILLIS, A.M. With an Appendix, containing some account of the Simeon Trustees for the purchase of Advowsons, A.D. 1836: and also of the Puritan Feoffees for the buying in of Improvements, A.D. 1626. London: F. and J. Rivington. 1843.*

A NEW society has been formed—an event not wonderful in itself in these inventive and associative times, for it is an age of societies, and we might well be content to let a thousand ephemeral associations rise and die without remark. But this new Society is one of no ordinary character; its features, as developed at its very birth, arrest us on our way: we cannot let it spring unnoticed towards maturity; its infancy is ominous; we must tell men what it is, while it is but beginning to breathe and to move its limbs, before it has attained any ripeness of strength, or fixed itself in the land.

It is called “The Church-Extension Society”—a name in itself not merely harmless, but, if nothing more is meant, positively good. What are we yearning—hungering—craving for but Church-Extension? It is the real want of the age, that stands out before all our false, artificial wants. Give us but Church-Extension, and we have, by God’s grace, the cure for our great social evils—the only true, powerful, effectual cure. Our social system hangs together we know not how; at every wind it shakes like a crazy house; it seems fastened with loose and insufficient bonds. We have at intervals startling symptoms of the hollowness of our peace; the mass of smouldering vice and discontent occasionally breaks out into a flame. Now there are disturbances in Wales, now in the manufacturing towns, now among the pitmen of the north, now among the Suffolk and Dorset labourers. Every assize reveals the fearful increase of crime; every judge resumes the terrible tale of his last assize with some worse particulars. Juries anticipate the gloomy register. Prisons are enlarged; model prisons built; prison discipline improved,—all of these being methods, not of prevention, but of reformation. The young especially are brought in increasing multitudes to our gaols, and seem to crowd, with a strange forwardness of vice, every avenue of iniquity. Poverty alone and hard times cannot have brought us to this; temporal distress may have done much, but not every thing; all men

confess, who search the question, that some worm beside poverty is at the root, some greater want than the want of bread; for it is remarkable that the most violent and stubborn outbreaks have been among those who cannot make hunger the excuse for their unruly course. The agricultural labourers, though the most provoked by the worst return for their toil, have been the most patient of all, while the pitmen of the north and the mechanics with good wages, with the least provocation or excuse, have been the most inflammable—with them have been the serious “strikes.”

Neither can it be said that brutish ignorance has brought us to such a state. When it was discovered that the greater part of the prisoners brought to trial could neither read nor write, then it was supposed that the fountain of crime had been found out; then the schoolmaster rose up to teach the world. Alphabets and spelling-books were the weapons of reformation. “Useful Knowledge” was the cure for crime, the infallible nostrum for the diseased and disordered state. Cheapen learning, take the tax off newspapers, make “the masses” intellectual, enlarge their minds, teach them to feel the dignity of reason, this was the vapour which choked for a time the common sense of the world. The experiment has been tried; newspapers have been cheapened—the Weekly Dispatch thumbed by smutty hands—Mechanics’ Institutes formed—intellects sharpened—the elements of secular knowledge spread far and wide. But what has come of it? Crime increases still; prisoners in countless cases can read and write; judges begin to tell us that reading and writing will not of themselves work a reformation of manners¹; something besides secular knowledge is required; this, men admit, is not education—true education implies the infusion of religious principle.

Thus it has come to pass that men at last look to other remedies than “the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge;” they begin to confess that the true preventive of crime must lie in the extension of the means of religion; the principle of godliness has been wanting, which at once makes real poverty more tolerable, and dispels all imaginary hardships. “The masses,” as they are called, have been without the means of grace; the Church system has not acted—has not been brought to bear on them—has not been brought home to them; they have not had seats in Church, nor schools for their children, nor pastoral visits. If we enable the Church to get some hold on the neglected multitudes in our large towns, if we divide parishes,

¹ Vid. the recent excellent charges of Judge Coleridge and Judge Alderson.

build new Churches, multiply schools, increase the number of the clergy, infuse religious principles into our popular education, Christianize Mechanics' Institutes, establish libraries, in which sound religious works shall form a portion, we shall have taken the surest means of making a more united, a more peaceable and contented people. There has been a starvation of souls—a spiritual dearth.

Well, then; if the extension of the Church begins widely to be desired, the formation of a "Church-Extension Society" would seem a natural and seasonable step; and yet, anxiously as we desire Church-Extension, we do not desire "the Church-Extension Society." We must not always judge Societies by their names, nor think to decipher their end and nature from their title. Thus, if the truth be told, this is no more nor less than a "Calvinism-Extension Society;" it is formed for the specific purpose of advancing Calvinistic tenets; it is a party effort, advertised under a Catholic title; its whole funds will be devoted entirely and exclusively to the diffusion of Calvinistic principles; its object is not simply to supply populous places with clergymen and Church-room, but only to supply Calvinistic clergy, and obtain churches in which they alone shall minister.

By adopting a title ingeniously vague, it is deceiving the public, who little suspect, under so general a designation, that a particular and partial aim is concealed. We wish indeed that it had declared its real object in a plainer way; for then men who have neither the time nor inclination to sift every word or phrase of a verbose and tedious prospectus, would know with something like clearness what they are about. As it is, a single phrase dropped in the earlier advertisements tells the tale; it speaks of the advancement of "evangelical principles,"—a technical expression well understood, and followed up by another equally significant, which speaks of the attainment of a "faithful ministry." We all know the peculiar meaning which is given to these terms in modern theology; by "evangelical principles" is commonly understood Calvinistic principles, and by a "faithful ministry" Calvinistic clergy. And this is the real drift of the Society. It is a combination formed for the purpose of infecting our larger towns with these same Calvinistic principles, and obtaining the services of Calvinistic clergy.

But how, it may be asked, does it propose to effect its object? How is it to act? What is it going to do? The Calvinistic party, of course, desire to spread Calvinistic views; but what peculiar mode of action are they about to adopt? Their plan is simple enough. A certain number of the more influential or active of the party read a recent Bill of Sir Robert Peel's, which

facilitates the division of large parishes, which allows a district of 2000 souls to be formed into a new parish, and the patronage to be vested in any persons who will erect a church, and secure an endowment of not less than 50*l.* per annum. Here is an opening, say the influential or active Calvinists; let us club together; let us make a society; let us gather our fifty pounds, our ten pounds, our one pound, our shillings, our pence. We can establish our evangelical principles; we can "fix them," as Mr. Simeon says, "in perpetuity;" we can virtually buy sixty, or seventy, or a hundred parishes; we can secure them for ever to our own party, to our own school; we can have an admirable combination, immense patronage, flocks that cannot escape us, if we will but build so many churches, and give so many endowments of 50*l.* per annum. If we can raise the money, we will impregnate every town with our principles; we will have our stations; we will fix our clergy in every city. Such is the project which is now on foot; such is the party combination which is now forming in the midst of us—a combination which it is fearful to contemplate, not merely because of the peculiar views which it seeks to promote, but because it introduces into the English Church a system of party corporations which may be adopted by every or any party in turn, which *must* tend to perpetuate divisions, and, if other parties follow this evil precedent, to make our larger towns the scenes of perpetual religious debate, and rivalry, and excitement, most perilous to all true religion.

The Calvinistic party have doubtless been urged to such a combination at this particular juncture, in order somewhat to make up for the losses which Sir Robert's Bill has most undoubtedly inflicted upon them. They have not only a desire to advance their views, without any great scruples as to the method, but they have in some measure to compensate for the check which they have received; for this new party effort may not unreasonably be traced to the partial failure of a previous party effort of a simoniacal character.

It will be remembered that the late Mr. Simeon went to market for as many livings as he could buy; he became a purchaser of livings; he spent an immense sum of money in the cause. Others joined with him, and added to his fund. He and his friends bought parishes like flocks of sheep; bartered for men as for cattle; purchased the awful charge of souls for money. All this was done for the advancement of "evangelical principles." Allowing these principles to be true, the end to be good, we must denounce the means to the end as evil, which Mr. Simeon and his friends stooped to adopt. These barterings for souls were spoken of in business-like style. "I had got," Mr. Simeon irreverently says,

“to the length of my tether, as you will readily imagine, with twenty-one livings in my possession. But being strongly urged to purchase the living of Bridlington with 6000 souls, I broke my tether, and bought.” But he did not stop here; forty-two livings were at last paid for and obtained.

Here, then, we see a scheme for purchasing pulpits for the advancement of party views. Mr. Simeon and his friends could not trust to their cause; they lacked faith, though they spoke much about it; they thought to buy the way for their view of the Gospel; they did not trust to the vitality of their doctrine; they did not think the leaven would, by its own power, irresistibly leaven the lump, unless it were forced into this quarter and into that. Guineas were their missionaries; auctioneers’ hammers withheld or gave the Gospel, or what was counted the Gospel, to flocks in no way consenting to their own sale. They betrayed also a singular contempt for the rustic population; they only bought or bid for town parishes; for humble villagers, ploughmen, shepherds, and the like, there was no concern; they were not worth the purchase-money. The large towns, the goodly “borough towns,” large thriving parishes with large churches, were the objects of solicitude. Neither was it their aim to increase Church accommodation, to build new churches in destitute and populous parts. No; they wanted the old churches, the churches already built; like the puritan feoffees, the bad original which they copied, they wanted the houses of prayer already in existence.

Forty-two parishes, however, having been bought in order that Calvinistic doctrine might be secured from age to age, Sir Robert Peel’s admirable Bill is suddenly passed. And what does the Bill do? It depreciates instantly all these purchases; it reduces these forty-two livings, viewing them as saleable property, to half their value; it wastes half Mr. Simeon’s money. The doctrinal prospect is as gloomy as the monetary; thousands, who must have heard Calvinistic doctrine or none, are snatched from its influence, are taken from the charge of the Calvinistic clergy, and transferred to other pastors; the Bill exhibits an utter contempt both of patrons and incumbents. It splits large parishes, without their leave, into suitable and manageable districts, which become distinct parishes. It restores the parochial system to its original design; it makes it a reality, where it has been but a shadow; it prevents the existence of large rectories; it seizes upon any overgrown parish, and subdivides it, despite the opposition either of patrons or incumbents, who, under all former Acts, might have resisted such subdivision. It acts upon these forty-two livings as upon other livings of equal dimensions; it makes them capable of subdivision, despite of the “trustees;” it

gives the power of creating new parishes in the very heart of the old, over which the patrons will have no control.

Thus the Simeon trustees find that half their property is in peril; 2000 souls may be snatched out of their hands in this town, and 2000 in that; their whole scheme is melting into diminished proportions; their borough towns slipping from their hands, their parishes broken into fragments, and the fragments given, it may be, to persons of an opposite school, and they themselves left to stand aghast at the havoc and spoliation of this murderous and resistless Bill. Bridlington, for instance, with its 6000 souls, may be shorn of 2000. It was dear when the whole 6000 were included in the bargain; the guineas were paid down with a hesitating hand: the purchase was considered as an act of holy extravagance. But what if 2000 are sliced off? Would Mr. Simeon have "broken his tether," had the coming Bill cast its shadow before? Could he have guessed that he was paying for 4000 souls at the rate of 6000? We see the effect of the Bill upon these Simoniack purchases.

Now, when the trustees and their party perceived the probable operation of the Bill, they began naturally to ask, What is to be done in this strait? Are so many thousands of pounds to be wasted? Are we to let half our property evaporate, half our purchased population escape out of our hands? Surely some contrivance must be devised to arrest the frightful operation of this fatal Act, and to turn it, as far as possible, to our own account; we must spend more money to keep the fruit of money already spent. We must club together, and possess ourselves of some of these 2000 souls; we must answer the advertisement of the Commissioners; we must pay twice over for the same property; we must build and endow churches in our own parishes, in those districts which were ours, but are now marked out, and only waiting for new patrons; we must tax the zeal of our party in this extremity; we must get money; we must have a society, travelling secretaries who speak well, annual sermons, collection cards, local branches, Ladies' Associations. We must also give the thing a good well-sounding name, not smacking too strongly of our peculiar views. The names of the committee will intimate our opinions to the initiated. What name shall we have? People are talking a good deal about Church Extension. Suppose, then, we call it "The Church-Extension Society."

Such we conceive to be the origin of this Society. It is designed to stop a leak in the Simeon scheme, or to gain in one quarter what has been lost in another; and we are supported in this opinion by the very significant fact, that on the list of the movers and originators of the device appear the names, not merely

of one or two, but of *all the Simeon trustees*. We do not say that they will confine themselves to the re-purchase of a portion of the flocks already paid for. If their funds swell to any large sum, they will, of course, seek to impregnate those large towns with their peculiar opinions where no such opinions have hitherto been taught.

But, as we have considered the general object, principles, and supposed origin of the Society, let us for a moment examine the constitution and mode of operation by which a "faithful ministry" and "evangelical principles" will be secured. Some unerring machinery must be put in motion, which will necessarily produce from Calvinistic subscriptions Calvinistic doctrines. We come, then, first to a Committee. Here begins the first movement of the Society, this is the great spring which sets all the lesser springs and wheels in motion, this is the primary source of all patronage; the committee are the patrons of patrons, the supreme tribunal, the real doctors of the Church, the judges of all doctrine. And of whom is the committee to be composed? of bishops, or learned and devout priests, whose whole mind and time have been given to the study of the Gospel scheme, and of the doctrines of the Church? No; but exclusively of *laymen*. Laymen have the entire rule; bankers, merchants, brewers, men whose secular occupations fill the greater part of their time, form a spiritual oligarchy and Ecclesiastical Court, above Archbishops and Bishops, Convocation, Prayer-Book and Articles, and bolder in their decrees. The taught become the teachers; the flocks guide the pastors; the people are not "priest-ridden," but the priests "people-ridden;" the whole system of the Church is reversed; and we read, almost with awe, the names of thirty laymen, who have undertaken to fill a post which devout and humble men, duly mindful of their own vocation and ministry in the Church, could not fill.

But the committee does not directly appoint the clergy to the new churches; they, as we have said, are the patrons of patrons, the primary cause; they appoint the patrons, that is, they appoint certain sets of trustees, which trustees appoint to the new livings; such is the machinery by which the end of the Society will be gained. Thus the lay committee appoint the trustees, the trustees appoint the clergy. The committee accept or refuse the trustees, that is, the doctrine of the trustees; the trustees accept or refuse the clergy, that is, the doctrine of the clergy. The clergy submit to be judged as to their doctrine by the trustees, the trustees submit to be judged as to doctrine by the lay committee, and the first lay committee, at least, are judged, we conclude, by nobody. At any rate, the advertisement pro-

mises the public that a faithful ministry will be obtained by such a method of proceeding. It is wonderful that so simple an expedient should not have been hit upon in the earlier times, and that infallible committees and trustees are to be numbered among modern discoveries.

Now, as the direct appointment of the clergy, upon which hangs the issue of the whole affair, rests with the trustees, it may be as well to proceed a step further in our remarks, and to consider the probable working of such a system. Let us suppose the society, by a skilful agitation, in possession of some £100,000 to begin with. The omnipotent committee meet; they see certain districts advertised by the commissioners, the patronage of which may be secured at the cost of a church and an endowment; they fix upon certain districts in the largest towns; they build their church and give the endowment; they then select the trustees fitted for their momentous work, having first made themselves sure of their doctrine, and, above all, of their sufficiency to judge the doctrine of the clergy. As a practical matter how must the trustees act? They want clergymen—clergymen of one particular school. Their appointments not being lucrative—some £50 per annum, with such additions as popularity and pew-rents may bring from districts not over-rich—they will not, of course, be able to tempt Mr. Close, nor the more celebrated of their party, from their more important and profitable spheres of action. They can only expect to obtain the services of the younger and less famous clergy. They must begin then, as we imagine, with rumours, that is, with the preaching celebrity of young clergymen. No other fame spreads; mere hard work makes no noise; there is a louder report from a brilliant sermon than from quiet zeal; the preaching clergy obtain the fame; the laborious parish-priests have little of human praise. The trustees must gather reports; they must hear that such an one is what is called a “promising” young man, very eloquent, very fluent, very fine in the pulpit, very popular, very Calvinistic. He is likely to fill a church, to draw a congregation, to infuse Calvinism with success, to keep the two thousand which form the new parish, and, perhaps, to attract some rambles from the neighbouring parishes where Calvinism is not inculcated. But fame, they will say to themselves, is but deceitful breath after all; even written recommendations, testimonials, and letters are, it is to be feared, not necessarily free from all tincture of romance. This young clergyman’s powers may have been gilded and overcoloured by partial friends, or his Calvinism may not be so fixed, so determined, of so deep a shade as is required. The trustees will be answerable if a mistake is made; it will hardly do to let fame be

the sole patron after all, without any surer evidence than letters and reports. It would be prudent first to hear him. Imagine the young man's state of mind: five gentlemen, five wandering judges of the clergy, the purveyors of the Society, walk up the aisle of the church whereat he serves as curate. Knowing the existence of such a Society and such trustees, he must needs suspect the strangers' object; indeed, every stranger must seem to him a trustee; he feels that he is before his judges, that every word is weighed; his doctrine, language, style, delivery, all criticised in turns. It is a trial *whether he will do*. He may be of such a mind as to preach as though there were no searching eyes upon him, weighing him and his theology in the balance; or, as he is "but human still," he may be somewhat tempted to preach to the palate of those that listen, when for the first time something like real preferment glitters before his expectant eyes.

But let no such scenes take place except in our own imagination; let the trustees somehow or other hear of certain eligible curates, ripe for preferment, and said to be of the views required; will it be enough to appoint them without any security as to their doctrine? Will a sort of vague understanding be enough? Surely, in such a cause, with a large society's very existence at stake, there must be some strict and formal method of proceeding; they must not hastily patronize. Ordinary laymen, who have got livings with their estates, may be content with hearsay evidence, or may act upon trust, upon mutual understanding; for their whole existence is not hazarded nor destroyed, if after a conscientious appointment their nominee should disappoint their expectations, or at a later period should change his views. If they did the best at the time to procure a sound and zealous pastor, they may be grieved at any frustration of their hopes; but they have not betrayed a trust, they have not put their very life and being in peril. Not so, however, the trustees. Their Society lives for one single end, and dies if that end is missed; they have to give account to the 100,000 subscribers; they must, therefore, act in a more formal, stringent, severe, and consequently less trustful, method; they must see these eligible curates; there must be drawing-room conferences; they must examine them, test and question them; they must act as a lay-episcopacy, and sift their doctrine; they must have some Calvinistic gauge, by which to try the strength of their opinions. Subscription to the Articles, agreement with the Prayer-Book, cannot be enough; neither will the *vivâ voce* examination be quite sufficient. There is nothing like a written document. It is evidence on both sides; it is something tangible, something like security. There may be a thousand mistakes about views

stated in conversation. The accident of a deaf trustee or two might put the rest upon a wrong scent ; things are mis-heard ; people forget precisely what they said ; they said something like what was supposed, but not just the very thing, not quite so strong. There must be some written document, some formal test. And this is a fearful feature of party societies, whatever side they take ; there must be party Articles ; there must be tests over and above—or, to speak more strictly, *within*—those which the Church imposes ; and the imposition of such tests is virtually a manifest slighting of the Church's tests, to say nothing of their being narrower and more exclusive. All will be considered vague, formal, unmeaning, or unimportant subscriptions, till these inner walls, these inner tests, are reached. "The Church-Extension Society" *must* have its own Articles. Another society, indeed, has had the daring to publish a form of questions which all the candidates for its appointments are bound to answer. We easily see how it wants the questions to be answered : it is only putting a test in the less invidious form of a question. "The Colonial Church Society," which seeks to invade the pre-occupied ground of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, asks, among other things, of each candidate, "what are his views on the doctrine of Regeneration, of its nature and relation to Baptism ; of the Lord's Supper ; of Justification, and its connexion with Sanctification ; of the sufficiency of Holy Scripture, as the rule of faith ; and of the duty of private judgment ? Does the definition of the Church in the nineteenth Article, in his judgment, include or exclude other Protestant Churches ? To what eminent theologian of the English Church would he refer, as most nearly coinciding with his own views of doctrine ? Whether accustomed to hold any cottage lectures in his parish ; or to address the children of the schools ; or to hold any Bible classes with the younger members of his flock ? Whether there was any missionary, Bible, or tract, or other religious association, in operation under his superintendence—the names and addresses of any clergymen, or others, to whom the Society may refer ?"

This is a tolerable specimen of the inquisitorial character of party societies. And yet such a system of inquisition *must* be maintained in the "Church-Extension Society." The trustees *must* resort to some such imposition of tests, in order to have any security as to the doctrine of their "faithful ministry." And what a fearful system is this to be introduced into any Church !—a sort of corporate bodies acting as distinct Churches within the Church, assuming and exercising all the powers belonging to the Church in doctrinal matters ; treating the clergy as mere

underlings and vassals, judging and binding them down with bands which lay hands have twisted together.

Whether then we examine the principle, or the object, or the constitution, or the probable working of this Society, we find equal cause for meeting it with instant condemnation on its first appearance in the world. And we do not offer our opposition simply because it is devoted to the advancement of Calvinistic tenets, but because it violates a great Christian principle, a great principle of the Christian Church; because it pursues a *wrong way* in advancing what it supposes to be religious truth; because, in short, it is a combination to buy on certain views, to encourage and perpetuate the simoniacal system of purchasing spiritual rights. We are not so much concerning ourselves with its peculiar tenets, but we object to it on more general grounds, as being opposed to the whole spirit of Christianity. Let the Calvinistic views be ever so true, still this cannot be the reverent, the trustful, the religious method for advancing them; the end cannot sanctify the means. If those with whom we most agree, whose doctrines, believing them to be true, we desire most earnestly to diffuse, were to resort to such a method—were to club together, and collect money, and form a society, and buy patronage, we should be the first to denounce any such effort, as wanting in faith, and as marked with a party spirit; we should be the first to say, that our friends in such a course went beyond the fair legitimate means of diffusing truth. We may not indeed see the full peril of such a system, as long as it is confined to a single party in the Church. Let us suppose other parties catching the idea. What would be said if Dr. Pusey started a Church-Extension Society? What would be said if Dr. Hook or Dr. Hampden did the same? Imagine each party in the Church, with its own Church-Extension Society, bidding the one against the other for the new parishes advertised by the Commissioners. Imagine each party finally in possession of 200 churches a-piece, with their different sets of clergy opposing each other in our large towns, with different tests in each Society. We complain now of the grievous divisions in the Church; but our most divided towns are in a peaceful and harmonious state, indeed, compared with the condition to which they would be reduced by the distracting operations of these various and antagonist societies. If other parties should combine in a similar way, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners are only advertising for disturbers of the peace when they advertise for patrons, and we seem to see our large towns marked out for debate and strife, not for edification or peace. We know, however, that as the advocates of Church principles have never resorted to any such

plan for the promotion of their views, so in that section of the Church we shall have no such combinations: but what may be done by other bodies, we know not. The Calvinistic party may live bitterly to bewail the day when they commenced a system, which others may imitate, which they cannot confine to themselves, and which some day may be turned against them. Let there be a struggle of opinion, let all honest arts of persuasion be used on any or every side, let us cast our several opinions upon the broad sea of the world, and trust to the Spirit of truth to advance those that are true, and to defeat and drown those that are false, let us build and endow churches, and trust that on the whole the Gospel will be preached therein,—nay, we know that while the Prayer-Book lasts, the Gospel *must* be preached, even though the sermons are continually unsound,—but do not let it be a struggle between purse and purse, between one “fund” and another “fund,” between the subscription list of one party and the subscription list of another; let there be no more bidding for pulpits or struggling for the Gospel in an auction-room.

We are not, indeed, without hope that, as Mr. Simeon’s earlier simoniacal scheme has already begun to droop and wither away, so this new successor of that mutilated plan may also in some unexpected way come to nought, even if it should at first seem to flourish. Men’s opinions, after all, cannot be bought, cannot be fixed beyond all possibility of change; the purchase of a parish will not necessarily Calvinise it. Money has not been used to promote the recent growth of Church principles; money has not availed to retard it. Changes of opinion cannot be prevented by any “fund.” Theological movements have been effected by weak instruments, who have had neither purse nor scrip. Whatever movement the Spirit of truth assists must prevail, though a thousand combinations are formed against it; the mighty tide of human opinion cannot be fastened with chains, even though the chains be golden. Practically, therefore, it may be worth their while who as yet hesitate about subscribing or not subscribing to the Church-Extension Society, to consider whether there is any thing like a certainty of the money now devoted to the diffusion of certain doctrines being devoted to the same end a hundred, or even fifty years hence. Look at the changes of opinion that go on from age to age. May not the “Committee” and the “Trustees” in the next century, designed as they are to carry on a sort of lay apostolical succession, be of opposite views to the present “Committee” and “Trustees;” and yet it may not be possible to say that at any given day or date the change took place; it may be wrought imperceptibly; the pro-

gress may be slow and gradual, hardly to be discerned at first : the slightest modification of the old views may first be introduced,—a mere tinge ; till at last, by successive steps, each minute in itself, the whole body may find itself entertaining contrary opinions to those that originated it. They may interpret “evangelical principles” in a different way, and have different notions of a “faithful ministry.” Thus all the present subscriptions may at last be supporting a different cause. There is nothing improbable in such an issue ; we have proofs enough of the property of religionists lapsing into hands for which it was never designed. Nay, not to look forward to any distant time, is it impossible, or very unlikely, that any of the young clergymen now to be patronized should in maturer years change their views ? Can this be prevented by any tests ? Have not many of the Calvinistic clergy of late years changed their minds ? And we are far from thinking that it would be the instinctive act of a conscientious mind to resign the cure which was undertaken under different impressions. We do not say there are no difficulties in the case as a matter of conscience ; it may be a struggle to go, a struggle to stay ; but we do say that no clergyman should thrust himself into a post where he may find himself in such a predicament, nor should he submit to any tests which the Church does not impose, and which may be found in after-life to be shackles neither easily to be borne, nor easily laid aside. Still we do not think it quite clear that an incumbent should resign his charge because he believes that he has attained a more perfect view of the truth than that which he entertained in the earlier and less experienced portion of his ministry. Should he retain his cure, what a monetary and doctrinal loss the Society has sustained ! Should he resign, and declare the ground of his resignation, he must even in this case give a severe shock to Calvinistic doctrine in the place, even if no portion of his flock has, by his instrumentality, been undergoing the same change. Uncertain, then, is the issue, as well as bad the principle and constitution, of the “Church-Extension Society.”

- ART. X.—1. *Der christliche Cultus nach seinen verschiedenen Entwicklungsformen und seinen einzelnen Theilen historisch dargestellt, mit zwei Nachträgen über das christliche Kirchenjahr und über den christlichen Baustyl.* (Christian Worship : a Historical Review of its various Forms, as they were gradually developed, and of its component parts ; with two Appendices on the ecclesiastical year of the Christian Church, and on Christian Architecture.) Von DR. HEINRICH ALT. Berlin, 1843.
2. *Theorie des Kultus der evangelischen Kirche.* (Theory of the Worship of the Evangelic Church.) Von DR. TH. KLIEFOTH, Prediger zu Ludwigslust in Mecklenburg Schwerin. Parchim und Ludwigslust, 1844.
3. *Der evangelisch-christliche Gemeindegottesdienst aus der Schrift entwickelt.* (Scriptural Exposition of an Evangelic-Christian Form of Congregational Worship.) Von J. P. C. BRÖCKER, Hauptpastor und Confessionarius des adeligen Fräuleinstifts zu Uetersen. Hamburg und Gotha, 1843.
4. *Versuch einer Liturgik vom Standpunkte der Reformirten Kirche.* (Liturgical Science according to the views of the Reformed Church ; an Essay.) Von A. EBRARD, M. V. D. Dr. Ph. Lic. und Privatdocent der Theologie und Repetent zu Erlangen. Frankfurt am Main, 1843.

WHILE the world presents to the eye of the common observer nothing but a scene of perpetual strife and confusion, in which the good may well despair of seeing the cause of truth and holiness successful, and the evil have too much apparent reason to triumph, it is the prerogative of the Christian philosopher to contemplate the steady progress of high and holy principles through the very agitation which seems to threaten their final extinction. He, and he alone, is able to discern amidst the various and numberless manifestations of human weakness, by which the world is confounded, and the Church distracted, that strength of God which is perfected in them ; and recognizes underneath the conflicts in which the Church is engaged, and the miscarriages to which she is subject, that one unchanging purpose of God which underlies them all, and to the working out of which all human events are, by His sovereign wisdom and power, made subservient. It is only by this higher view of life that we are enabled to see harmony and unity of design in the history of past ages, notwithstanding the revolutions by which they were convulsed ; nor

can we, without this higher view, appreciate the nature of those often violent actions and reactions which take place in our own time, or determine upon a steady and satisfactory course of conduct for ourselves, amidst the perplexity of contradictory influences which surround us on every side. In this higher view of life is involved the art and mystery of reading the signs of the times aright, reading them, both for guidance, and for consolation under the manifold troubles and discouragements of our Christian course.

Of the truth of these remarks, the agitated and divided state of our Church at this moment affords a striking illustration. Looking at the matter simply as it affects the surface of religious life amongst us, nothing can be more distressing than to see men earnestly, and more than earnestly, contending, not for the faith once delivered to the saints, but for the colour of a vestment; to find forms of prayer which breathe a spirit of peace and godly concord, turned into occasions of railing, in a spirit of angry excitement and of reckless opposition; to see the energies of the Church, the sympathy of her members with one another, which, humanly speaking, constitutes her strength, frittered away in the discussion of unimportant and sometimes even frivolous questions, and that at a time when a work lies undone before her, both at home and abroad, which, from its magnitude and importance, it would require the utmost exertion of her heaven-born powers, and the closest union of all her members, to accomplish. Yet truly deplorable as this state of things undoubtedly is, and greatly to be deprecated as is every word or act which may tend to fan the flame or even to keep it alive, we shall pause before we designate it as a state of unmixed evil, if we will but give ourselves time to reflect on the concatenation of causes and effects by which it has been brought about. Whatever adventitious circumstances may have affected the movement which has taken place in our Church, towards a return to the ancient and truly catholic order of her services, whatever errors may have been committed on the one side, whatever prejudices excited on the other, there can be no doubt that a greater earnestness of spirit, a deeper sense of the invisible realities of Christian worship, has been the main power by which men's minds were set in motion in this particular direction. The fact had forced itself upon them, that there is, or ought to be, in the public worship of God something more than a mere passive reception of the instruction of righteousness, a mere tacit concurrence in certain decent forms of prayer, with an occasional attendance upon a more solemn ordinance; it had come to be felt simultaneously by vast numbers of our worshippers, that the public worship of God is a realizing, as far as the limits of our present capacity and condition will permit, of our

life in God and with God; that its essence is adoration, the Church on earth mingling her humble strains with the Hallelujahs of the Church in heaven, for the praise and glory of Him in whose unseen but real presence his people stand when they are congregated in his house. And therefore, because men *felt* more deeply and more really what it was to worship God in his holy temple, they *thought* more about that worship; they pondered in their minds the various forms and words in which the Church gives expression to the spirit of adoration which dwells within her; they saw beauties and great depths of meaning where before they had seen nothing but a decent reverent phraseology; they studied, and learned to comprehend, our liturgic system, in its integrity and inward consistency; and thus matters which to the less initiated appear of small account and even trifling, came to be precious in their eyes, just as we often set a very high value upon an object intrinsically the most valueless, because of the affection we bear to some beloved person with whom it is associated. That under shelter of this legitimate and holy feeling, affectation, pedantry, yea, if it must be said, even foppery, may sometimes have crept into the sanctuary, is what we are not prepared to deny; all that we contend for is, that it is foolish, because of the noxious character of such parasitical plants, to endeavour to root up the healthy tree, richly laden with sweet and pleasant fruit, on which they have contrived to establish themselves. However distressing, and in some respects detrimental, such excrescences on the Church's life may be, they ought not to blind us to the unspeakable good which has already resulted, and, we may hope, still will result, from the internal up-growth of sounder principles and holier feelings, and the new, the far better and higher tone which has thereby been imparted to the public services of our Church. Besides, we cannot doubt that it would greatly tend to calm the agitation which has been created, and to allay the fears and suspicions which have been excited, if men would but be persuaded, that the movement in question is not the work of a small knot of men, who, having taken a prominent part in it, have suffered themselves to be carried beyond the limits of Christian discretion and of theological soundness; but that it proceeds in the great body of our Church from a higher and more internal impulse than it is in the power of any man or body of men to impart. It has always appeared to us, that to attribute to a few men, themselves the offspring of the age which brought them forth, the mighty stirring of the waters which we have witnessed during these last ten years, is about as sage as to attribute the mighty heavings of the everflowing tide to the reflux of the waves which break upon the shore.

This view of the liturgical excitement now prevailing in our Church, is greatly strengthened by the fact, that although manifesting itself in another form, a similar stirring up of the religious mind has taken place elsewhere, and altogether independently of the influences to which that excitement is generally attributed among ourselves. It is certainly remarkable, that wherever of late years there has been any religious life stirring at all, in the Church or out of her, the order of divine worship has become a matter of discussion and general interest. It is well known, *e. g.* that the Methodist body, the only really active and compact body of Protestant Dissenters now extant in this country, has been deeply engaged with questions of Church-order and Church-formularies, and has re-organized itself recently in close imitation of the Church, adopting to a great extent even her ordination services. In another sect, which being of recent origin has attracted considerable attention, the so-called Irvingites, one of the leading ideas is that of re-instating the order and worship of the Church upon what is imagined to be the primitive model.

Taking a wider range, we shall find the Roman Church putting forth her power and influence for the purpose of extruding from the churches of her communion those national diversities of worship, which have been preserved to the present time, and establishing, by the universal use of her own formularies, as a matter of fact that uniformity of rites of which Romish controversialists are wont to boast, but which in reality exists in her theory only, and not in her practice. Both in Germany and in France much discussion has taken place on this subject, to which we hope on a future occasion to turn our attention. But the most striking proof which could possibly be given, that there is a simultaneous movement towards liturgical perfection taking place in every part of Christendom, where the religious sense of the people has been in any measure awakened, is the attempt in which, for the last twenty years and upwards, Protestant Germany has been engaged, to remodel and reconstitute itself on a sound liturgical foundation. Not that that attempt has as yet answered the expectations of those who took the lead in making it, or that any satisfactory settlement of the subject is at present likely to be effected. Still we cannot but consider it as a mighty sign of these stirring times, that in the very hot-bed of rationalism, where every positive and historical element of Christianity appeared to have become irretrievably obsolete, where religion had resolved itself into a vague demi-philosophical sentiment, where the assemblies for religious worship had degenerated into audiences greedy of novelty and of knowledge

falsely so called, where the house of prayer had become assimilated to the lecture-room—it is, we say, a mighty sign of these stirring times, that in that part of nominal Christendom—and little more than nominal it had become—there should be an universal impulse felt towards the development of a practical, sanctifying Church-life, and that the means devised for attaining this purpose should have been, not in one place or in another, but throughout that politically and religiously divided people, a variety of attempts to return to ancient liturgical forms, and to work out, if possible, a national, and, according to their understanding of it, a Catholic liturgy.

The condition to which the religious life of Germany had sunk down during the period immediately preceding this new impulse of life, cannot be better described than in the words of Dr. Alt, who, after a short sketch of the history of liturgical arrangements in Protestant Germany, from the time of the Reformation to the middle of the last century, thus continues:—

“Meanwhile the spirit of illumination, and with it the lust of novelty, had found entrance into Germany, and from the middle of the last century continued to gain more and more adherents; the complaints against the ancient liturgies then in use became louder and louder. Their antiquated form of expression, it was said, and the nature of their contents, in which the obsolete dogmatical prejudices of by-gone times were stereotyped, rendered them altogether unsuitable to satisfy the wants of a more enlightened age; and with increasing zeal, attempts upon attempts were made to meet, in this respect also, the supposed demands of the spirit of the times, and of a more advanced stage of civilization.

“In some places, indeed, one or other of the old Lutheran liturgies was still in use, and the people, being attached to it by long custom, were unwilling to part with it: all that could be done, therefore, was to introduce here and there a few alterations in the forms of prayer; but in other places where a part, at least, of the congregation was so far ‘educated and enlightened,’ as to consider the accustomed form of worship too old-fashioned, and both in manner and in matter unsuited to the spirit of the age, the work of elimination proceeded with far greater facility. The freest scope, however, was afforded to the spirit of illumination, prevalent among a large portion of the clergy, in those places in which public worship was conducted in accordance with the practice of the Reformed Church; as here the congregation was not allowed either to sing, or to hear read, aught but what the preacher himself had selected or drawn up. Who was to prevent it, if, for instance, at Easter, after the conclusion of a chilling morning hymn, the preacher chose to read at the altar a prayer of his own composition, in which he took occasion to set it forth as one of the chief benefits of the Christian religion, that it delivered men from error and super-

stition; and, having thereupon directed the congregation to sing an hymn on the dread of apparitions¹, proceeded in his sermon to make the fear of the women at the sight of the young man in white apparel, sitting in the tomb of Jesus, the foundation of an elaborate discourse on the folly of being afraid of ghosts? The very Lord's Prayer was frequently not heard in the language of Scripture, but in the poetic manner of the preacher, as the numerous rhymed and rhymeless paraphrases of it testify; nay, some one had even skill enough to work up the blessing into a neat distich.

"When public worship thus afforded to the congregation nothing better than tasteless Church hymns, dry forms of prayer, and dull sermons, which often consisted in long-winded pratings on matters of daily life, civil and domestic, it was not surprising that the Churches were left empty. Those who had any Christian feeling left, absented themselves, because the Church did not satisfy their desire for Christian edification; and the worldly-minded stayed away, because of edification in God's Church they had neither need nor knowledge.

"To this knowledge they were, however, soon to be brought! The gigantic struggle against the scourge of God, raised up for the chastisement of that generation, called forth a firm reliance on God; and hearts bowed down low by heavy calamities, had more than ever need of divine consolation. At last the fell tyrant was conquered, and the less ground there had been to hope for victory, the more did that victory necessarily appear as an evident gift of grace from the hands of a merciful God. Hence an ardent desire arose to sink down in adoration before the Almighty, for the purpose of presenting fervent thanksgivings to his holy name. The religious feelings so excited could obviously not find satisfaction in the existing formularies of Protestant worship, which had become more and more jejune. Hence there was a ready echo in the souls of those who by the abrogation of the ancient liturgies had been wholly cut off from the spirit of the Reformation,—a spirit so mighty in the faith, when, in a royal manifesto, of Sept. 14th, 1814, it was said:

"It has long and very generally been felt in the Prussian dominions, that the formularies of worship in most of the Protestant Churches are

¹ Dr. Alt gives in a note the following specimen of an anti-demonological Easter hymn, the essential prose of which it would be truly a pity to destroy by attempting any but a most literal translation.

O God! thy dead they are at rest,
The corpse is cover'd in with earth;
Their spirit's in eternity,
Where nothing earthly him distracts.

Back to the earth he ne'er returns,
With thee he to his duty lives;
His body in the grave enclosed
Is to corruption handed o'er.

How should it e'er imagined be,
That thou should'st cause the dead to walk
For torment and affright of those
Who on the earth still pilgrims are?

And so on through a number of stanzas!

wanting in that edification and solemnity, by which the heart might be awakened and mightily stirred, and the mind disposed and lifted up to religious feelings and godly thoughts. Symbols of faith are rarely met with; and those which are found, are frequently unmeaning, or have been deprived of part of their significance. The sermon which, however important, serves after all only to teach and to exhort men to worship God, is regarded as the most essential part of the service; the liturgies are so incomplete, as well as so incoherent and imperfect, that much is left to the discretion of the individual minister; and uniformity of ecclesiastical customs, one of the principal conditions on which their beneficial effect depends, is almost entirely lost. These defects have become more evident in these last times, when the mighty events which have taken place, the calamities, the struggles, and the victories of our father-land, have kindled anew in the people a sense of religion, and caused them to feel deeply and strongly the need of formularies which might fully and fitly embody and set forth the sentiments by which they are animated.”

This newly kindled sense of religion, however,—the blessing which the rod of affliction, long laid over their land, brought to the German people,—was not the only cause which led to the introduction of new, as opposed to modern, Liturgies. Ever since the disputes on the eucharistic presence, and the doctrine of predestination, had caused a breach in the camp of the Reformation, attempts and proposals had from time to time been made², to bring the two parties to an agreement in doctrine, and an unity of worship. Hitherto all these attempts had proved equally abortive with the first of them all,—the conference held at Marburg in 1529, between Luther, Melancthon, and Justus Jonas on one side, and Zwingli, Œcolampadius, Bucer, and other divines of the Reformed school on the other³. Mutual toleration was all that could be obtained, and finally was obtained at the general religious pacification of Germany, at the close of the thirty years’ war. But toleration is not union; the latter, therefore, remained

² One of the most interesting of these was the attempt made at the beginning of the last century by Frederic I., king of Prussia. With a view to obviate the jealousy by which every other plan of comprehension was regarded by both the Lutherans and the Reformed, he proposed that both parties should unite in adopting the Liturgy and Articles of the English Church. The project however proved unsuccessful. For the particulars of this transaction, to which recent circumstances have given a fresh importance, we refer our readers to a publication, entitled, “*Relation des mesures qui furent prises dans les années 1711, 1712, et 1713, pour introduire la Liturgie Anglicane dans le royaume de Prusse et dans l’électorat de Hanovre. Londres, 1747.*” We believe there is an earlier edition of these papers of the year 1716, likewise published in London.

³ All that could be obtained was a truce from the unseemly style of invective in which the controversy was generally carried on in the writings of both parties. “*Dedimus,*” says Luther in a letter to John Agricola, “*manus pacis et caritatis, ut interim quiescant aspera scripta et verba, et quisque suam sententiam doceat, absque invectiva, sed non absque defensione et confutatione.*” How ill even this truce was kept, the subsequent controversies between the parties sufficiently evince.

still to be effected; and to devise the means of effecting it, was a fruitful theme, on which the pens of the German divines exercised themselves. They were divided on this subject into two principal schools: the liberal, to which most of the Reformed divines, and all the rationalists among the Lutherans, attached themselves; and the orthodox, which consisted exclusively of Lutherans who had remained staunch to the symbolical writings of their Church, and especially to the Lutheran doctrine of consubstantiation. According to the former, nothing was easier than a comprehension of the two great bodies into which Protestant Germany was divided, and of all the shades of opinion which each of them contained within itself. All that was required for this purpose, was for each party to surrender as non-essential its own distinctive doctrines, and to insist only on those points of Christian truth in which all were agreed. These points, however, it was found were exceedingly few; even the doctrines of justification by faith in the blood of Christ, and the inspiration and divine authority of Holy Scripture, were by some numbered among the shackles, by which a bigoted orthodoxy had circumscribed the freedom of Christian belief and of theological inquiry; and it soon became manifest that such a compromise (for union it deserved not to be called) would involve the sacrifice of every positive element of the Christian faith. On the other hand, the old orthodox Lutheran party maintained, that their Church alone had preserved the system of doctrine, and the ecclesiastical constitution established at the Reformation; that the denial of some of the most vital points of their faith, such as the doctrine of the real presence in the holy eucharist, on the part of the Reformed, rendered it impossible to unite with them; and that, moreover, the indefinite character of their teaching, and the looseness of their congregational arrangements, rendered them wholly unfit to become the gathering point of ecclesiastical union. And therefore it was argued by the divines of this school, that the only sound and Christian plan of union, was for the Reformed to abandon their unstable position, and to incorporate themselves with the Lutheran Church, as that which alone was entitled to hold itself forth as the National Protestant Church of Germany⁴. It may easily be supposed that this view found little acceptance with the Reformed and the rationalistic parties, who charged the Lutheran divines with intolerable presumption. When the Roman Catholic divines, it was said, adopted such a tone, it was intelligible and consistent; they had

⁴ This view is advocated with great ability in "*Rudelbach's Reformation, Lutherthum und Union*," Leipzig, 1839; and an interesting, well-reasoned article on the subject, entitled, "*Unions-bedenken*," by *Catenhusen*, is contained in the first quarterly number for the year 1844, of "*Rudelbach und Guericke's Zeitschrift für die gesammte Lutherische Theologie und Kirche*," the acknowledged organ of the old Lutheran party.

at least the tradition of many ages on their side, and acted in perfect accordance with the principles of their Church, by treating all beyond her pale as heretics to be reclaimed; but for the Lutheran Church, whose foundations were laid in the personal opinions and influence of Luther, and whose principles involved the recognition of other Christian communions besides her own, to put forth such exclusive hierarchical claims, was not to be endured.

In the midst of this division of opinions, which discussion only tended to increase, and thereby to render the union scheme more and more hopeless, royal authority interposed, and, taking advantage of the religious enthusiasm created by the centenary of the Reformation in the year 1817, enjoined throughout the Prussian dominions the celebration of the Lord's Supper with common bread, (instead of the wafers in use in the Lutheran Church,) with no other form of words at the consecration and distribution of the elements, than the simple recital of the words of institution. This arrangement, while it left both parties at liberty to put what construction they pleased upon the form of words in which the holy communion was administered, necessarily precluded all authoritative teaching on the nature of that communion; as it was impossible for the ministers of either persuasion to deliver their sentiments on the subject in a comprehensive and pointed manner from pulpits, the tenure of which depended on an acknowledgment, that the assertion of the consubstantial presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament, and the denial of any real presence whatever, were equally entitled to respect, as theological opinions which might be indifferently held in the United Evangelic Church. It is, therefore, no small proof of the laxity of doctrine which at that period prevailed among the divines of Germany, that the royal ordinance met with very general obedience. Thus, whatever we may think of such a proceeding in matters of faith, the Gordian knot, which learned divines had vainly attempted to untie in solemn conferences⁵, was cut *de facto* by the sword of the temporal power. The example of Prussia soon spread in other parts of Germany. In the Duchy of Nassau the union was effected simultaneously with Prussia. Rhenish Bavaria followed in 1819, the principality of Anhalt in 1820,

⁵ The most remarkable of these conferences, after the Marburg conference before alluded to, which was held in 1529, are the conference at Montbeliard, between Jac. Andreae and Th. Beza, in 1586; the conference at Leipzig, between the Lutherans, Hoë, Leyser, and Höpfner, and the Reformed divines Bergius, Crocius, and Neuberger, in 1631; another conference held at Cassel in 1661; the conference at Berlin, between the Lutherans, Lütken and Winkler, and the Reformed divines, Strimesius and Jablonsky, in 1703. A further attempt to induce an union between the two parties was made at the Diet of Ratisbon in the years 1719 and 1722, in which two Lutheran divines of Tübingen, Klemm and Pfaff, took a leading part; but this also fell to the ground.

the Grand Duchy of Baden in 1821, Hesse-Cassel and Hesse-Darmstadt in 1822, Saxe Weimar and Hildburghausen in 1826, and the kingdom of Würtemberg in 1827.

A necessary consequence of this amalgamation of the Lutheran and Reformed congregations was the want of a uniform liturgy, which should, on the one hand, shut out the peculiarities of the Lutheran service to which the views of the Reformed party were opposed; and, on the other hand, should put a stop to the vagueness and license with which divine service was wont to be conducted in the Churches of the last-named communion. In the endeavour to meet this want, Prussia again took the lead, by the publication in the year 1821 of a new liturgy, or *Kirchen-Agende*, which was republished in a revised and enlarged form in 1822, and in 1829 came into general use throughout the kingdom. Numerous drafts of liturgies were afterwards published in different parts of Germany, some by public authority, and some by private individuals, and the whole subject of liturgical forms was thus thrown open for discussion.

Considering the speculative turn of mind of the Germans, and the *cacoethes scribendi* which is endemic among them, it is no more than under such circumstances might be expected, that their literature was inundated with liturgical treatises, in which, from various points of view, historical, theological, ecclesiastical, &c. &c., the subject is treated in what they term a scientific manner (*wissenschaftlich*), while at the same time the practical settlement of the question has made but little progress during the quarter of a century which has elapsed since the establishment of the evangelic union. As one of themselves says:

"It is an old fault of us Germans, that in execution we are constantly so very far in the rear of our theories. There is no department of life in which, *in thesi*, we have not made the most astonishing progress; but if we look more closely for the fruits of this our proficiency, we shall find that, *in praxi*, we have, in spite of our ably developed theories, during a proportionably long period of time, scarcely advanced a single step. In life and practice we drag along with sluggish pace, while in theory we march forward in double-quick time. This is more particularly true of our Church life; for a long time past it is all but un-animously agreed, that the character of our worship, as it has grown up during the unbelieving rationalistic period, cannot satisfy our newly awakened evangelism; and yet there seems to be no present hope of any thorough-going, practical improvement⁶."

We have selected from among the countless works on liturgical questions which have lately issued from the German press, a few which, as they have attracted considerable notice in Germany

⁶ Extract from an article on the newly published Church hymn-books (*Gesangbücher*), in number IV. of the "*Kirchliche Vierteljahrschrift*," for 1844.

itself, appeared to us best suited to give to an English reader a correct idea of the manner in which the subject is handled in that country. The first of them, the book of Dr. Alt⁷, is a book of considerable pretension, and far from equal in its execution to the promise recorded on its title-page. It is intended by its author to serve as a popular introduction to the knowledge of liturgical matters among his countrymen, with a view, as he intimates in his preface, to remove the prejudices which frequently stand in the way of a hearty reception of the liturgies recently compiled for the use of the German Protestant Churches. For this purpose we are not prepared to say that it may not prove a very useful work, and we heartily wish it success; at the same time that we cannot but regret the want of a proper arrangement in its general outline, and the frequent want of accuracy in its details.

As regards its arrangement, we desiderate in the first place what the title led us to expect,—an historical sketch of the *res liturgica*, which would have been infinitely preferable to the fragmentary historical minutiae inserted under the different heads. In the next place, it appears to us that a treatise on Christian worship generally, should have comprehended all the different liturgical acts, whereas the present volume only treats of the ordinary Sunday service. Even the Sacrament of Baptism is wholly omitted, and the celebration of the Lord's Supper comes in only incidentally, as it may form part of the service on Sunday morning. The way in which the subject is laid out, is, we must confess, simple enough; but it is certainly not that which we should have supposed would have suggested itself to any man proposing to write an account of the historical development of Christian worship. The principle on which Dr. Alt proceeds, is that of accompanying the Christian worshipper to church on a Sunday morning, and making each thing he does, or sees, or hears, the subject of a separate disquisition. But our readers shall judge for themselves, from the following abstract of the contents of the volume: It opens with an inquiry into the origin of the observance of the Lord's day, which he pursues down to the time of Constantine, when its observance as a day of rest became a matter of civil enactment; after this the Sunday is considered, in two separate sections, as a day of rest, and as a day of sanctification. Considering it as a day of rest,

⁷ Dr. ALT does not on the title-page, or any where in the volume, give any clue to his identity; an omission of which a German reviewer in the *Allgemeine Kirchenzeitung* complains, and at the same time maliciously observes, that whoever he may be, no one will mistake him for the well-known Dr. ALT, chief pastor of St. Peter's at Hamburg. Our author is, we find, a Prussian *Candidat der Theologie*, that is to say, a young student of divinity, who, having passed his examinations, is waiting for ordination to some cure, and, in the mean time, has licence to preach.

Dr. Alt commences with the law of the sabbath given by Moses, and descends, by a few steps of very unequal length, to the regulations adopted by the Berlin Association for the better observance of the Lord's day. Considering it as a day of sanctification, he conducts his readers from the sacrifices of the Temple-service to the practice of public catechizing enjoined by Luther, and recently revived in some of the German Churches⁸. Our author having thus informed his readers what is the meaning of Sunday, lets them hear the Church-bells in the fourth section, which opens with the trumpets of the Jews, and closes with the weathercock on the top of the steeple. He then in due course takes them to Church, which gives him an opportunity of saying a good word by the way in favour of sundry schismatics who stay away from Church altogether. In the sixth section, which treats of the mode of entering God's house, the following customs are discussed: bowing the head; folding the hands; praying with the hat before the face, with a digression on skullcaps and periwigs; repetition of the Lord's prayer; sprinkling with holy water; and making the sign of the cross. The reader is now fairly inside the Church, and gets leave to look about him; he is told of the difference of the internal arrangement of Churches in different Christian communions, and in different ages; and his attention is then directed to the pews and sittings, to the pulpit, and to the pulpit-desk, which gives the author occasion to speak of pulpit eloquence, of original and borrowed sermons, of extemporaneous and *memoriter* preaching, and of the English practice of reading the sermon. From the pulpit-desk Dr. Alt turns to the hour-glass, in connexion with which it is refreshing to find that the interminable length of the sermons in the German Churches is not chargeable upon the great German Reformer, who on the contrary, in his enumeration of the qualifications of a good preacher, has this, "Sixthly, he must know when to leave off." The author next comes to the altar, with its Lutheran furniture of crucifix and candlesticks; to the side altars, the origin of which he traces to the tombs of the martyrs: thence he goes on

⁸ "On Sunday afternoon," says Dr. Alt, "the sermon is in many churches followed by catechetical instruction of the children; in others, catechizing takes the place of the sermon; and it is a matter of thankfulness, that latterly this much-neglected part of the instruction of youth has again become the object of great care and attention. Luther always most strongly insisted on the duty of catechizing, and that saying of his is well known: 'If I had to give directions in the Church, it would be my pleasure, that no one should be made deacon or minister, unless he had previously been employed for one, two, or three years in some school, teaching, besides the liberal arts, the Catechism with all diligence, and going over it again and again with the children.' But the zeal which Luther thus stirred up, soon waxed cold, and the public catechizings either reduced themselves to a mere rehearsal of the questions and answers of the Catechism, or else a catechetical sermon was substituted for them, which, while it gave less trouble to a minister accustomed to preaching, did far less good than a lively and instructive conversation with the children."

to relics^o; to images; to votive gifts and tablets; from which, by a rather sudden transition, he arrives at the knotty question of clerical vestments, and satisfactorily establishes the antiquity of the alb and surplice, while he traces the black gown in preaching, not to the Puritans, who generally have the credit of it, but to the Dominican monks or black friars. Having settled the question of robing, our author gives a touch at the organ, and, by the way, vindicates the claim of St. Cecilia to be the patroness of Church music.

From this discussion of externals, which occupies one-fourth of the entire volume, Dr. Alt proceeds, in the eighth section, to the subject of worship itself, and of its liturgical arrangement; and after a brief review of its component parts, he considers the different modes of worship (confining himself, however, to the Sunday) which have prevailed at different times and in different Christian communions, in the following order: the Primitive Church, the Eastern or Greek Church, the Roman Catholic Church, the Lutheran Church, the Reformed Church, the English Episcopal Church¹; to which is added, a brief history of

^o Here Dr. Alt takes occasion among other curious information to tell rather a good story of a relic-vender, who announced to the people from the pulpit, that he had some of the hay on which Christ lay in the manger, by him in a box. But lo and behold, when he opened the box, instead of hay it contained coals, which the parson, who was no friend to the relic-trade, had slyly substituted. But the relic-vender, nothing abashed, thus continued his discourse, "My good friends, I have got hold of the wrong box; what you see here, are the coals on which St. Lawrence was roasted."

¹ We should not have thought it necessary to animadvert upon this part of Dr. Alt's book, but for his statement in the preface, that "he has made himself acquainted with the worship of the English episcopal and of the oriental Greek Churches by *ocular inspection*." It rather detracts from one's confidence in Dr. Alt's statements, to find him falling into such inaccuracies as the following. On the 31st day of every month the reading of daily psalms is said to be omitted. The first collect in the Communion Service is mistaken for "the collect of the day," an error with which we have met elsewhere, and which creates a suspicion that Dr. Alt's "ocular inspection" resolves itself into a bit of plagiarism; especially as he carries on the mistake by the total omission of the two remaining collects, and all the prayers of the Morning and Evening Service, or the Litany substituted in their place; for according to his account the collect, "Almighty God, unto whom all hearts be open, &c.," the reading of the Commandments, and the rest of the Communion Service, follow immediately upon the suffrages after the Apostles' Creed. The same suspicion is again confirmed by his statement that after the Nicene Creed the publication of the bans of marriage takes place, which, although prescribed in the rubric, we very much doubt whether Dr. Alt ever heard with his own ears in an English Church. At the administration of the Holy Communion he imagines the whole congregation, communicants and non-communicants, to be present, and to join by kneeling in the general confession, which, however, according to Dr. Alt, the minister alone pronounces. He also loses sight of the proper preface, and of the first prayer in the post-communion. In speaking of the sermon, he tells his readers that at this part of the service, the clergyman either delivers a sermon of his own composition, or else reads one of the publicly authorized homilies. Will Dr. Alt tell us when and where he ever heard a homily read in the English Church on a Sunday morning? The case is not impossible, certainly, but highly improbable. In another part of his book, he says, that the daily Morning and Evening Service is maintained with the utmost strictness. *Utinam quidem!* Besides these and other like inaccuracies, there is this family

the alterations which Protestant worship has undergone since the Reformation. This last chapter affords a fair illustration of the unsystematic arrangement of the book; for in the middle of it, between an account of the ancient Liturgies for the Margrave of Brandenburg, and the history of the new Prussian Liturgy, there is inserted, without any perceptible connexion, an outline of the form of worship adopted by the different sects of English dissenters, and by the Moravians.

The remaining nineteen sections of the book are devoted to the different parts of the service, in the following succession, from which the most important part, the administration of the Holy Communion, is altogether omitted:—The Morning Hymn, the Confession, the Kyrie, the Gloria, the Altar-chant, the Dominus vobiscum, the Collect, the Amen, Prayer addressed to Jesus, the Epistle and Gospel, the Hallelujah, the Creed, Church Music, the principal Psalm, the Alms-bag², the Sermon, the General Prayer for the Church Militant, Notices to be published in Church, the Lord's Prayer, the Salutation, the Collect, and the Blessing.

This closes the main body of the work, after which follows an Appendix, subdivided into two parts, the former of which treats of week-day services, the latter of the ecclesiastical year. Under the former head, the author treats chiefly of the use of daily Morning and Evening Prayer in the primitive Church, which had originally been observed also in the Lutheran Church, and is, it appears, being revived in several parts of Germany; to

likeness to other recent German accounts of our Church in that of Dr. Alt, that he descants upon the "dry formalism and the everlasting repetition" of the English liturgy, and the cold, monotonous, inexpressive bearing of the episcopal preachers, which he attributes to an aristocratic unwillingness to violate the manners of a gentleman in the pulpit. Somehow or other our German brethren are certainly predisposed to speak unfavourably of our Church,—a fact which we incline to think is attributable to their associating so much with dissenting teachers; "evil communications corrupt good manners."

² The alms-bag in the Lutheran Church holds the place of the offertory bason in ours. It is carried about every Sunday, either during the singing of the psalm before the sermon, or, which used to be the more general practice, during the sermon itself. It is fixed to a long wand, and has attached to it a little bell, (whence its name, "*Klingel-beutel*," tinkling bag,) in order to draw the attention of those to whom it is presented, and possibly to awaken the sleepers. There is on record an explanation of its meaning, given in one of his sermons by an Augustinian monk, which, for the edification of those who object to the weekly offertory, we here transcribe. "As the little mass-bell at the *confiteor* calls upon you penitently to smite your breast like the poor publican, and to implore the mercy of God, so the little almsbag-bell reminds you to be merciful that ye may obtain mercy, to do good and to distribute, because with such sacrifices God is well pleased. And as the great bells in the church-tower reply to the question, 'How shall I enter into Paradise?' by sounding '*dando, dando*,' so this little bell makes the same answer while it tinkles, '*still give, still give*;' and as in the holy mass, at the time of the transubstantiation, the little mass-bell proclaims the bodily presence of our Lord, so the little almsbag-bell reminds you that it is the Lord Christ himself that goes about collecting your gifts, and that He desires not to find you sleeping."

which is appended a disquisition on the observance of fasting days. In his review of the ecclesiastical year, Dr. Alt distinguishes between feasts of the Lord, feasts of Mary, feasts of Apostles and Martyrs, and 'other feasts.' With characteristic ignorance or inadvertence, he reckons up among the 'feasts of the Lord,' Ash-Wednesday and the forty days of Lent, with the Passion-week; as likewise the feast of the Holy Trinity; and omits the feasts of the Annunciation and of the Purification, which are, properly speaking, not, as he accounts them, feasts of Mary, but feasts of Christ, the former of his conception, the latter of his presentation in the temple, and have for this very reason been retained in our Prayer-Book. Besides the festivals of our Lord observed in our own as well as in the Lutheran Church, Dr. Alt enumerates the feast of Corpus Christi, which is peculiar to the Roman Church; the feast of the Transfiguration and of the Invention of the Cross, which are common to the Roman and the Greek Churches, the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross, which the Lutheran Church also adopted; and the feast of the Spear and Nails of Christ, which is peculiar to the Romish Church in Bohemia and Germany. In the list of feasts of Apostles and Martyrs, we observe the following as having been adopted by the Lutheran Church: the feasts of St. Mary Magdalene, St. Nicolas, and St. Lawrence. Under the miscellaneous head 'other feasts,' we have besides St. Michael and All Angels, the feast of All Souls, for which it appears the Protestants in Prussia and some other parts of Germany have substituted a solemn commemoration of all the dead on the last Sunday after Trinity; the other feasts mentioned are the feast of Consecration (anniversary), the feast of Harvest, the feast of the Reformation, a Missionary feast, and a Bible feast; and once more among the feasts are introduced the Ember fasts, which, however, have been abandoned by the Protestant Churches of Germany, and, instead of them, the Wednesday in the third week after Easter is observed as an annual day of humiliation and fasting. A second appendix, containing a ground-plan of an ancient Christian Church, with an explanation annexed, closes the volume.

From this brief outline of the contents of Dr. Alt's book, it is evident that the knowledge of liturgical matters must be at a low ebb in a country where so ill-arranged a compilation can be considered as a valuable addition to the stock of theological literature. This circumstance at the same time furnishes an apology for the author, for whom, as a pioneer on the field on which he has entered, due allowance should be made. And this we are the more disposed to do, as Dr. Alt evidently belongs to that school of divines, whose object it is to restore soundness in the faith among the Protestants of Germany, in opposition to the

spirit of rationalism, which undermines all the foundations of revealed religion. He seems even to look forward, though not with the hope of seeing it immediately realized, to a general union, not only of the two Protestant communions, but of Protestants and Romanists, upon one Catholic foundation of ancient truth. The passage of his preface, in which he gives expression to these sentiments, shall conclude our notice of his volume.

“While the spirit of Christianity asserts its rights more and more decidedly, the spirit of Anti-Christ opposes itself to it with equally increasing determination; and as the latter endeavours to make its way among all classes of society, the separation between those who profess the Gospel and those who deny it, becomes more sharp and entire; so much so, that the truly evangelic Christian finds that, in reality, he has more in common with a believer of the [Roman] Catholic or the Greek Church, than with many a fellow-member of his own communion, who in his wanderings through the dry places of unbelief has no where met with the bread and the water of life, and therefore persuades himself and others that all such like things are to be reckoned among the fables of the nursery.

“Whether this separation, which is becoming every day more evident, be an indication of the manner in which the great work of union, to which the Lord’s promise points, is to be accomplished; whether we be approaching the time when the believers who at present are divided by confessional differences both of doctrine and worship, will be united in one Christian Church and one Christian worship, in opposition to those who reject the Gospel;—these are questions which do not as yet admit of an answer; indeed, the unsatisfactory result of all the attempts at union which have been made hitherto, has proved that they were premature. Meanwhile, as every true Christian has to do his part towards that great work, and at the same time stands in greater need than ever of a lively sense of his Church-fellowship with other believers, in order that he may have strength to resist the gainsayings of those that oppose themselves, it is doubly necessary for all the members of the Church at this moment, that their Church sympathies should be kindled more and more, that they should again learn to feel at home in the Church, and to understand her worship, in order that they may be enabled to estimate it at its full value.”

So far as Dr. Alt’s book is calculated to produce that effect, we heartily wish him God speed.

We now turn from his historical essay on the Liturgy, to Dr. KLIEFOTH’S *Theorie des Kultus*, (No. 2, at the head of this Article,) in which the subject is handled in a philosophical point of view, quite after the strictest method of German systematizing. The author, who is otherwise favourably known in the theological literature of Germany³, starts from the proposition, that in order

³ He is the author of a volume of twenty Sermons, published in 1841, under the title, “*Das Zeugniß der Seele*” (the witness of the soul). They are able and eloquent

to answer the question, "What is worship?" you must first ascertain how that act of the congregation which is termed Worship has its source in Christ; and afterwards consider that act in the variety of forms in which it is exhibited, and in the connexion of all its details with one another, in the unity of the one act of worship. Hence his book is divided into three parts, which treat severally, 1, Of the idea of worship; 2, Of the component parts of worship; 3, Of the construction of worship. Under the first head he defines the idea of the Church, as the body of Christ, distinct from the world, and yet mingling with it; having the twofold commission of edifying the members of Christ, and converting those that are without. From this corporate action of the Church he deduces the necessity of a confession of faith, and an ecclesiastical constitution. He distinguishes between the Church in the abstract, and the Church as visibly represented in different congregations which outwardly compose her.

This leads him to speak of congregations, of national Churches in which they are comprehended, and of parishes as territorial limitations of the congregations. The obligation which rests upon the Church at large, to preach the gospel abroad, and to build up souls at home, is shared in its proper measure by each congregation; and it is for the execution of the latter part of its allotted work—the edification of its own members, that public worship is required. But as every act of his Church is not and cannot be without Christ, as it is necessarily wrought in him and by him, Dr. Kliefoth defines public worship as the joint act of Christ and the congregation, uniting together for the edification of the souls of all its members; and he thence deduces the rule, that nothing which has for its object to convert the unbeliever, can properly be an ingredient of public worship; and that no unconverted person can take part in public worship, because he has no foundation to stand on, that foundation being, in the nature of things, no other than membership of Christ and his Church.

Under the second head our author enumerates, as the component parts of worship, 1, the worshippers; 2, the elements of worship; 3, the time and place of worship. In speaking of the worshippers, he proceeds upon the basis of the universal priesthood, that favourite notion of the Lutheran divines, upon the ground of which the minister is considered as nothing more than an individual deputed by the congregation to do that which, though all have power to do it, is yet more properly and

compositions; but their style is too florid, and the ideas sometimes forced, evidently from an affectation of originality—the besetting sin of young authors, especially in Germany.

conveniently done by one person officially commissioned to do it. In connexion with this view of the ministerial office, Dr. Kliefoth distinguishes three kinds of liturgic action: one, in which the whole congregation, including the minister, is acting—psalmody; another, in which the minister alone is acting—the sermon, exhortations, and the like; and a third, in which the minister has the initiative, the congregation acting with him by alternation—responsories. As the elements of worship our author specifies, the sermon, or the speaking part of worship; liturgic offices, or the acting part of it; and prayer, as the necessary consequence of the fact, that all that is said and done in worship, is done in Christ, and by his power, and that therefore his aid must be sought by supplication, and acknowledged by thanksgiving. As to the time and place of worship, we think it rather a waste of philosophical ingenuity to demonstrate the homely truth, that forasmuch as the congregation consists of individual men dwelling apart, there must necessarily be an appointment of time and place for their common worship.

The next head, entitled the “construction of worship,” which the author deduces from the necessity of order in one united act, is subdivided into three parts, entitled, the acts of worship; the cycles of worship; and, worship considered in a national point of view. In speaking of the acts of worship, the author distinguishes between divine service and worship, properly speaking. Of the former, he says, the sermon is the principal part, though not of the latter; which consists of the five liturgic acts, baptism, confirmation, communion, matrimony, burial. The cycles of worship are, the cycle of the ecclesiastical year, and the cycle of human life, in the course of which the individual becomes the subject of the different liturgic acts before enumerated. The section devoted to worship in a national point of view is subdivided into two parts, treating severally of the connexion of different congregations with one another, and of Church government.

Such is the schematism of the work before us; and our readers will, no doubt, agree with us, that if in Dr. Alt's book there was far too little systematic arrangement, there is a great deal too much of it in that of Dr. Kliefoth. But what we chiefly object to, is the low view which he takes of his subject, raising the whole structure of Christian worship, not upon the foundation of the Church's heavenly life in Christ, whereof her worship is the expression and reflection, but upon the earthly basis of man's condition, and his necessities in this present miserable world. The radical defect of Dr. Kliefoth's work is most strikingly apparent in his remarks on what he calls liturgic acts.

These acts he views as intended to meet the different events and contingencies of human life, from the cradle to the grave, which call for the edifying interposition of the congregation, acting through the minister. The difference between the two sacraments and other liturgic offices he considers to be this, that the former having a special promise of Christ's presence, are not, like the others, dependent for their efficacy upon the spiritual state of the congregation. Baptism he recognizes as an ordinance conferring not only grace, but the fulness of grace; but confirmation is defined by him as nothing more than the acknowledgment of grace received on the part of the baptized person. In his remarks on baptism he does not discern the character of the name given as a Christian name, but expressly calls it the "world-name," appropriately given, in his earthly view of the Church's ordinances, at the moment of introduction into the Church. He repudiates the vicarious office of the sponsors, as far as the child is concerned; they are, according to him, the representatives of the whole congregation, deputed to bring the child to the font, and to see that he is rightly baptized; and pledged to discharge towards him, in the event of the death or neglect of the parents, the duty of spiritual nurture, which in that case devolves on the congregation.

Dr. Kliefoth's remarks on the other sacrament are yet more painful. While he properly objects, except in cases of sickness, to the ministration of the communion in private houses, (a concession which it seems is occasionally made in Germany to wealth and station, as is the private ministration of baptism with ourselves,) he suggests that the poor, who on account of their miserable clothing might be ashamed to come to Church, should have the communion privately administered to them in the clergyman's house. But, above all, painful is the view which he takes of the use of the holy communion, and of its proper place in, or rather apart from, the public service; he regards it not as the eucharistic act of the Church, the highest and crowning act of her worship, but as a special means of grace, to be used by individuals on particular occasions and emergencies. It is, according to him, the ordinance in which those whom the general prayers of the congregation and the sermon have left unedified, because not suited to their individual and momentary state, may, each for himself, fill up the void which the congregational worship has left in their hearts.

"The individual member of the congregation may often find himself in a position so peculiar, that the congregation cannot have a special liturgic act to suit it, at the same time that he stands greatly in need

of some strengthening demonstration of Christ's power towards him on the part of the congregation. *This gap is filled precisely by the Lord's Supper*, an ordinance which is not tied to any particular moment. Before parents dismiss a child from their home, they first bring him to the Lord's table; the pregnant woman who looks death in the face, the servant who is about to exchange her place for a new situation, the prosperous man whom God has blessed,—they all attend the Lord's Supper according to good old custom. *Thus the Lord's Supper is the universal liturgic act, which the congregation offers at all times to any one who cannot find in the general service a particular act suited to his individual and special wants."*

Although Dr. Kliefoth speaks here of the congregation as bearing witness to the individual member of Christ's spiritual power in the Holy Communion, it is by no means his intention that the congregation should be actually present at its celebration. The congregation is introduced only in accordance with our author's theory, that all liturgical power proceeds under Christ from the congregation; that power being delegated by the congregation to the minister, he represents the congregation in all liturgic acts, just as in certain political systems the sovereign represents the people, who are considered the true source of power, in every act of his government. The presence of the congregation, therefore, is quite unnecessary to the comfort which the congregation is to administer to the individual by means of the Lord's Supper.

"The principle of communion will most easily be brought into harmony with the wants and requirements of the individual, by the appointment, on the part of the congregation, of a special hour in every week, as *the hour set apart for the administration of the Lord's Supper, when individuals may accordingly attend*. In most congregations this hour will be most conveniently fixed on a Sunday, and that *immediately after divine service is completely ended*. *Where there is no reason for appointing the Sunday, Thursday will be a suitable day*. *The celebration of the Lord's Supper may thus be arranged apart from divine service."*

If Dr. Kliefoth, instead of pedantically evolving the nature of Christian worship out of the conceptions of his own brain, had condescended to study God's word on the subject, and to consult the testimony of catholic antiquity, he would have understood that the holy sacrament of Christ's body and blood was not instituted as a kind of religious cordial, to which men might have recourse under various changes of their earthly circumstances, and in the various humours of their mind; he would have understood that it was instituted as the channel by which the benefits of Christ's death and the power of Christ's life are to be continually imparted

to his Church, and his Church sustained and held together in the communion of that life. He would have understood, moreover, that so far from being an ordinance to be pushed out of the public service of the congregation, the sacrament of Christ's body and blood is the very crown and apex of all public worship; and that the Sunday morning service, of which it does not form a part, is nothing more than a mutilation, grown customary only in later and evil times, of that which originally and for many ages was considered by the Church the only true and worthy way of worshipping God in Christ; viz., to show forth the Lord's death on the day of his resurrection, week after week, until his second coming.

And if he had understood this, he would not have offended the ears of Christian men with such low and painful theories on so sacred a subject, nor committed himself to suggestions so wholly at variance with the true spirit of Christian worship. We are right glad, however, to find that Dr. Kliefoth has not come off unrebuked in Germany. There is an able article in the *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung*, from the pen of Professor Schmieder, the author of the *Gnadauer Thesen*, in which, while doing full justice to the general abilities displayed in the work, he indignantly denounces it as one of the consequences of the unworthy use often made of the Lord's Supper, and the lukewarmness and uncharitableness in which it is received; that what is deplored by all sound Churchmen and pious Christians as an abuse, is, by Dr. Kliefoth, erected into a regular theory.

Far more satisfactory are the views developed in the pamphlet (No. 3) of Pastor Bröcker⁴; who, however fanciful the arrange-

⁴ This interesting pamphlet has arisen out of the discussion on the liturgical question, which has lately been created in Schleswig Holstein. In that province several Liturgies are at present used indiscriminately, there being no less than three which have at different times been settled by authority, viz. the original one by Bugenhagen, one prepared by Adam Olearius in 1665, and a third published by Dr. Adler, and enjoined by government in 1796. The last-named work was so strongly objected to in different parts of the province, that the government made its use optional in 1798; since which time the clergy of Holstein have been accustomed to do pretty much "every one as was right in his own eyes." With a view to apply a remedy to so great an evil, Mr. Nielsen, provost of Hütten and pastor of Friedrichsberg, has of late years brought the subject before the different pastoral unions of the province, in a series of queries, which run as follows:—

1. Whether and wherefore it is desirable to have something unchangeable in liturgic acts?—in other words, whether and wherefore settled liturgic formularies are desirable? or would it be better to leave the form of liturgic acts entirely free?

2. What relation does that which is originally unchangeable in the liturgy, bear to that which is changeable? or, more accurately, to what extent is the minister to be tied to formularies in liturgic acts, and what extent of latitude is he to be allowed?

3. What are the essential requisites of a liturgic formulary?

4. What are the essential elements of public worship generally, and how far may the preservation of existing forms conduce to a suitable order of worship?

[5. What

ment of the details may occasionally be, proceeds throughout on a sound Scriptural foundation. Worship is defined by him as the one united expression of one common life, the life which the Church has in Christ; hence he desires to see the whole of that life which the Church, as Christ's body, has and puts forth in the world, reflected in all its parts in the liturgy; and as Christ is the fountain of that life, he endeavours to deduce from the three-fold office of the personal Christ the different branches of liturgic service. Before he enters upon the main argument, he turns to the Old Testament as that wherein Christ was prefigured, and considers "the elements of ritual life as they are given in the typical congregation of the old covenant." Here he shows how the three offices of priesthood, prophecy, and royalty, were divided and kept apart, each exhibiting and working out one side of the Church's common life, while the three combined faintly foreshadowed the perfection and the glory of Christ's office. This brings him to the consideration of the second part of his subject, that which forms the centre and groundwork of his entire system, viz., "the original of all ritual life, as set forth in the manifestation of the Only-begotten of the Father." In Him the true priesthood, the true prophecy, and the true royalty are brought to light, the types and shadows of the old dispensation are fulfilled, and a foundation is laid for that threefold life of the Church, which, in the distinctness of its tripartite character, and in the integrity of its united action, is to be reflected in the ritual services of the Church.

However difficult we may find it to follow our author into all the details of his liturgic scheme, and we confess ourselves unable to do so, it is not to be denied that there is something striking, we had almost said, majestic, in this view of Christian worship; and we are sure that much deep truth is involved in it. From the character and office of Christ himself, our author shows what is the character of the new, the Christian congregation, which is the image of Christ; the character of the congregation determines the true notion of its common service, the true ideal of

5. What is the position and the character of the officiating minister in liturgic acts?

6. What are, in detail, the occasions for which provision should be made by liturgic formularies?

7. Is a new liturgy wanted at this time?

8. By what means might a suitable new liturgy be obtained?

To these questions a great variety of answers have been returned, and the points involved in them discussed at great length; and the whole of the documents have been published by Provost Nielsen under the title, *Liturgische Studien und Stimmen über eine Kirchenagende, von Schleswig-Holsteinischen Geistlichen*. (Liturgical Studies and Suggestions, by Clergymen of Schleswig Holstein, on the subject of a prescript form of Public Worship.) Schleswig, 1842.

Christian worship ; and upon this the author grounds the inquiry, in what relation the actual life of the congregation stands to this ideal ?

On the priestly service of the Christian congregation, Pastor Bröcker observes, that it is not, as that of the Old Testament, mediatorial ; the whole congregation being reconciled to God by one Mediator, Christ Jesus, and become the *ἔθνος ἅγιον*, is to fulfil its priestly office in pleasing God. Love and prayer, that is, the whole Christian life, constitutes the priestly service of the Christian Church. In its prophetic character the Christian congregation is to be, both to itself, *i. e.*, to its own members, and to the world, a perpetual witness of God's counsel, a preacher of his word for the confirmation of the faith and the overcoming of an ungodly world, showing forth, from generation to generation, the praises, or, as the Lutheran version renders it, the virtues, *τὰς ἀρετὰς*, of God. From the royal character which belongs to the congregation, as the *βασίλειον ἱεράτευμα*, our author deduces the spiritual independence, the freedom in the Holy Ghost, which, under Christ its invisible Head and King, is its inalienable privilege ; and its consequent right of self-regulation and self-government. Upon these premises Pastor Bröcker founds the requirement, that Christian worship should be the united expression and maintenance of the life of the congregation, as a body sanctified and called to act in a priestly, a prophetic, and a royal character. In the first place, he instances different branches of divine service, in which one or other of these characters is shown forth ; thus he assigns the common prayer of the Church, the daily morning and evening sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving⁵, to the priestly office ; catechetical instruction and other subordinate occasions of public teaching, to the prophetic office ; and all the authori-

⁵ It is a remarkable fact, that whilst the restoration of the daily Morning and Evening service has been attempted, and in a few instances accomplished in our Church, a similar movement has taken place in the German churches, where the soundest divines warmly advocate it. Our author complains bitterly of the prevailing neglect of this primitive and truly catholic custom. "Of this Morning and Evening Service of prayer and praise," he says, "there remains among us, alas ! nothing more than the prayer-bell," (which is tolled in most places in Germany every morning and evening, as a signal for prayer, though there is no service in the church,) "and at best here and there in the houses a domestic service, the morning and evening benediction being read to the assembled household. But it is neither right nor proper that the daily service of prayer and praise should thus be banished from the house of the Lord and of his congregation, and driven into the private dwellings of its members ; no other voice making itself heard in the Lord's house than the voice of the prayer-bell in the belfry. Although the whole congregation cannot assemble every morning and evening in the Lord's house, yet let it be proclaimed far and wide by the church-bell to all that live and move within the reach of its sound, that at this hour the Lord is being worshipped in his holy house, and that all in every place are to cease from their words and works, and to fold their hands and give glory to God."

tative acts of the Church, those in which the power of the keys is exercised, to the royal office. Under this last head he enumerates baptism and confirmation, confession and absolution, and the consecration of things natural to a spiritual purpose, as, for instance, the solemnization of matrimony, the churching of women, the interment of the dead, the ordination of ministers. But in addition to all these, and above them all, Pastor Bröcker points out the principal congregational service, as that in which priestly, prophetic, and royal action are to be combined. This brings him to the consideration of the morning service on Sundays and Festivals, which he subdivides again under the three heads of priesthood, prophecy, and royalty. To the first he refers the spiritual sacrifice, the personal surrender, which constitutes the reasonable service, the λογικὴ λατρεία of the Christian congregation; and he finds this in the altar service of the Evangelic Church, the τρὶς ἅγιον; the *confiteor*; the acknowledgment of pardon and acceptance; the *credo*, which he interprets as a renewed submission of the whole man to the sovereignty of the Triune Godhead, confessed in the creed; and the general service of prayer, supplication, and intercession. The prophetic office of the congregation in the principal congregational service, is brought into action by reading God's word, according to the sections appointed for this purpose throughout the ecclesiastical year, and by preaching, which, the author justly observes, should always centre in God's word, a text from Scripture being the foundation of the discourse, and be grounded upon that word throughout. As the royal element in this chief service of the congregation, Pastor Bröcker designates the holy Eucharist; living communion with Christ being the condition of a full possession and exercise of our citizenship in the kingdom of God. The sacrament of the Saviour's body and blood is, therefore, here put in its right place, as "the acme and focus" of divine service, that which gives unction and dignity to its priestly and prophetic parts; and in accordance with this view of it, the author is of opinion, that the holy communion ought properly to be celebrated every Lord's day, and participated in by the entire congregation.

Such is Pastor Bröcker's scriptural theory of Christian worship. We now proceed to examine (No. 4.) the pamphlet of Dr. Ebrard⁶, which modestly announces itself as an attempt to

⁶ Dr. Ebrard is a pupil and disciple of the celebrated Dr. Harless at Erlangen, and distinguished in the literary world of Germany as the author of a work entitled, "*Wissenschaftliche Kritik der Evangelischen Geschichte*," (Scientific and Critical Examination of the Gospel History,) published by him in 1842. Since the publication of the present pamphlet, he has been appointed to a theological chair in the university of Zurich; an appointment which, on account of the superior orthodoxy of Dr. Ebrard, has given umbrage to the liberal and rationalistic school in Switzerland. He com-

treat the liturgical question scientifically on the principles of the Reformed Church, and which was, it appears, written with a view to aid the movement which is now in progress in the Protestant cantons of Switzerland, towards a liturgical reform. The outline of his treatise is sufficiently simple and appropriate; he divides the whole subject into twelve chapters, as follows: 1. The nature of Christian worship; 2. The elements of worship; 3. Liturgic acts; 4. Formularies for liturgic acts; 5. Buildings for worship; 6. General rules for the construction of a ritual; 7. The Sunday service; 8. The Communion service; 9. Services on festivals; 10. Weekly services, catechizings, and hours of prayer; 11. Particular liturgic acts, *i. e.* baptism, confirmation, visitation of the sick, communion of the sick, matrimony, ordination, Church discipline, liturgic opening of synods; 12. Choice of liturgic formularies. The view which Dr. Ebrard takes of Christian worship in the first section, at once decides upon the character and the value of his suggestions; for he does not consider Christian worship as the expression of the life which the Church already has in Christ, but states the object of it to be, to enable both the members of the congregation and those who are as yet without, to believe in Christ, by imparting to them the knowledge of Christ as contained in God's word. Upon such a basis as this, we cannot expect that our author will rise very high, or that he will be enabled to apprehend the depth and fulness of the more exalted acts of worship. If Christian worship is not to be the language of laud and adoration, which those who are Christ's offer to God through Him; if it is to be a schoolmaster to bring men to Christ, it is evident that the sermon must hold a prominent place in it; nay, more, that the sermon itself cannot have for its object so much to lead forward a congregation of devout and faithful men into the further knowledge and the deeper mysteries of Christ, as to proclaim the tidings of the Gospel to unbelievers, and to inculcate its paramount importance into the minds of believers. Whatever of a liturgic character may be connected with the sermon, must in the nature of things hold a very subordinate place, and can only be auxiliary to the sermon, *i. e.* prayer variously worded for the accomplishment of that object, the extension of the knowledge of the Gospel, which the sermon is mainly intended to answer. Of a ritual service which rests on the possession and enjoyment of gifts of grace already received,

menced his career there at the opening of the present winter term, with lectures on the Old Testament Revelation, on the Acts of the Apostles, and a course of introductory lectures to the study of the New Testament. It has also been announced, that a new Ecclesiastical Journal is about to be published at Zurich, of which Dr. Ebrard is to be the editor.

of a sermon which dwells on the beauties and blessings of a Church, or even of the Church of Christ in the abstract, "instead of exposing, as it ought to do, her foul blots to the glare of day," Dr. Ebrard hesitates not to say that they are "offensive, each in its way." In conformity with this view, all Dr. Ebrard's suggestions tend to strip the congregational worship as much as possible of its properly liturgic character, and to reduce it to a puritanical bareness and barrenness. In the last chapter, Dr. Ebrard announces his intention of publishing a collection of ancient formularies, revised and arranged according to the principles contained in this pamphlet. We can only express our wish, that in exploring these documents of the faith of former ages, he may catch some of their spirit, which was, even in the reformed Church, a spirit of strong faith and of fervent devotion, far beyond the faith and piety of the present generation.

The foregoing account of a few of the most remarkable among the recent publications on this subject, will have convinced our readers, that down to the present moment, the mind of the Germans is in regard to it in a most unsettled and confused state, wholly disqualified for the steady working out and the profitable use of that which the most earnest and far-sighted among them most ardently desire to see—a national and truly catholic liturgy. It cannot, therefore, be matter of surprise, that what has hitherto been accomplished in those states of Germany where the question has been taken up with the greatest zeal and energy, should neither be perfect in itself, nor satisfactory to the general body of the people; on the contrary, it would appear that every successful attempt to obtain a tolerably general acquiescence in liturgies, such as those which have been of late years put forth by authority, is a step in advance towards the accomplishment of a great national good, which, it is quite evident, can never be brought about but in the most gradual manner. We propose, in our next number, to examine the Liturgies actually in use in Germany.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS,

ETC.

1. Miss Woodrooffe's Poems. 2. Borrer's Travels. 3. Wordsworth's Discourses on Education. 4. Robertson on the Liturgy. 5. Wilson's British India. 6. Biber's Pictorial History of the Old Testament. 7. Sandford's Parochialia. 8. Armstrong's Sermons on the Festivals. 9. Lower's Curiosities of Heraldry. 10. Warter's Teaching of the Prayer-book. 11. The Life of Baber. 12. Advent Lectures, by Coxe. 13. Origenis Opera Omnia, à Lommatzsch. 14. Moberly's Sermons. 15. Bokhara, by De Bode. 16. Evans's Sermons. 17. Incidents of the Apostolic Age in Britain. 18. Parkinson's Poems. 19. Supplement to the Authorized English Version of the New Testament, by Scrivener. 20. Masson's Apology for the Greek Church. 21. Wilson on the Apostolic Fathers. 22. Sermons by Fowle, Addison, and at Jedburgh. 23. Views of Canada. 24. Wilmot's Midshipman's Friend. 25. Carlyle on the Moral Phenomena of Germany. 26. Lays and Ballads from English History. 27. Burns' Fireside Library. 28. The Goldmakers' Village. 29. Bloomfield's Poems. 30. Miscellaneous Publications.

I.—*Lethe, and other Poems.* By SOPHIA WOODROOFFE. *Posthumously edited by G. S. FABER, B.D.* London: Seeley.

THE Preface to this little volume of Poems would disarm the severity of criticism, were it called for by the contents of the work. Such however is not the case; for if they offer nothing worthy of excessive praise, they are certainly free from any fault deserving much censure. From the preface we learn, that their authoress closed a life of love and piety, not unadorned by genius, at the early age of two-and-twenty; having composed these Poems between this period of her short life and her thirteenth year. It is impossible to read them without bewailing that death; not merely from the natural sentiment so beautifully expressed by Juvenal:

“Naturæ imperio gemimus cum funus adultæ
Virginis occurrit¹.”

but also from regret that the germs of no common powers were thus untimely blasted.

Riper years would probably, it may be almost said certainly,

¹ “As nature bids, we weep when some bright maid
Is, ere her spousals, to her bier conveyed.”—GIFFORD.

have brought with them that increased intimacy with the best writers, those habits of deep reflection, that chastened exercise of a continually cultivated imagination, which would have so improved the rare natural endowments of this amiable and gifted young lady, as to have insured her poetry a lasting place in our literature.

With all the disadvantages of her tender years, of hasty composition, of an occasional use of incorrect language, and of a want of careful revision, there will be found in these poems much to interest, please, and surprise the reader.

In *Lethe*, a composition of her nineteenth year, are some stanzas of no mean merit, both as to thought and expression. The happiness of a family dwelling under one roof has been described, and then it is said (14th stanza) :

“ But, one by one, they drooped and died away,
 As jewels fall from off a severed string :
 My parents first ; and then I saw decay,
 With sure but silent progress withering,
 The bloom upon my young Arista’s cheek,
 Until she sank into the grave o’erworn and weak.”

The last line is feeble, and would probably have been strengthened if it had undergone the revision of its writer. The hero (the scene is laid in Persia) loses all that makes life dear to him in battle (Stanzas 44, 45, 46.)

“ I only know, that when that time was past,
 A dizzy whirling seized my fevered brain ;
 And round my couch came gliding, thick and fast,
 Phantoms that gleamed and disappeared again,
 Spectres with many a dire half-hidden form,
 That midnight cave frequent, or ride upon the storm.

“ They haunted me at morning and at night,
 E’en through all hours : and sometimes in their train
 Came an uncertain flash of troubled light,
 Which brought forgotten scenes to mind again,
 Or, to distempered fancy’s view restored
 The faces of the lost, the lovely, the adored.

“ At length that time of sickness and dismay
 Slowly went by.—Once more to life I rose :
 Once more I saw the genial light of day
 Soft-dawning—Then I first felt all my woes :
 First knew how bitter ’tis to live alone,
 Companioned with the ghost of bliss for ever flown.”

He drinks of Lethe (Stanzas 87, 88) :

“ My mind was as a smooth unruffled lake,
 In turn reflecting all that passeth by ;
 Which doth its ever-varying colour take
 From rocks, or woods, or mountains, or the sky ;
 Sullied by every cloud which o'er it fleets,
 Troubled by every wind which on it beats,

“ Lit by the sunbeams of each golden noon
 To rapture and to glory, and at night
 Tinged by the softer splendours of the moon
 With a more tender and a lovelier light :
 A mirror, where the *present* well is seen,
 But not a trace discerned of what *hath* been.”

Memory is restored to him at his earnest prayer. These verses on Palmyra are of considerable merit (Stanzas 114, 115, 116, 117.)

“ Once, as I wandered o'er the desert plains,
 Afar I saw a green and palmy wood :
 I hastened on ; and there, with all its fanes
 Bathed in the evening light, a city stood,
 Glorious as 'twere a city seen in dreams,
 Tower, arch, and column, bright with rainbow gleams.

“ The palm and cypress cast a pleasant shade
 Around ; and many a silvery fount was there
 With murmuring voice ; and many a long arcade,
 Lending a shelter from the noon-tide glare.
 It was an isle of beauty, placed apart
 From common earth in that wide desert's heart.

“ Stillness was o'er the plains : a silent gloom
 Brooded above them ; but within the town
 All breathed of life and youth, and joy and bloom,
 As if the dwellers in it had cast down
 All worldly cares, all grief, all dark dismay,
 Making their life one sunny holiday.

“ City of Palm-Trees, fare thee well ! How oft
 Doth memory turn to thee, as if that thou
 Hadst been a place I loved ! and in her soft
 Dissolving lines she paints thee, till a glow
 Hangs round thee, lovely even as thine own,
 When sunset girds thee with a golden zone.”

The “Dirge in Autumn,” and the verses on “Count Confalonieri,” are by no means without merit. “The Athenian Torch-bearer” is spirited, and perhaps the most equal poem in the little volume.

- II.—*A Journey from Naples to Jerusalem by way of Athens, Egypt, and the peninsula of Sinai, including a trip to the Valley of Fayoum, &c.* By DAWSON BORRER, Esq. London: Madden and Co.

THE author of the volume before us is conscious that he cannot boast of extensive erudition, or of any very remarkable grace of style, but he is of opinion that the high interest of the scenes through which he has roamed will afford a sufficient justification of the publication of his notes. In this we think that few will be disposed to differ from him; and on the whole, though there is perhaps little of novel information or of research in his pages, they are not deficient in amusement and interest. The author (if we understand him rightly) appears in a vignette at the close of the Preface, indulging in *a siesta* "after a bath;" and certainly looks so comfortable, and in such perfect good humour with himself, that the reader's sympathies can scarcely help being enlisted. Mr. Borrer is a sportsman, and we extract the following passage in illustration of his descriptive powers:

"Apart from my companions, after a sharp campaign against the wild fowl, I sat down on the borders of the lake, and munching a piece of dirty Arab bread by way of lunch, struck the spur into the wild steed 'Imagination,' giving her full rein . . . suddenly I pulled her up with a 'sic transit gloria mundi' kind of check, and leaping on my feet fired both barrels of my trusty fowling-piece into a flock of whistling avosets far overhead, and of this most elegant and curious bird I brought down two, one of which is now in a cabinet in England, and the other we had next morning fried. Such birds are not at all unpleasant food, though in my own country they would be thrown aside as unorthodox. I have at times eaten hawks; and many an *owl* may be seen hanging in an Italian market, which, perhaps, are not so dainty morsels as some other birds; but nearly all of the winged and feathered tribe, of what nature or kind soever, are very acceptable to a traveller who has an unstored larder."—pp. 218, 219.

This volume will enable those who do not require much excitement to pass a few hours pleasantly enough.

- III.—*Discourses on Public Education.* By CHRISTOPHER WORDSWORTH, D.D., Canon of St. Peter's, Westminster, &c. London: Rivingtons.

THE discourses comprised in this volume were delivered at Harrow School, over which the learned author presided for several

years ; and they are consequently especially addressed to scholars. This circumstance, of course, gives to the sermons a peculiar character. They abound in classical and historical allusions, and they deal with several questions of Christian morals in a mode which would be quite impracticable elsewhere. But to those who are more immediately connected with public schools, whether as instructors or scholars, we are sure that the discourses now before us will be of very great interest and value, replete as they are with sound principle, and high views of Christian duty, and carrying with them all the evidences of a mind deeply stored with classical and theological learning. The sermons are on such subjects as the following:—"On the duty of schools in the present times.—The uses of human simplicity to religion.—The uses of human learning to religion.—How is the true Church to be discerned.—The practical uses of instruction concerning the Church.—The relations of school discipline to Church discipline.—Self-sacrifice for Divine worship.—The history and use of catechising in Christian schools.—The young communicant," &c. We have been particularly pleased with the discourses on catechising, and on prizes in education. In the latter it is observed, that these distinctions are to be esteemed as means not ends.

"But in this lower world, while we are compassed with human infirmity, we require the assistance of external and tangible means. . . . Hence you understand the nature of the visible and immediate rewards which are proposed, my younger brethren, to your own intellectual exertions. They are, as it were, condescensions and accommodations, made in a spirit of tender love to your human nature by the parental spirit of the institution to which you belong. . . . The false notions which confounds these means with ends, lead to many other fallacies, and to one especially, which is very common and very pernicious, namely, that prizes are instituted for the sake only of those *who gain them*. This is a fundamental and very unhappy error. If prizes *were ends*, this opinion would indeed be just ; but since they are means alone, nothing is farther from the truth than that supposition. It would be more correct, on the contrary, to say that prizes are instituted rather for the sake of those who *do not* gain them, and who have no prospect of gaining them, rather than for those who do."—pp. 185, 186.

The discourse on the study of Horace and Aristophanes discusses with much thought and ability the question, as to the advantages and disadvantages of reading those heathen works in which vice is so offensively referred to.

IV.—*How shall we conform to the Liturgy of the Church of England?* By JAMES CRAIGIE ROBERTSON, M.A., of Trinity College, Cambridge, Curate of Boxley. (Second Edition, corrected and enlarged.) London: Pickering.

MR. ROBERTSON'S work on the rubrics of the English Ritual is so well-known to the Church, that it cannot be necessary for us to enter on a particular examination of its contents. It demonstrates that in practice the ritual directions of the Church have not, as a general rule, been strictly adhered to in all points. We think that it is desirable to have this understood and admitted, because it certainly goes far to remove any such sense of degeneracy, arising from a comparison of existing practices with the requirements of the Church, as might tend to diminish our attachment to the Church. In truth, this defectiveness is not peculiar to the present age; nor to the ages since the Reformation; nor to the Anglo-Catholic communion. It would be easy to point out the same sort of irregularities in other Churches, and in times which are held up to our admiration as the purest of all. Mr. Robertson, if we understand him rightly, is very far from wishing that the rubrics should not be observed, and abuses of all kinds corrected; but he is anxious to show that the Church allows her ministers to proceed cautiously and gradually in the work of reformation. His conclusion is as follows:

"That the Book of Common Prayer expresses what is for the present the true ideal of the Anglican system, rather than any thing which has been generally realized; that while a conscientious clergyman will strive after the realizing of it, he is not bound to put every thing in practice at once, if there be difficulties in the way from the circumstances of the time, from prevailing notions and tempers, but is at liberty to go to work gradually and certainly," &c.—p. 9.

In principles thus laid down it is impossible not to concur; but at the same time, it is of course very possible that difficulties may be overrated by individuals; and their existence is not to prevent the attempt being made to overcome them—and made too with zeal and perseverance. Mr. Robertson's book is one which ought to be in every theological library.

V.—*The History of British India from 1805 to 1835.* By HORACE HAYMAN WILSON, M.A., F.R.S., &c. Vol. I. London: Mad-den and Co.

THE volume before us is the first of a work which is designed as a continuation of Mill's History of British India. It was under-

taken under an impression, that the writer's familiarity with the general course of events from the period at which Mill's history terminates, derived from a residence in Bengal during those years, would render the task comparatively easy. But the importance of the work before him rendered it incumbent on the writer to examine not only the voluminous manuscript records of the India House, but considerable portions of those records printed by authority of Parliament and of the Court of Directors, as well as the numerous published accounts of persons engaged or interested in the events of which they narrated. These laborious researches have delayed the publication of the first volume of Professor Wilson's history to the present time. We feel sure, however, that the public will readily excuse a delay which has issued in the publication of the authentic and ably written volume which has recently made its appearance, and which includes the history of India and the adjoining states, so far as they are connected with British India, from 1803 to 1813. The historical incidents of this period are not perhaps of the same striking character as those of former and later times; but the manner in which they are treated by Professor Wilson is most clear and able; and we are indebted to him for a masterly survey of the internal system of India under the administration of Lord Minto, which will not be deemed the least valuable part of his work. On the whole, it appears to us that the volume now before us is quite worthy of the reputation of its distinguished author.

VI.—*Pictorial History of the Old Testament, for the use of the Young, &c. Edited by the Rev. G. E. BIBER, LL.D.* London: Rivingtons.

THE design of this work is such as must commend itself to every parent's attention and interest. It is the opinion of the editor, that the foundation of a knowledge of the great truths and leading facts of Revelation may, and ought to be laid in a child's mind long before a judicious parent would subject it to the drudgery of reading and spelling; and with this view, "the History of the Old Testament" before us, was drawn up by the editor, for the instruction of his own child, *in the words of Scripture*, introducing occasionally passages from the New Testament, which serve to explain or to complete the statements of the Old Testament. We must say, that as far as we have been able to examine the work, it appears to be very admirably executed; and we have no hesitation in recommending it to our readers' particular attention. It is enriched with wood-cuts, some of which are very good.

VII.—*Parochialia ; or, Church, School, and Parish. The Church System, and Services, practically considered. By JOHN SANDFORD, M.A., Vicar of Dunchurch, Chaplain to the Lord Bishop of Worcester.* London: Longmans.

THE author of this volume observes in his preface, that never since the Reformation have the concerns and probable fortunes of the Church taken such hold on men's minds. With reference to the present state of opinions in the Church, he remarks, that

“ Some regard it simply with alarm. The restoration of her fabrics ; the increased energy of her clergy ; the desire for order and uniformity in her ritual, and for the revival of her discipline ; the greater frequency of her services ; even the higher and more devout appreciation of her sacraments, are viewed by them with jealousy and apprehension. Nor can it be denied that grounds have been furnished for suspicion, and that the recent movement amongst us has been characterized by not a little indiscretion and extravagance ; nay, even in some instances, by a grievous departure from sound doctrine and a lack of common principle. We have not only witnessed defections from our communion ; but have heard doctrines expressly disallowed by our confessions advocated from our pulpits ; have had our institutions disparaged, our reformers vilified, and our articles of faith both covertly and openly impugned, by men who still retain the orders of our Church and eat her bread. . . . There are, however, many,—and these of the most approved attachment to our Church,—who are full of hope about her future destinies. They are neither disheartened at what is now transpiring within her pale, nor at a loss for a solution. They view it as the natural result of a powerful re-action, as the troubled surface of waters which have been deeply stirred, as presages of an improved spirit and of enlarged usefulness. And much as they deplore individual cases of extravagance, and admit the need of that wisdom which alone can direct the Church at this important period of her history, they cannot regret that an age of energy and inquiry has succeeded a long night of secularity and torpor.”—pp. 5, 6.

Mr. Sandford is of opinion that the evangelical school rendered several important services to the Church, but that their system was imperfect and erroneous ; and that it remained for the succeeding generation to exhibit Church principle in connexion with its results, and without party associations. He is of opinion that the path of safety and usefulness lies between Latitudinarianism and “ Tractarianism ;” and is desirous of promoting mutual charity and the effectual discharge of ministerial duty without “ an undue exaltation of forms.”

The work is arranged under the following principal heads :—
“ Church Restoration—Pews—the Church, and School-building—

School economy—the Parish—Church-services—Charitable offerings—Parochial institutions—Lay help.”—With reference to Church improvements, Mr. Sandford is in favour of restoring the interior as far as possible to its original state; and recommends low open seats, stalls in the chancel, encaustic tiles, stone fonts, lecterns, stone pulpits, elevated altars, sedilia, alms-chests, &c. He is favourable to monumental crosses in cemeteries—to daily service where it can be adopted—to public baptism and catechizing—and to the offertory where practicable. On the whole, we have been much pleased with the tone of this publication, and though of course we cannot pretend to agree with the author in all his views, we can have no hesitation in recommending his work to the particular attention of the younger clergy.

VIII.—*Sermons on the Festivals. By the Rev. JOHN ARMSTRONG, B.A., Priest Vicar of Exeter Cathedral, and Rector of St. Paul's, Exeter.* Oxford: Parker.

THIS volume includes thirty-two sermons on the Festivals of the Church throughout the year, each feast being made an occasion for communicating some practical lesson. The subjects are such as the following:—“Hidden saints—Want of faith—Ways of Christmas rejoicing—The intermediate state—Love before Controversy—The love due to children—Forms necessary for spiritual worship—Gospel privileges—Warnings—Daily common prayer,” &c. From what we have seen of these discourses, they appear to be perfectly sound in doctrine; and they are written with an ease and gracefulness which is not usual in compositions of this kind. We select the following passages as examples of the author's style. In reference to hidden saints it is remarked that—

“God reveals some of His saints to the gaze of men, He conceals others; He sends forth His confessors, and some go into the cities, and others into the wilderness: some are spectacles and gazing-stocks, and fight the fight of faith among multitudes; they wear their cross in Cæsar's palace, in the highways of the world; their names are in the Christian calendar, and they are known even here as sons of God and the lights of the Church: but others of equal faith are hidden from view; they live and die, and there is no sound either of their life or death. These are the secret saints of God, the obscure disciples, whose life is in the shade, who come and go without observation, who win unnoticed victories over the body of sin: the temple of their faith is built up, like that of old, without sound; it rises like the flowers in the open spaces of vast trackless woods, which grow silently, and when they

are grown there are none to look on them, and one thinks how much beauty of the woods thus runs to waste, as though God were not rejoicing in His own works . . . At the last day all will be clear, for then will be 'the manifestation of the sons of God;' as yet they are not manifest, for we cannot look over the whole world, and we only see the surface of men, the outside life, where our glance does extend; some saints are altogether unknown, some are only partly known. Many who now sleep in the green church-yards of country villages, many who passed their years in the dark rooms and dismal corners of crowded cities; or who, after a life of labour, a life that was, as regards the flesh, but just life, sheltered their grey hairs in gloomy workhouses, who were veiled by a thick veil of wretchedness; and others of richer state, who veiled themselves that they might be never seen of themselves, and might keep their motives pure, and might not be moved to mix the love of the worldly praise of religion with the love of the praise of Christ,—will at the latter day come forth to the light, and, the earthen tabernacle being broken through, their light will appear, and Christ will confess them as children of the light."—pp. 3—6.

IX.—*The Curiosities of Heraldry, with Illustrations from Old English Writers.* By MARK ANTONY LOWER. London: J. A. Smith.

WE fear that the public taste has sadly degenerated, even from the days of Master Ri. Braithwait, who, according to the work before us, complained of his contemporaries,

They wear their grandsire's signet on their thumb,
Yet ask them whence their crest is, they are *mum*.

We fear that the "grandsire's signet" is almost forgotten in the present day, and were it not for our hereditary nobility, whose honours are in some degree dependent on this science, we apprehend that few people would know any thing of crests, or shields, or supporters. Mr. Lower, in his interesting volume vigorously contends against this prevalent corruption, and we should be glad to think that his protests were likely to be heard; but we fear that the apathy is too general. The design of the work includes the fabulous and authentic history of heraldry, the rationale of its figures, its chimerical figures, the language of arms, allusive arms, crests, &c. "heraldic" mottoes, notices of the college of arms, genealogy, &c. It will afford much interest and amusement to those who are interested in such pursuits.

x.—*The Teaching of the Prayer-book, &c.* By JOHN WOOD WARTER, B.D. &c. London: Rivingtons.

THIS treatise is, as the learned author informs us in his preface, "the condensed notes of a series of sermons, delivered to a country congregation, all poor and all unlettered, during the series of eleven years. The great object was to impress upon them the value of their Prayer-books; and this was done, off and on, in the openest manner. All that was ancient, provided it was scriptural and devout, was laid before them; but it was done affectionately and persuasively, and unaccompanied with that pith and dryness which almost necessarily attend so condensed a statement as the present. Indeed the whole may be invidiously called but a bundle of notes." Mr. Warter is familiar with all the principal authorities on liturgical subjects, such as Muratori, Mabillon, Renaudot, Assemani, Martene, Bingham, Goar, Le Brun, Gavanti, &c.; and he has made excellent use of his knowledge, having brought together a great mass of accurate information within a very small space, and combined too with much practical and spiritual instruction. The work treats on all the offices of the book of Common Prayer with the exception of the forms of prayer at sea, the state services, and the ordinations. We strongly recommend it to all who are engaged in the study of the English Ritual. We could have wished that the style had been somewhat less "archaic," for we think that it is not advisable to deviate much from ordinary modes of expression in works which are intended for popular use. We offer this suggestion very respectfully to the learned author of the work before us, with a view to render it more acceptable in case the text should be reprinted (as he intimates may be the case) for general circulation.

xi.—*The Life of Baber, Emperor of Hindostan.* By R. M. CALDECOTE, Esq. London: Darling. Edinburgh: Chisholm.

THE life of Baber was one of remarkable vicissitude and romantic adventure. A sovereign and a conqueror at little more than fifteen years of age; a fugitive in the mountains for years; the conqueror of a new kingdom; and, in fine, the subjugator of Hindostan, and founder of the Mogul dynasty, Baber's life is possessed of far more interest than attaches to those of the generality of oriental sovereigns. His autobiography is amongst the few authentic pieces of oriental history. It is quite singular in its nature, as comprising a minute account of the life of a great Tartar monarch, and the unreserved expression of his thoughts

and feelings. Its great charm consists in the spirit of warmth and kindness of heart which distinguishes it throughout. The volume under consideration is an abridgment from the translation executed by Leyden and Erskine, and the editor has "altered and enlarged" the geographical descriptions, and apparently made other alterations, so that the work does not throughout "come from the pen of Baber." This is, we think, a serious drawback on the pleasure which might have been anticipated from the perusal of the biography, and which it is still calculated, in some degree, to impart.

XII.—*The Symmetry of Revelation a witness to the Divinity of Christ. An Argument in three consecutive series of Advent Lectures.* By R. C. COXE, M.A., Vicar of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, &c. London: Rivingtons.

THIS series of Lectures is intended to establish the following positions: first, "that the nature and extent of the preparations made for the coming of the Messiah are indicative of his supreme divinity;" secondly, "that the leading peculiarities in Christ's earthly career, quadrate and harmonize with the preparations made for his coming, and corroborate the inferences thence deduced;" and thirdly, "that the demeanour of Jesus Christ after his resurrection, and the conduct and teaching of his apostles, are not to be explained or reconciled with previous intimations of Scripture, but by the admission of Christ's supreme divinity." The respected author in his preface apologizes for entering on a discussion like this, at a moment when the controversy with which it is connected is not of any immediate urgency, and when points of comparative insignificance harass and disturb the public mind. He wishes rather to withdraw the attention of the Church from such minor questions to the great truths on which it is based; and with this view, the lectures under consideration have been published. As far as we have been able to see, they are sound and orthodox in doctrine; and though not pretending to deep theological research, they are calculated to impart much exceedingly valuable information to serious inquirers; and their plain, affectionate, and earnest style, must command respect and esteem for the writer.

XIII.—*Origenis Opera Omnia, quæ Græcè vel Latine tantum extant, et ejus nomine circumferuntur.* Edidit C. H. E. LOMMATZSCH. 12mo. Berlin, 1831—1844.

OF this very neat edition of Origen's Works, sixteen volumes

have already made their appearance, which include all his exegetical treatises. It is very correctly printed, and has accurate indexes of the texts of Holy Scripture which are quoted; points which have been too frequently dispensed with in the recent reprints of the Fathers. For a portion of one of the volumes the various readings of a Venetian MS. are given; but they do not seem to be of any importance. Dr. Lommatzsch has carefully collated the ante-Benedictine editions; but from his using an inaccurate reprint of Huet's edition, he has sometimes ascribed strange mistakes to that very able scholar. The two first volumes contain a good many conjectural emendations, but the editor seems afterwards to have tired of his task, which we regret, since some of his conjectures were, to say the least, plausible. He also promises a selection from Huet's *Origeniana*, and a Lexicon of his author, which, if well executed, will be very important.

But here our commendation of this edition must stop, and there are several heavy drawbacks to it. I. The *pages* of the former editions are not marked, which, in an author so constantly quoted by the page, renders this edition wholly useless for the purposes of reference. Conceive the practicability of hunting for "contra Celsum, p. 766, ed. Ben.," or, "in Matt. p. 253, ed. Huet!" Had Dr. L., besides those of De la Rue, marked also the pages of Huet and Merlin, which are referred to by the older divines, he would have greatly enhanced the value of his publication. II. We must object to the omission both of a large portion of the old translation of St. Matthew, and of the modern Latin translation of what is extant in the original. Even if the latter was incorrect, still its absence will greatly diminish the utility of the work among that very large class who read Greek with difficulty, while others even will miss it in looking for some particular passage. III. But the third fault is much more serious. Huet compared the extracts from Origen's lost works, which may be found in the unedited Catenæ, to "a boundless ocean." The Benedictines collected many of these, but much still remained to be done; and accordingly, hardly a collection of *Anecdota* has been published since, which does not contain some fragments from Origen. Those published by Dr. Cramer at Oxford would alone supply a numerous collection, and the miserably corrupt state of most of them would have furnished an ample field for editorial acumen. It may perhaps be supposed that these fragments and those which Cardinal Maio has published, have not had time to penetrate into the hyperborean regions of Northern Germany; but what can be said for the total omission of any allusion even to those reprinted more than

half a century ago by Gallandius? In addition to all these sources from which a future editor of Origen can enrich his pages, much still remains to be done by "a painful" scholar, who would undertake the task of examining thoroughly the treasures still remaining hid in the various libraries of Europe. A serious task, we admit, but one whose drudgery would be well rewarded.

XIV.—*Sermons preached at Winchester College.* By GEORGE MOBERLY, D.C.L., Head Master of Winchester College, &c. London: Rivingtons.

WE are sure that no one can rise from the perusal of this volume without feeling the blessing enjoyed by the scholars of Winchester College, in instructions so persuasive, so affectionate, and so sound as those which are here addressed to them. The volume includes twenty sermons on the following subjects: "The Isthmian games—The temptation of St. Peter—The temptation of Judas Iscariot—Diversities of gifts—Confessing Christ before men—Denying Christ before men—The woman of Canaan—The hidden life—The Queen of the South—The times of visitation," &c. We extract the following passage from the discourse on "Confessing Christ before men:"

"Consider the situation which many a boy occupies when first he enters upon a school life; makes, as it were, his first venture into a little world, from the more confined and healthy atmosphere of his own home. Suppose him the son of anxious and religious parents, bred from his very cradle in the strictest paths of uprightness, of diligence, and religion, and having learned, by early and long-continued habit, to feel the yoke of God not grievous, but, rather, light and easy, and delightful to him; and that it were possible to seal up, as it were, hermetically, the character at that age, and so to make the boy the father of the man, that the same heart, and love, and frankness, and devotion, which characterize that childish time, might last on, pure and uncontaminated, through the dangerous days of boyhood and youth, to strengthen and purify the age of manhood! But it must not be. God has ordered it otherwise. The world, its dangers, its seductions, its menaces, its troubles, must be known, be met and conquered. The trial which God has appointed for us is a more fiery and difficult one than this would be. And many a father, sending his son for the first time from home into so new and strange a scene, sends him with the clearest knowledge and anticipation of the sort of dangers to which he will be exposed there. . . . And he comes—comes cheerful, affectionate, and full of good resolutions and purposes: and where does he find himself? I desire to speak faithfully, and not exaggerate; to exhibit the picture truly, and certainly not darker than the reality. He finds himself in the midst of much carelessness, much indifference, and much sin. . . . And truly the innocence of the dove must be joined to the

wisdom of the serpent—an union rarely joined in the simple and inexperienced character of young boys,—if, in the attempt to keep his duty, and carry out his principles and resolutions, he does not offend, by some indiscretion, some of those who are too willing to be offended, who feel themselves rebuked by holier living on the part of so near a neighbour, and who will readily avail themselves of any such handle to annoy, discredit, or distress him, and by degrees to make him like themselves. He will find also many—a daily increasing and daily more influential number, I trust—who, in different degrees, and with different steadfastness, are maintaining themselves in habits and principles like those which he desires to maintain.”—pp. 77—81.

The preacher then proceeds to show, that filial affection, ignorance of sin, and habits of early purity, will not support him in this contest; and that there is safety only in cherishing the baptismal gift—the inward life communicated by the Spirit of God.

xv.—*Bokhara: its Amir and its people. Translated from the Russian of Khanikoff. By the Baron CLEMENT A. DE BODE.* London: Madden and Co.

THIS work comprises a very complete description of the limits and extent of Bokhara, its mountains and rivers, climate, tribes and population, its topography, industrial resources, commerce, government, laws, and civilization; with a sketch of the life of Nasr-Ullah the present Amir of Bokhara. It also includes a map of the country. At the present time, a publication like this will, no doubt, have considerable interest for all who are immediately connected with India, and to whom the condition of the countries intervening between Russia and our possessions in the East must be a matter of much importance. It would seem that civilization has made more progress than we had anticipated in this country. There are at Bokhara alone upwards of one hundred colleges containing 10,000 students; the city of Samarcand possesses many remains of ancient grandeur. The author estimates the number of troops in Bokhara at 40,000, of which not more than one-third are completely armed. There is much curious information about the condition of the Mahommedan religion, amongst the rest of a sect which places its principal merit in repeating the name of God with great rapidity, in a mode which, we confess, rather puzzles us.

“During our stay at Bokhara there was one of particular celebrity, who could keep his eyes shut with greater ease because he was blind, but it was affirmed that he could, without fetching breath, pronounce 3000 times, with his heart, and under the pit of the stomach, and with

his liver and brains, the words ‘La-Allah-il-Allah.’ But from the great effort it occasioned, the respiration of his nostrils became so heated, that as I was told very seriously by a Mullah, if a pen was approached to his organ of smell it got singed !”—p. 260.

xvi.—*Parochial Sermons, preached in the Parish Church of Heversham, Westmoreland. By the Rev. ROBERT WILSON EVANS, B.D., &c.* London : Rivingtons.

THIS little volume contains thirty-five sermons, which from their practical character and their brevity we can recommend for use in private families. The name of the respected author affords a sufficient pledge for the soundness of their doctrine, and the excellence of their spirit. We select the following illustrative passage from the Sermon “On the walk of faith”—

“What a new, what a glorious world does it (faith) open to our eyes! how does it refresh them, pained as they are with the miserable sights of this world, and wipe every tear away! It carries us forward in thankful adoration, in joyful resignation, in cheerful obedience, from the look-back upon the day when the worlds were framed by the word of God, to the look-forward to the day when the elements of the world shall be dissolved. . . . Such, in brief, are the objects of faith. And let us turn to the walk which is ordered according to them.

“In walking through this outward world of the body, do we not keep its objects carefully in sight; can we go right or straight without looking at that which lies before us? Make we not all use of the sun, all advantage of the direction of roads, and put to account continually our knowledge of the places, and experience of the ways? It is not so very different in the walk by faith in the Spirit. We must have the presence of the objects of faith in our heart, ‘we must have the spiritual world before us,’ we must go by its light; we must be guided by its directions; we must be familiar with its places, times, and seasons. We are on the road to eternal life; the road is lighted up by the heavenly light which comes from Him, that is the light and the sun of righteousness: on it we follow the footsteps of our Lord Jesus Christ. It is marked out by his cross and his grave; and before us is ever the glorious appearance of the Author and Finisher of our faith, sitting on the throne of his glory.”—pp. 192—194.

And then the preacher directs attention to the appointed method of attaining such a heavenly frame of mind, viz., study of Scripture, use of the means of grace, obedience.

xvii.—*Incidents of the Apostolic Age in Britain.* London : Pickering.

THIS tale appears to be very well told. Its scene is laid in Britain in the first century, and it describes the mode in which Christianity may have been supposed to have penetrated into the

country, and the perils of the early believers. The description of the manners and customs of the Romans and of the Britons seems to be accurate.

xviii.—*Poems sacred and miscellaneous: to which is now added, An Appendix.* By RICHARD PARKINSON, B.D., Canon of Manchester. London: Rivingtons. Manchester: Sowler.

THE principal poem in this volume is "The Ascent of Elijah," a Seatonian prize poem, which certainly exhibits considerable poetical genius, though there are some few expressions, which we are sure the able and respected author could not have intentionally retained. We allude more particularly to the concluding lines of the poem, in which it is said of Elisha,

"And stood that day before the Lord,
His Power on earth—his Wisdom—and his Word!"

It seems to us that such language exceeds the usual poetic license, and that it requires correction. Nor do we exactly like such expressions as "the Robe of *magic* power" applied to the "mantle of Elijah." With such exceptions, however, which we do not wish to notice further, because the poem in which these passages occur was a juvenile composition, we must say, that there is considerable merit in the poem. The following passage describes the passage of the Jordan by the prophet:—

"With solemn brow, and terror-boding eye,
To the dark Jordan, rushing wildly by,
The Prophet turned; and as he smote the stream,
Scatter'd like mists before the sunny beam
The parting waters severed—leaving there
For human foot a path as dry and bare,
As that which leads the fainting camel on,
From clift to clift, o'er sun-scorched Labanon!
With look that menaced danger—sighs that tell
Faint though the greeting, 'tis a last farewell,
Wrapped in his magic robe, the Prophet sped,
With hasty steps, o'er Jordan's rocky bed.
Yet not alone;—for, though each wave swelled high,
And trembled as Elisha's foot passed by—
Though Egypt's mightiest, weltering in the stream,
Rose on his memory with a withering gleam—
Still with unshaken zeal, and rapid stride,
The faithful servant kept his master's side;
And ere the spell that bound the wave was o'er,
His foot stood scatheless on the further shore."—pp. 11, 12.

The lines on "Easter-day" and "Bolton Abbey," and "a Tribute to the Memory of a Friend," are very pleasing.

XIX.—*A Supplement to the authorized English version of the New Testament; being a Critical Dissertation of its more difficult passages from the Syriac, Latin, and earlier English versions; with an Introduction. By the Rev. FREDERICK SCRIVENER, M.A. Vol. I. London; Pickering.*

WE confess to looking with considerable jealousy and some little antecedent prejudice upon any propositions for a new translation of the Bible; and therefore it was no small relief to us (having previously happened to learn the drift of Mr. Scrivener's book) to find him at the very commencement declaring his conviction, that "they rightly judge," who agree that it is "at once unnecessary and dangerous to unsettle and perplex the simple by attempting to improve," by any new and authorized translation, our present version; a version "cherished as their best treasure by our countrymen and kindred, in every spot on the globe where our language is spoken or our name respected," and "the only bond which unites our Dissenters at home with the Church of their fathers." Still we are not blind to the fact, that however excellent as a whole, "like every other work of man, it is far from being faultless;" for that in the two hundred and thirty years which have passed since its completion, ample has been our improvement, if not in theological learning, yet in knowledge of the critical niceties of the Greek language, in our discrimination of the peculiarities of style in the writers of the New Testament, and in acquaintance with the many manuscripts brought to light by the diligence of modern research. Accordingly, the design of the work before us is "to collect and review those passages of our authorized version of the New Testament, which a diligent collation of the original may show to be inaccurate or obscure;" "a production intended for," and from its very nature likely to be confined to "the student in the closet." These inaccuracies the author comprehends under three general heads: I. *Errors of criticism*, arising from false readings of the Greek text. II. *Errors of interpretation*, from mistaking the sense of the original Greek. III. *Errors of expression*, where the language of the English translation itself is ambiguous, ungrammatical, or obscure. In the Introduction, consisting of 127 pages, the author considers at some length each of these leading divisions of the subject. Under the first head we have an account of the Textus Receptus, and critiques upon several of the principal foreign editions, such as that by Scholz, Lachman, and others; together with a very interesting examination of Griesbach's famous theory of recensions, or families of MSS. and of Archbishop Laurence's masterly refutation of it. The

second division leads the author to point out various passages in which the sense of the Greek has been misunderstood. Among these we perceive ἀπογράφεισθαι, in Luke ii. 1, specified; and we shall be curious to see what he will make of this word. Mr. Scrivener professes himself a disciple of Bishop Middleton, touching the Greek Article; and assures us that “in the course of his review” he has “endeavoured to give its full force to every Article contained in the sacred text, whenever it can be expressed in English.” No scholar can have helped wishing that the venerable translators of the Bible had exercised greater vigilance and care (perhaps we should say, had been better informed,) upon this important point. To the scholar, who can refer for himself to the original Greek, and examine the niceties of that beautiful language, the inaccuracies of our version are of little moment; but how many humble disciples might have had their faith illumined and confirmed; and what hours of anxiety might have been spared to the watchful pastor, spent in reclaiming some wanderer from the catholic belief in the real and essential Divinity of the Son of God, had the translation of such passages as Eph. v. 5, 1 Tim. v. 21, 2 Peter i. 1, &c. been strictly accurate.

One of the points to which Mr. Scrivener adverts under his third general head, is the “want of uniformity in rendering the same Greek word.” We are free to confess that this *does* occasionally detract from the clearness and precision of the original. But when Mr. Schrivener selects and enlarges upon the rendering of μαρτυρία and μαρτυρεῖν in John v. 31—39, we must say that we do not perceive it in this particular instance so strongly as he appears to do. We are inclined to think, that had he cited the rendering of the same two words in 1 John v. 6—11, it would have proved much more to the purpose. We may perhaps here, as well as any where, advert to an error in King James’s translators. We allude to Luke xxiii. 32, *and there were also two other malefactors led with him to be put to death.* There can be no question but that it *is* an error, and one too which had been avoided by most of the English versions; and yet—error though it be—we should be glad to know by whose authority the punctuation of this passage has been altered in some editions? Thus we find that both in the pearl 8vo edition, printed at Oxford in 1836, and in the folio edition put forth by the same University in 1827, the word “malefactors” is pointed off with commas. We cannot approve of the slightest tampering with the authorized version of either the Bible or the Prayer Book.

In the illustration of the several passages, of which he proposes an emended translation, Mr. Scrivener has made a diligent colla-

tion of versions: and upon the internal condition and critical character of these, he prefaces his "notes" with some, on the whole, sensible observations. Commencing with the Peshito-Syriac, his review includes several of the ancient, the early English, and some of the principal later English, versions.

Some remarks on the Principles of Interpretation conclude the prefatory matter. Among these, Bishop Jebb's well-known application to the New Testament of the theory of parallelism naturally finds a place; the truth of which had been so ably vindicated with regard to the Old Testament, by Bishop Lowth. Possessing, as we do, the deepest veneration for that admirable prelate, we must own nevertheless that we have never been able to bring ourselves to acquiesce in all the applications of his theory.

Of the "notes" on the various passages in every chapter which the author deems to stand in need of criticism, we prefer to postpone our observations until their completion: at present they extend only to the end of St. Matthew's Gospel, and are comprised in one volume,—with how many volumes we are to be favoured, there is no intimation.

We would just suggest to Mr. Scrivener, that if he design to make his book a work of ready reference, he may greatly improve it in this respect, if he will place *the number of the chapter* in the inner corner at the head of each page, corresponding with the *page* in the outer corner: thus—

XIX.

St. Matthew.

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and we will further express a hope, that he will supply an index, at the end of his work, of the principal Greek words commented upon.

From such a work as that before us, it is difficult to present our readers with any extracts; we will however select the following, both as showing the *animus* with which the work has been undertaken, and as affording a fair specimen of the tone and style of the author. Mr. Scrivener thus concludes his Introduction:—

"In a production of this nature, composed as it is of numerous isolated details, I must unavoidably have fallen into many errors. I only presume to hope that they are not errors of rashness, or dogmatism, or wilful ignorance. A formal critique on King James's version it is not my province to attempt. It is enough if I have afforded to others the means of forming a more exact estimate of its worth, than can be gathered from the vain encomiums of our popular writers. Yet I should be acting wrongfully both to my theme and to myself, was I to suppress the conviction which the devotion of several years to this employment has fixed on my mind: that if faithfulness and perspicuity; if energy

of tone and simplicity of language be the true tests of merit in a translation of Holy Scripture ; our authorized Bible is in no wise inferior to the most excellent of the other versions with which I am acquainted :—that it will be the pride and blessing of England, so long as she values her privileges as a nation professing godliness.”—p. 127.

Reserving, then, our judgment upon the principal matter of the work until its completion, we can recommend with safety this first volume to the biblical student. Even though the rest were to be found very faulty, the Introduction would prove an useful, and, we will add, an interesting manual of the chief versions and editions, ancient and modern, of the New Testament. Although Mr. Scrivener, at setting out, frankly and modestly disclaims all pretensions to originality ; we feel bound, nevertheless, to say that there is an air of freshness pervading his little work, and a degree of interest attached to a confessedly dry subject, very different to the sensation of weariness with which we invariably rise from consulting certain bulky octavos treating on this and kindred subjects. It may be that Mr. Scrivener too is a compiler ; yet is there this difference between him and some others that might be named ; that whereas their tomes evermore suggest visions of scissors and paste-pots,—Mr. S. evidently not only reads, but thinks for himself. The motto of the one may be *SCRIPSI* ; that of the others should be *SCIDI*.

xx.—*An Apology for the Greek Church ; or, Hints on the Means of Promoting the Religious Improvement of the Greek Nation.* By EDWARD MASSON, one of the Judges in the Supreme Court of Areopagus, &c. Edited by J. S. HOWSON, M.A., of Trinity College, Cambridge. London : Hatchards.

THIS very interesting little volume is written by a gentleman who has been resident for twenty years in Greece, and who occupies a high official station there. He is apparently a Presbyterian, and this renders his defence of the Greek Church in certain points, such as prayer for the dead, invocation of saints, and worship of images, not a little curious. We should apprehend that his views on such points are not to be implicitly relied on, for he goes so far as to maintain that the Greek Church is essentially *Presbyterian* ! The work, however, is one of very considerable interest, and its author is evidently quite in earnest.

XXI.—*Illustrations of the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church from the Apostolic Fathers, St. Clement of Rome, St. Ignatius, St. Polycarp.* By CHARLES THOMAS WILSON, M.A., Curate of Liverpool. London: Cleaver.

THE sentiments of the Apostolical fathers on the leading doctrines of Christianity, and on the Church of Christ, are very perspicuously detailed in the volume before us, under various heads, such as "Scripture, the Godhead, Subordinate Spiritual Existences, Mankind, the Church." The work appears to us to be exceedingly well executed in every way; and we doubt not that it will be of considerable use and interest to young persons.

XXII.—1. *Sermons, chiefly designed to show the practical working of Faith.* By the Rev. FULWAR WILLIAM FOWLE, Prebendary of Salisbury, &c. London: Burns.

2. *Six Sermons preached at the Consecration of the Church of St. John the Evangelist, Jedburgh, in the diocese of Glasgow. With an Introduction.* Edinburgh: Grants.

3. *Expository Discourses on the Ark of Israel, and other Subjects.* By the Rev. BERKELEY ADDISON, M.A., &c. Edinburgh: Grants.

THE first of these volumes of sermons appears to us to be plainly and sensibly written, addressed rather to the reason than the feelings, and evincing much acquaintance with Holy Scripture. We think that it is in every way unexceptionable, as far as we can see. The "Sermons preached at the consecration" of the new Church at Jedburgh are preceded by a very interesting Introduction by the editor, the Rev. W. H. Teale, comprising an account of the erection of the church, and its consecration. The engravings with which the volume is decorated are very well executed, and if they are fair representations of the church at Jedburgh, it must be just what a church ought to be. Of the sermons we need only say that they were preached by such men as Dr. Hook, Archdeacon R. Wilberforce, Mr. Keble, and Mr. Dodsworth. We have read with great satisfaction Dr. Hook's sermon on the "aggressive" character of the Church of Scotland; and we trust that it will serve to place more clearly before that branch of the Catholic Church what is expected of her. While on this subject, we cannot refrain from expressing our satisfaction in perusing the letter which the Rev. Robert Montgomery has recently published, in condemnation of the schismatical proceedings at Glasgow; and which will, we trust, go far to deter the

faithful in that diocese from communicating with the deposed and schismatical priest.

Mr. Addison's sermons seem to us excellent, and we are glad that so efficient a preacher is stationed at Edinburgh.

XXIII.—*Views of Canada and the Colonists, &c. By a Four Years' Resident.* Edinburgh: Black. London: Longman.

THIS little volume will be an invaluable acquisition to the emigrant to Canada. It comprises all those details which are of most practical importance, together with an excellent map of the province; and its moderate price brings it within the reach of persons of the smallest means.

XXIV.—*The Midshipman's Friend; or, Hints for the Cockpit.* By ARTHUR PARRY EARDLEY WILMOT, *Lieutenant Royal Navy.* London: Cleaver.

THE little work before us was, as its author informs us, originally intended for the guidance of a young friend, but is now, at the suggestion of others, submitted to the attention of the junior branches of the Naval Profession. It contains an explanation of the common evolutions and words of command, remarks on the punishment of crimes, and on drunkenness; observations on the "qualities requisite in a commanding officer;" on the education and allowances of midshipmen; on the importance of being ready for any sudden emergency; on keeping a journal; on barometers and charts; on visiting foreign stations, &c.

XXV.—*The Moral Phenomena of Germany.* By THOMAS CARLYLE, *Esq., of the Scottish Bar.* London: Painter.

A SINGULAR mixture of principles indeed. Of what religious denomination the author may be, we cannot conjecture. His opinion is, that the Church has committed a great mistake in submitting herself to the *successors* of the Apostles, instead of to the Apostles themselves. He is apparently persuaded that the Apostles are soon to make their appearance again.

XXVI.—*Lays and Ballads from English History.* By S. M. London: Burns.

THE volume before us is dedicated "to the seven dear children for whose amusement these verses were originally written;" and we certainly think from what we have read of it, that it will be

exceedingly useful to parents in communicating a knowledge of the principal events of the English history from the Conquest, to their children.

xxvii.—*Burns' Fireside Library.* London: Burns.

A most tempting series of cheap, amusing, and useful publications, of which we would advise all our younger readers to possess themselves—of such at least as they may not already have seen. The volumes before us are, “Evenings with the old Story-Tellers;” “Churches,” by the Rev. G. A. Poole; Wilberforce’s “Five Empires;” “The Shadowless Man,” by Chamisso; “Fables and Parables” from Lessing, &c.; “Ballads and Metrical Tales” from Percy, &c.; “Lives of Englishmen;” “Undine;” “The Siege of Lichfield;” “Church Clavering,” and “Frank’s First Visit to the Continent,” by the Rev. W. Gresley. The last-mentioned publication is the result of a visit to the Continent in the summer of 1844, and is replete with agreeable instruction, and reflections on the condition of France in a moral and religious point of view. The chapters on the Christian Brothers, Sisters of Charity, and the possibility of union between the French and English Churches, (which the author considers impossible under existing circumstances,) are particularly interesting.

xxviii.—*The Goldmakers' Village, translated from the German of Zschokke.* London: Burns.

THIS little tale describes the fortunes of a community who have been reduced to poverty and immorality by habits of extravagance, and are raised to comfort and independence by the influence and example of an individual.

xxix.—*Poems.* By ROBERT BLOOMFIELD. *The Farmer's Boy, with thirteen Illustrations.* London: Van Voorst.

THE illustrations and the typographical execution of this new edition of Bloomfield’s poems are deserving of all praise and commendation.

xxx.—MISCELLANEOUS PUBLICATIONS.

“A PLAIN Guide to the Holy Communion” by the Rev. Plumpton Wilson, Rector of Newmarket, (Rivingtons,) is written in a strain of sincere piety and devotion; but we think that it is deficient in its doctrinal views of the sacred mystery, on which it

comments. "Consolations and Prayers for the Time of Sickness," by the same author, (Rivingtons,) consists of a series of conversations between a parish priest and a sick person, in which prayers and devotions are interspersed. "Morning and Evening Exercises for Beginners," &c. by a Clergyman, (Burns,) contains some devotions for morning and evening, and for self-examination. We do not see why the author should adopt the Roman Catholic phrase "examen," when "self-examination" would answer quite as well. "The Private Devotions" of Bishop Andrewes, Part II. (Parker: Oxford,) is intended as a companion to Mr. Newman's translation of the first portion of Bishop Andrewes' Devotions, which originally appeared in the "Tracts for the Times." The present volume is translated from a Latin original, and is less finished than the former. We must confess that we think the peculiar arrangement of these devotions is a disadvantage to them.

On the subject of conformity to the Rubric we have to notice "Horæ Liturgicæ," by the Bishop of Down and Connor, (Parker,) as containing a curious account of the existing diversities in the celebration of divine service, with directions for uniformity. "Drops for the Cup of Uniformity, Unity, and Peace," by the Rev. G. C. Hodgkinson, M.A. (Rivingtons,) comprises remarks on all parts of the Divine Service, without much pretensions to novelty. "Heresy and Schism, what are they?" by the Rev. E. Strickland, M.A. (Groombridge,) appears to be a useful and unexceptionable tract.

A very interesting Charge by the Lord Bishop of Gibraltar, delivered in the English Collegiate Church of St. Paul, Malta, (Malta,) has reached us. This Charge narrates the circumstances connected with the erection of the bishopric of Gibraltar; states the principles of the English Church in the Mediterranean jurisdiction to be non-aggressive; and announces the opinion of the bishop, that communion with the Oriental Churches is not at present to be expected. The Charge also contains some temperate strictures on the theological movement in England. "A Charge" delivered in November, 1844, by Archdeacon Samuel Wilberforce, recommends an increase of the order of deacons, and contains some good remarks on the present state of the Church. Valuable as the charges of our archdeacons sometimes are, we cannot but be reminded by them, that the Church is not supplied with an adequate number of bishops. Were she so supplied, there would be no necessity for archdeacons to assume so much of episcopal authority as they do at present. "The Unity of the Church, a sermon *preacht* at St. Peter's Church, Brighton," by Archdeacon Hare, is characterized by the well-known ability of

the writer, who is of opinion that the Church has not acted wisely in enforcing uniformity in worship. "Variety in Unity," sermon by the Rev. A. C. Tait, D.C.L., inculcates the duty of charity and forbearance towards all who possess the essentials of Christianity; and we do not see any objectionable statement in it. "Three Sermons Preached in Times of Public Anxiety," (Cleaver,) by the well-known author of the "Apology for the Doctrine of Apostolical Succession," &c., will be read with much interest. Sermons by the Rev. Joseph Oldknow, M.A., on "Sacerdotal Remission and Retaining of Sins;" and by the Rev. Cecil Wray, M.A., on "The people's duty to the clergy in their aim at ritual conformity," are deserving of attention. Dr. Hook has published a sermon entitled, "Take heed what ye hear," with an excellent preface in defence of the English Church against the charges made against her by Romanizers. We are indebted to the same learned writer for a work on "Ecclesiastical Biography," (Rivingtons,) which is publishing in parts, and will be a valuable acquisition to churchmen.

"Thoughts on Church Matters, by a Clergyman," (Parker,) contains many good suggestions for promoting the discipline and effectiveness of the Church. "Considerations on the Exercise of Private Judgment," by James Parker Deane, D.C.L., (Parker,) proves that the clergy are bound to obey the canons and rubrics, and not to act merely on their private judgment of what is most fitting and expedient. We have to notice as deserving of attention Mr. Turnbull's letter on "Parochial Disorganization," the "History of Christian Altars" read before the Camden Society, Mr. Wickham's "Rubrics of the Communion Office Examined," &c. An "Abridgment of Scripture History in Connexion with Christian Doctrine for Parish Schools," by the Rev. W. Brudenell Barter, M.A., (Hatchards, and Rivingtons,) has reached a second edition, and seems to be very well executed. A pleasing little abridgment of New Testament History has just been published by Mr. Burns.

Foreign and Colonial Intelligence.

AMERICA.—*Suspension of the Bishop of New York.*—The canon passed by the last Convention for the trial of bishops, has been brought into operation in the trial of bishop Onderdonk of New York, brother of the suspended bishop of Pennsylvania, for personal misdemeanours. The result was, that after several divisions a sentence of indefinite suspension was pronounced. What renders this occurrence the more distressing, is the display of party-spirit; the partisans of the bishop of New York alleging, that the charges brought against him would never have been heard of, but for the dissensions occasioned by the ordination of the late Mr. Carey; a statement to which the remote date of the offences charged, and the want of agreement in the House of Bishops, appear to give some countenance.

AUSTRALIA.—*Popish Synod.*—While our own missions in Australia are, through the want of both bishops and inferior clergy, in a languishing condition, the *Ami de la Religion* announces, that the first Roman Catholic Synod that ever assembled in the southern hemisphere, was held on the 10th of September last and following days, under the presidency of "Archbishop Polding." There were present the suffragan bishops of Hobart Town and Adelaide, the Prior of the cathedral of Sidney, the consulting theologians, and twenty-five parish-priests.

FRANCE.—*Conflict between the Government and the Episcopate.*—A collision has recently taken place between the Government and the Episcopate of France, which bids fair to throw the education question altogether into the background. The occasion of it was the publication, in the spring of last year, of a Manual of Ecclesiastical Law, by M. DUPIN, *procureur-général* at the Court of Cassation, and member of the Chamber of Deputies for the Department of the Nièvre¹. Coming,

¹ The work is entitled "*Manuel du Droit Public Ecclésiastique Français*," and contains a digest of the principal documents relative to the political position of the Roman Catholic Church in France. The first of them is the treatise of Peter Pithæus on the liberties of the Gallican Church, re-edited by the brothers Pierre and Jacques Dupuy, under the title "*Traité des Droits et des Libertés de l'Eglise Gallicane*," and accompanied by their "*Preuves des Libertés de l'Eglise Gallicane*," a work which was condemned by a synod of bishops assembled at Paris in 1639, on the ground of its doctrine, which they described as "pernicious, often heretical, tending to schism, impious, contrary to God's word, subversive of the hierarchy and of ecclesiastical discipline, and injurious to the Holy See." The second set of documents in the Manual is the declaration of the French clergy of the year 1682, with the edict of Louis XIV., by which the declaration obtained force of law, and the decree of Bonaparte in the year 1810, which declared both the declaration and the edict to be the law of the empire. After these follows the report of M. Portalis on the Concordate, together with the Concordate and the Organic Articles. In addition to all this the Manual contains a variety of decisions on questions of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, by way of precedents, and speeches delivered by the author himself in the Chamber. A list of writers on the subject, under the title "*Bibliothèque choisie*," closes the volume. In the discussion of these subjects M. Dupin follows in the wake of the ancient parliamentary writers. He describes himself, it is true, as "a Gallican Catholic, one who is friendly to religion, honours the

as it did, from the pen of the highest law officer of the Crown, with a kind of demi-official character, and professing, moreover, to be composed for the use of the clergy and of students in divinity, M. Dupin's work was thought of sufficient importance to be attained by ecclesiastical censure; and accordingly the Senior Cardinal of France, Archbishop Bonald of Lyons, decreed sentence of condemnation against it². The ground upon which the Cardinal proceeds, is the right, not of the Pope only, but of every bishop, to condemn any writing which is contrary to sound doctrine, especially if such writing should profess to be intended expressly for the use of the Clergy. But if the book of M. Dupin had excited the displeasure of the Episcopate, the *mandement* of the Cardinal Archbishop gave no less umbrage to the government; and the minister of justice and worship, to whose department such affairs belong, brought the Episcopal mandate under the cognizance of the Council of State, by means of that ancient

clergy, and reveres the sovereign pontiff as the head of the universal Church, and the common father of all the faithful;" but he limits this his allegiance to the Church by the proposition, that the spiritual power extends only over matters of faith and doctrine; and that to the political power belongs the right of exercising a watchful control over ecclesiastical discipline and the external regulations of divine worship, and of keeping every one to his duty.

² The *mandement* of the archbishop, condemning the book of M. Dupin, is dated Nov. 21, 1844; but it was not published till the 4th of Feb. last. The sentence itself runs as follows:—"Upon these considerations, having examined the book entitled *Manuel du Droit Public Ecclésiastique Français, par M. Dupin, Docteur en Droit, Procureur-Général près la cour de Cassation; Député de la Nièvre, &c. &c. Paris, 1844*; and a writing by the same author, entitled *Réfutation des Assertions de M. le Comte de Montalembert dans son Manifeste Catholique*, [a pamphlet appended to the larger work,] and having invoked the holy Name of God, we have condemned and do condemn the said works, as containing doctrines which are calculated to overthrow the true liberties of the Church, and to substitute for them a dishonourable servitude; to give countenance to principles which are opposed to the ancient Canons, and to the received principles of the Church of France; to weaken the respect due to the Apostolic See; to introduce Presbyterianism into the Church; to impede the legitimate exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction; to promote schism and heresy; as containing propositions which are respectively false, heretical, and such as revive the errors condemned by the dogmatic bull, *Autorem fidei*, of our holy father pope Pius VI., of glorious memory, of August 28, 1794:

"We prohibit all ecclesiastics of our diocese from reading and retaining these works; we prohibit them from advising them to be read; we prohibit in like manner the professors of divinity and canon law from placing them in the hands of their pupils, and from explaining their doctrines otherwise than for the purpose of refuting and controverting them. And the same prohibition we lay upon the professors of the faculty of theology in the university.

"And this our mandate is ordered to be sent to the curates of our diocese, to the superiors of our seminaries, and to the dean and professors of the faculty of theology in the university."

Among the charges which Archbishop Bonald brings against M. Dupin, is that of having designated the pope "*as a foreign prince*." "The teacher," says the cardinal, "whose word we are bound to hear, the pastor whom we are bound to follow in the Christian path, he whom we call Father, can never be '*foreign*' to us, when he instructs, directs, and blesses us." This is a practical illustration of the Romish doctrine respecting the pope's authority in all the countries of his communion, which become *eo ipso* lands of his obedience. Let those amongst us, who by acknowledging the Romish hierarchy, give the go-by to the 37th Article, and to the Oath of Allegiance, look to this.

form of proceeding known by the name *appel comme d'abus*; a proceeding which even Cardinal Richelieu thought too vague and too arbitrary in its character, and desired to see limited to plain and undeniable encroachments upon the royal jurisdiction on the part of the spiritual courts. The Council of State entertained the appeal, and having given the Cardinal an opportunity of explaining, of which, however, he took no notice, proceeded on the 9th of March to pass sentence³ on his *mandement* in as high-handed a manner as he himself had done with regard to M. Dupin's manual. This sentence, however, formidable as it might appear on paper, is after all but a *brutum fulmen*, as the etiquette in all these cases is, not to adopt any measures for carrying the sentence into effect, but to rest content with having stigmatized the obnoxious document. And here, therefore, the matter would have terminated, but for the intervention of the French Episcopate generally. No sooner had it become known that the *mandement* of the Cardinal was to be laid before the Council of State, than the *Ami de la Religion*, the organ of the Episcopate, asked the question: "And what do you mean to do, if after a declaration of *abus* by your Council of State, all the Bishops should by a formal adhesion signify

³ After reciting the different documents and laws connected with the case, the royal ordinance thus continues: "Considering that by impeaching in the said *mandement* the authority of the edict of March 1682, of Art. 24 of the law of the 18th *Germinal* of the year X., and of the decree of Feb. 25th, 1810, the Cardinal Archbishop of Lyons has committed an attempt upon the liberties, franchises, and customs of the Gallican Church, which are consecrated by the above-named acts of the temporal power:

"Considering that in the said *mandement* Cardinal Bonald gives authority and effect to the pontifical bull *Autorem fidei*, of Aug. 18, 1794, which has never been verified or received in France, in contravention of Art. 1 of the law of the 18th *Germinal* of the year X.:

"Lastly, considering that in the said *mandement* Cardinal Bonald commits himself to a censure of the Organic Law of the Concordate, of the 18th *Germinal* of the year X., several enactments of which are designated by him as violating the true liberties of the Church of France:

"That he calls in question the right of the royal power to verify bulls, rescripts, and other acts of the holy see, before they are received in France:

"That he likewise calls in question the right which belongs to us in our Council of State, to decide upon *appels comme d'abus*:

"That he denies the legal obligation which belongs to the enactments of the law of the 18th *Germinal* of the year X.:

"That consequently he is guilty of an excess of power:

"After hearing our Council of State, We have ordained, and ordain, as follows:

"Art. 1. There is *abus* in the *mandement* given at Lyons the 21st of November 1844, by the Cardinal Archbishop of Lyons.

"The said *mandement* is and remains suppressed.

"Art. 2. Our keeper of the seals, minister of justice and worship, is charged with the execution of this ordinance, which is to be inserted in the *Bulletin des Lois*."

The "edict of March, 1682," and the "decree of February 25th, 1810," referred to in this ordinance, are the ordinances of Louis XIV. and of Bonaparte respectively, by which the four articles of the famous declaration of the clergy in 1682 were made the law of France; the "law of the 18th *Germinal* of the year X." is the law of the Organic Articles, published April 8th, 1802, along with the Concordate of 1801; the 1st article of which forbids the publication of any official document of the Roman see in France without the sanction of the temporal power; and the 24th requires the Declaration of 1682 to be taught in all ecclesiastical seminaries.

their approbation of the noble conduct of the illustrious Cardinal, whom your injurious reprimand will only make greater?" Whether this was meant as a menace or a prophecy, seems doubtful; but although, if intended as a menace, it has failed, the Council of State not being deterred thereby from entertaining the appeal, it has as a prophecy, at least, been accomplished. Both during the deliberations of the Council of State, and since the publication of the royal ordinance, numerous declarations of adhesion to the *mandement* of Cardinal Bonald have been published by the French Bishops, some in the form of *mandements* passing sentence on the book of M. Dupin, in the same way as Cardinal Bonald, some in the shape of letters to the Minister of Worship, some by way of addresses to the Cardinal himself, and some in circulars to their Clergy. Up to our last advices the proceeding of Cardinal Bonald had been adopted in more or less direct terms by the Archbishops of Rheims, Besançon, Bordeaux, Sens, Cambrai, Albi, Toulouse, and Rouen, by the five suffragans of the province of Lyons, and by the Bishops of Chartres, Metz, St. Flour, Châlons, Arras, Beauvais, Nancy, Strasbourg, Meaux, Versailles, Amiens, Séz, Bayeux, Rennes, Quimper, Vannes, Belley, Clermont, Luçon, Cahors, Rodez, Aire, Marseille, Troyes, Le Mans, La Rochelle, and St. Dié; being already a considerable majority of the French Episcopate. Besides this, the Archbishop of Paris has taken the field in a separate pamphlet on the subject, entitled *De l'Appel comme d'Abus, son origine, ses progrès, et son état présent; suivi d'un écrit sur l'usage et l'abus des opinions controversées entre les Gallicans et les Ultramontains*. On the other hand, the *Gazette des Tribunaux* announces, that the government is deliberating on the measures to be taken in consequence of the adhesion to the *mandement* of Cardinal Bonald, on the part of "several" prelates. That, however, the Episcopate is no way disposed to submit to the intimidation of the temporal power, is sufficiently evident from the letter which Cardinal Bonald has addressed to the Keeper of the Seals, in reply to the notification sent him of the decree of the Council of State.

"I have," he says, "received the royal ordinance of March 9th, which your Excellency has thought it your duty to send me. I have received it at a season of the year when the Church retraces to our recollection the *appels comme d'abus* which were directed against the doctrine of the Saviour, and the sentences pronounced in condemnation of it by the Council of State of that time.

"If I had composed a *manual* of common, political, or commercial law, for the use of the counsel learned in the law, of the king's law-officers, and for the instruction of lawyers keeping their terms; if in such an elementary book, marked throughout by my legal ignorance, I had assailed the rights either of the nation, or of the king, or of the chambers; if I had put privilege in the place of common law; if I had confounded ordinances with statutes, and liberty with servitude; and if that book had been denounced to the civil magistrates and condemned by them, it would have been my duty to acknowledge the justice of the sentence, and to submit, in respectful silence, to the twofold dis-

grace inflicted by public ridicule and by the tribunals. But when I remain within the bounds of the spiritual power, and, sitting on my pontifical chair, call up for judgment doctrines opposed to the Catholic doctrines, I do not acknowledge any doctrinal authority upon earth capable of revising my judgment, except the Roman Pontiff and the Councils. The Council of State has not been set over me, as my judge in such matters, by Jesus Christ."

After this introduction, the Cardinal proceeds to vindicate his right to appeal to the bull *Autorem fidei*, although not "registered" in France, on the ground of the rule which, he says, is admitted in France, as elsewhere, that "a bull addressed to the faithful as a rule of faith, and accepted by the express or tacit consent of the episcopal body, is to be regarded as the irreversible decision of the Church." He observes by the way, that the bull *Autorem fidei* does not condemn the Four Articles of 1682, but only the synod of Pistoja, which wanted to make the declaration of the French clergy a decree of faith; the doctrine embodied in the Four Articles, and the opposite or Ultra-montane doctrine, being left free by the Holy See as a matter of opinion. He then appeals to the French Charter of 1830, which, he maintains, has been violated by the decree of the Council of State. "I have said in my *mandement*, that a law of the State cannot compel me to teach that 'the Pope is inferior to the Council,' that 'the Roman Pontiff speaking *ex cathedrâ* is fallible;' and that 'he is subject to the canons like the other Bishops.' The Council of State condemns me; and to reach me, it must tread under foot the 7th Article of the Charter [of 1830], which declares that I am free to print, to publish, to teach my opinion. What! a law of the State is to expound this passage of the Gospel: 'I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not;' and I, a Bishop of the Catholic Church, am not to print, publish, or teach in my diocese any other interpretation of these holy words! I am to give to the young Levites of my seminary the interpretation which emanates from the temporal power! Are we, then, come back to the theological disputes of the Low Empire! If the Council of State condemns me, because I interpret the words of Jesus Christ to Peter in the sense of infallibility, it puts itself in the place of the Church, and teaches me religion!

"I have said in my *mandement*, that I should teach in my Seminary on the subject of the power of the Church, whatever should seem to me most agreeable to Scripture and tradition; and that, being protected by the Charter, which maintains the liberty of opinions, I would enter into no engagement touching the declaration of 1682. The Council of State condemns me; and, in order to knock me down, has seen in my *mandement* what is not contained in it. I have not said, that I reject the Four Articles; neither have I said, that I admit them. I do not pronounce between the Ultra-montanes and the Gallicans. I use the freedom which the Church leaves me. But what I have written is, that it does not belong to the temporal power to prescribe to me, what I shall believe regarding the spiritual authority of the Pope. What, on the contrary, I mean to maintain is, that a bishop is bound to reject a theological opinion for this reason alone, that the temporal authority

presumes to impose it. Has M. Dupin really discovered a *legal doctrine*, even as he recognizes a '*legal discipline*?' Is the fallibility of the Roman Pontiff that *legal doctrine* which we are to be compelled to profess under pain of incurring the penalties of the law?"

The cardinal then enters upon some historical facts, tending to show that Louis XIV. pledged himself to Innocent XII. not to give effect to the edict of March, 1682, and that during his reign the doctrine of the Four Articles was left an open question; and he argues that those articles have in fact no canonical authority, because the bishops who drew them up, did not constitute a council; and finally he observes with regard to this point, that "a law of the state cannot compel him to renounce one opinion, and to teach another." From this he passes on to the consideration of the Organic Articles, or the "law of *Germinal* of the year X.," which he designates as invalid, because enacted by incompetent authority; and then proceeds to ask, "What does the *procureur-général* mean, when he speaks of *legal discipline*? If he means by this expression, that the temporal power has prohibited the solemnization of matrimony, unless the parties have presented themselves before the civil officer, or interment without registration of the death, or the sounding of bells during a storm, or the continuance of public works on a Sunday, or the opening of public-houses during service-time, I can understand this legal discipline, and I shall leave the civil authority to see to its administration. But when it is asserted, that 'marriage is essentially a civil contract,' when it is declared that 'the faithful are subject to ecclesiastic jurisdiction only at the tribunal of penance' [in the confessional], when the Pope's right to the title of universal bishop is disputed, when disobedience to the general councils received in France, which prescribe the regular holding of provincial councils, is excited, are these matters dependent on the '*legal discipline*?' What! Gross errors touching the doctrine and the general discipline of the Church are to be transformed into certain articles of what is termed '*legal discipline*,' and a bishop is to respect them, and to let them pass without sounding the note of alarm! As for myself, I could not do it. All my sainted predecessors, all the illustrious martyrs of my Church, would have risen to reproach me for my silence and my slumber; the stones of their glorious sepulchres would have cried out against me."

"In judging," the Cardinal concludes, "and in condemning the *Manuel du Droit Ecclésiastique* of M. Dupin, I have not presumed to ascribe to myself any infallibility. I submit to the pope the condemnation I have pronounced, as I shall submit to him all the acts of my ministry. To him it belongs to reprove his brethren in the episcopate, and to annul or to confirm the sentences pronounced by them. If the chief pastor, the bishop of bishops, decides that I have ill-judged, and wrongfully condemned the *Manuel*, I shall forthwith take up my pen to tell the people of my diocese, that their archbishop has been mistaken, and that the judgment given by him has been reversed by the Vicar of Jesus Christ upon earth. I shall bow my head under so venerable a sentence, and I shall proclaim, before the assembly of the faithful, the justice of the blow that shall have struck me. Until that

happens, an *appel comme d'abus* cannot, however lightly, touch my soul. And pray what can be done with a bishop, who thanks be to God, is attached to nothing, and wraps himself in his conscience? I have religion, logic, and the charter on my side; and with that I must console myself. And when, on points of Catholic doctrine, the Council of State has spoken, *the cause is not at an end.*"

How the government will deal with the difficulty in which the *appel* has involved it, remains to be seen. That neither party is likely to recede from its position is clear; and for this very reason it is far from clear how the matter will end.

INDIA.—*Extensive spread of the Gospel.*—The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel is publishing a series of papers entitled "Missions to the Heathen," which contain most interesting accounts of the state of our missions in the south of India, especially at Sawyerpooram, Edeyenkoody, and Nazareth, in the district of Tinnevely, where the progress of Christianity is more and more assuming the aspect of national conversion. The most urgent appeals are made by the missionaries and their Bishops for a supply of additional labourers in this promising field.

The Bishops of Calcutta and Madras; New Diocese of Ceylon.—Accounts of a very unfavourable nature have been received respecting the state of health of both those Prelates. The Bishop of Calcutta was to have embarked for England as soon as he could reach Calcutta, from which he was about 800 miles distant up the country; a sea-voyage having been recommended as the best means of restoring his health. The Bishop of Madras has been strongly urged by his medical advisers to withdraw himself for some months altogether from the cares and labours of his office; "but," he says, in a letter of Dec. 20, 1844, "with the glorious prospects continually opening to the missionary Church, by God's grace and mercy, in Tinnevely, I cannot and will not quit my post, while He gives me any strength to remain. Moreover, the excellent Bishop of Calcutta has been visited by alarming sickness, and this alone would have decided me, had I hesitated, not to quit my diocese for any merely personal consideration." Under these circumstances the erection of the new bishopric of Ceylon, to which the Rev. James Chapman has just been appointed, will afford the most seasonable relief to the overburdened Diocesan of Madras.

PRUSSIA.—*Dr. Siedler and the Apostolic Succession.*—Considerable attention has latterly been excited, and much discussion created by the episcopal consecration at Herrnhut of Dr. Siedler, superintendent and senior of the congregations of United Brethren (*Unitäts Gemeinden*) in the grand duchy of Posen. In order to understand the merits of the case, it is necessary to look back to the history of these congregations. It appears that nearly a century before the Reformation in Germany, some of the "Bohemian brethren" (*unitas fratrum*) had taken refuge in that part of Poland, which by the treaties of 1815 fell to the share of Prussia; they had there founded several settlements, which retained their peculiar ecclesiastic constitution, and among others both the

episcopate and the minor orders. Their succession was derived through one Stephanus, Bishop of the Waldenses, and preserved by each senior or bishop consecrating his successor. In this manner seven communities, possessed of rich endowments, have continued to subsist in the grand duchy of Posen down to the present time, under the name *Unitäts Gemeinden*, or Congregations of United Brethren. After the evangelic union had been effected in the Prussian dominions, attempts were made to comprehend them in the national Church; and at last, in the year 1832, they were incorporated (with the exception of one of them, which allowed itself to be merged in the ecclesiastical district in which it was locally situated) as a distinct district (*Superintendentur*) of the Evangelic Church of the province of Posen. The conditions on which they gave their consent to this measure, were, that while they should relinquish their minor orders, they should preserve the succession of their seniors or bishops, who should at the same time bear the title of Superintendents in the national Church, and take rank accordingly. But when, afterwards, the then senior and superintendent Dr. Dütschke, who had been consecrated by his predecessor, growing old, the congregation applied for the appointment of a successor, in order that he might be duly consecrated, the ecclesiastical authorities of the province opposed their wish, on the plea, that having joined the United Evangelic Church, they had abandoned their peculiar constitution, and were henceforth to be governed in the same manner as other districts, by an ordinary Superintendent of the Evangelic Church. Against this decision the United Brethren appealed to the king, who reversed it, and appointed, on the nomination of the United Brethren themselves, Dr. Siedler, a Clergyman of the Evangelic Church, as the successor of Dr. Dütschke, (who had died during the progress of these discussions,) with leave to obtain the renewal of the broken succession from the Moravian Church. Accordingly Dr. Siedler proceeded to Herrnhut, and received there the Moravian Episcopal consecration on the 16th of June last.

While Dr. Siedler thus complied with the just requirements of the office to which he had been appointed, he gave great offence to the bitter anti-episcopal spirit which unhappily prevails among a large portion of the ministers of the Evangelic Church; and a number of these, with Superintendent Fechner of Fraustadt⁴ at their head, published a document on the subject, in which, appealing to the doctrines of Luther and Melancthon, they declare "the so-called episcopal consecration to be unevangelic, and consequently inadmissible in the Evangelic Church;" and not content with this, denounce the consecration of Dr. Siedler as a grievous offence against the Evangelic clergy and the whole Evangelic Church, and as a virtual dissolution of the union on the part of the United Brethren. The meeting of the provincial synod of Posen being held shortly after, the question was again agitated there, and a commission of inquiry appointed, the majority of which

⁴ The parish of Heyersdorf, the only one of the seven congregations of United Brethren which thoroughly amalgamated with the Evangelic Church, is situated in the district of Fraustadt.

drew up certain *theses*, to which Dr. Siedler, assisted by Dr. Böhmer, dean and professor of the theological faculty at Breslau, who alone stood by him, replied by *anti-theses*. The *theses* and *anti-theses* are as follows :

1. *Thesis*.—The synod considers a second ordination as contrary to the doctrine of the Evangelic Church, and repudiates it.

Anti-thesis.—A second ordination, which is not a continuation or repetition of that conferred with reference to the Evangelic Church, but a distinct ordination with reference to the Congregations of United Brethren, comprehended in the union of the Evangelic Church, is not contrary to the doctrine of the Evangelic Church.

2. *Thesis*.—The Synod protests against the supposition, that any thing is received by the second ordination which has not already been received by the first.

Anti-thesis.—The Synod protests against the supposition, that by the second ordination for the Church of the United Brethren any Divine gifts are received, which have not already been received through the ordination conferred in the Evangelic Church ; but it approves the supposition, that by the second ordination for the Church of the United Brethren, something formal is received, which was not given by the first ordination for the Evangelic Church.

3. *Thesis*.—The Synod is of opinion, that he who receives a second ordination out of the Evangelic Church, cannot afterwards ordain a Minister of the Evangelic Church.

Anti-thesis.—The Synod is of opinion, that a person who has received the ordination of the Evangelic Church, and has received a second ordination in a communion united with the Evangelic Church, as a qualification for office in that communion, is not thereby disqualified for ordaining a minister of the Evangelic Church.

4. *Thesis*.—It is the wish of the Synod, that Dr. Siedler should, on account of the second ordination which he received at Herrnhut, and which places him in a position of singularity, abstain, in his place in the royal consistory, from voting upon any important matter concerning the Evangelic Church.

Anti-thesis.—The Synod does not wish for this, provided Dr. Siedler promises that he will, in his place in the consistory, decide upon important concerns of the Evangelic Church in the character of a member of that Church.

The discussion of these propositions appears to have been of a very animated character ; so much so, that it was thought advisable to adopt a middle course, proposed by Cranz, the army chaplain, one of the members of the Synod. At his suggestion it was declared, "1. that the Synod regards the congregations of United Brethren as being in union with the national Evangelic Church, so long as they preserve the substance of the evangelic faith, and are willing to continue in union with the national Evangelic Church in regard to Church government, notwithstanding the consecration to the office of senior, which has recently been restored in the congregation of the United Brethren ; but against the further intrusion of this consecration into the united Church the

Synod earnestly protests, because it considers more than one ordination of an evangelic minister as incompatible with the practice of the Evangelic Church. 2. The intrusion of the consecration to the office of senior into the national Church will be prevented, by not allowing the senior of the congregations of United Brethren to ordain any minister not belonging to these congregations."

The whole transaction proves, how far removed the German Protestants are from any approach to episcopal government and the doctrine of the Apostolic succession. Indeed, it would appear that the United Brethren themselves attach comparatively little value to the succession which it is alleged they possess; treating it as an *ἀδιάφορον*, to be retained chiefly for the sake of "the weaker brethren⁵."

Schism in the Roman Catholic Church.—A movement has taken place in the Roman Catholic Church in the province of Posen, which indicates a tendency on the part of the laity of that Church to emancipate themselves from the superstitions and the tyranny of the Roman system; though, at present, it seems impossible to determine, whether the impulse given will lead to a sound Church reform, or merge in rationalistic indifference and infidelity. The movement alluded to is the constitution of a "*Christian Catholic* (as opposed to *Roman Catholic*) Congregation" in the town of Schneidemühl. In a petition of the newly-formed Congregation, dated Oct. 29th, 1844, and addressed to the government of Bromberg, in whose district Schneidemühl is situate, praying for recognition and the regulation of its external position, the progress of the affair is thus related:—"Among the members of the Roman Catholic Congregation of this place, there are many who have for several years past, in spite of the prohibition of the priests, secretly searched the Holy Scriptures, and, by comparing the doctrine of Jesus with that of the Romish priests, arrived at the conclusion, that in the most important points of faith the doctrine of the latter does not accord with the plain and pure doctrine of Jesus and his Apostles. More especially is this the case with regard to the principal subject of the Christian faith. The Romish priests teach the people, that they have the power of changing bread into the very substance of the body and blood of Christ. This, according to Holy Scripture, we may not

⁵ That this was the view of Count Zinzendorf, is evident from the following account given by himself of the considerations which induced him to maintain the *Schema Episcopale*:—

"1. In order not to alienate the Moravian brethren, who attach importance to it.

"2. In order to be faithful in that which is another man's, and not to allow under my charge any thing which is peculiar to the Moravian brethren, to fall into neglect, *sed deposita servandi*.

"3. To avoid that most unnecessary *invidia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, which we constantly have to encounter in our missionary labours. The more so, as the late Archbishop in a long conference held with me on this subject in February, 1736, in a manner conjured me not to assist in despoiling the Moravian brethren of this *κεμήλιον*, and strongly supported this his entreaty by his brave decision as to our co-operation in all the missions to the heathen; a decision whereof the declaration made last year by the Pennsylvanian proprietor to the duke of Newcastle, is a fair echo.

"4. To guard them against the seductive voice from Lissa, which might at some time or other again sing to them the old song of the alone-saving Church, by furnishing them with the brief reply: *quia et nos ecclesia sumus*."

believe, seeing that the Lord Christ has no where committed this power to his disciples. In accordance with this doctrine they minister to the people only the body, and withhold from them the blood, contrary to the express words of Jesus (John vi. 54); while they, the priests themselves, receive in the Mass the Supper instituted by Christ in both kinds. This main error leads to several other erroneous doctrines of the Romish priests, which are plainly contrary to the Holy Scriptures and to the spirit of Christianity. Although all those members of the Congregation who were abundantly satisfied of the erroneous character of the teaching of the Romish priests, were thereby troubled for years with the heaviest scruples of conscience, it was still impossible for them to escape from this inward affliction; in the first place, because under no circumstances would the Romish priests depart from their doctrine; and, secondly, because those members of the Congregation, who were animated by the spirit of truth, had no gathering-point, no priest, animated like themselves by a pure Christian faith.

"But God, our heavenly Father, having regarded the afflicted state of our consciences, and discerned our pure and sincere faith in Him and in his Son Jesus Christ, had mercy on us. The Romish priests themselves were made to send us our deliverer. In the month of March of this year, the General Consistory of Posen sent *Vicarius CZERSKI* hither as an assistant to Provost BUSSE. This priest having preached several times in our church, we at once perceived that he was a true servant of the Gospel, and not, as is unhappily the case with most of the Catholic priests, a vassal of Rome. We took pains to learn more accurately what the views of this man were; and we ascertained that he did not look upon the Roman Bishop as upon the alone-saving Lord, but that, like ourselves, he hoped for salvation at the hands of God's mercy, which is to be obtained only through pure faith in Jesus Christ and in his holy Gospel. But the Romish priests too soon discerned whither the faith of this worthy servant of the Gospel of Christ was tending. Under a strange and wholly false pretext they suspended him from his office, and left him for months without any subsistence, taking no notice whatever of the remonstrances of the representatives of the Congregation, nor of a petition for his re-instatement, supported by about 500 signatures.

"As the ways of the Lord are always wonderful, so they proved in this case. The flock of those who confessed the name of Jesus in sincerity, gathered around this minister of the Gospel, whom the Romish priests meant to make their victim; they received at his hands the consolation which their burdened consciences had for years been wanting; they once more weighed all the erroneous doctrines of the Romish priests; and as there is no hope of relief from them, the whole of the members of the Catholic Congregation who had become familiar with the doctrine of Jesus, determined themselves to take in hand the work of freeing their religion from the human traditions introduced into it by the Romish priests, and from the worthless dross whereby men are led astray from the true way of salvation declared through Christ our Lord.

"In the nine Articles which in all humility we annex, we have set

forth the erroneous doctrines of the Romish hierarchy, and we have shown how far they are opposed to the will of God declared by Jesus Christ.

“ We submit these Articles to the civil government of the country, with the humble petition, that they may be duly examined, and, if nothing is contained in them contrary to the Gospel of Christ, that we may be favoured with an official recognition of our Congregation, as a ‘ Christian Catholic Congregation’ separated on the ground of conscientious conviction from the Roman Catholic Congregation.

“ This recognition, we conceive, we are the more entitled to ask at the hands of government, since Provost Busse has, on Sunday, the 20th of this month, already publicly from the pulpit excommunicated from his Church all those who are attached to the pure doctrine of Jesus, declaring that ‘ none of the adherents of this doctrine of devils shall hereafter receive the sacraments at his hands, and that even the burial of their corpses will be refused.’

“ We have hired a private house, and engaged priest Czarski for our minister; we have this day, for the second time, heard mass in our native tongue, and received the Holy Supper according to Christ’s institution in both kinds from the hands of our priest.”

The petition then specifies the civil and financial matters, for the regulation of which the interference of government is sought, and prays for protection against the persecutions which may be expected from the Romish hierarchy. Appended to it is a document which enters at full length upon the nine points of Romish doctrine, controverted by the petitioners. They are, 1. the administration of the holy communion to the laity in one kind only; 2. the power claimed by the Romish priesthood to sanctify God’s creatures dead and living, *e g.* dead men, the four elements, the fruits of the earth, &c. &c.: 3. the invocation of saints; 4. the power claimed by the Romish priesthood, to absolve men from all manner of sins; 5. the Romish doctrine of fasting, enjoining public fasts and abstinence from particular meats; 6. the performance of divine service in a tongue not understood of the people; 7. the compulsory celibacy of the Romish priesthood; 8. the prohibition of marriages between Roman Catholics and Protestants; 9. the claim of the Roman bishop to universal supremacy as the vicar of Christ.

In further illustration of the foundation of faith on which they take their stand, they subjoin the Articles of their belief. These consist of the Nicene Creed, with the addition of certain articles, in the same manner as in the Roman Catholic Church the Tridentine Articles, commonly called the Creed of Pope Pius IV., are added to the Catholic symbol⁶.

⁶ The following are the principal points of difference between the Tridentine Articles and those adopted at Schneidemühl. The Schneidemühl Articles omit altogether the recognition of “ Apostolical and ecclesiastical traditions,” of the decrees of the Council of Trent, and of the supremacy of the Roman Church; and the articles concerning the invocation of Saints, the worship of images, and the power of granting indulgences. They add two new articles, in one of which it is asserted that priests not only *may*, but that they *ought to marry*; and in the other the use of the vulgar tongue in Divine

So far as these documents are concerned, there is no appearance of any thing but a *bonâ fide* reformation; there are, however, circumstances connected with the movement, which are calculated to make us pause, before we decide upon its character. The first of these is the fact, that the priest Czerski married within a month of the constitution of this new Christian-Catholic congregation; a circumstance which, even though we allow no weight whatever to the insinuations of the Popish papers, tends to throw suspicion upon the personal motives of the leader. The other reason for doubting the truly Christian and Catholic character of the movement is, its apparent association with the priest Ronge, the author of the letter to Bishop Arnold of Trèves, on the exhibition of the Holy Garment, and with his doings. With regard to this personage there can be no doubt, that his sympathies are all in the camp of rationalism, and that there his alliances will be formed⁷; and if it should turn out, as all the papers, Protestant as well as Romish, seem to imply, that the Schneidemühl congregation makes common cause with him, the whole affair will resolve itself, as many similar occurrences have done before, into nothing more than a local and transient schism. With the more orthodox, therefore, and the warier of the German Protestant journals, we suspend our judgment for the present.

Service is insisted on. They alter, the article concerning the interpretation of the Holy Scriptures, which they acknowledge "as the only true and certain source of the Christian faith, according to that sense which is accessible to every enlightened and pious Christian;" the article which teaches the perfection of the holy Eucharist under either kind, in opposition to which they assert the absolute necessity of receiving under both kinds, because "the receiving of the Holy Supper under one kind only, is by no means sufficient for salvation;" the article concerning purgatory, where they say, "a purgatory, such as the Romish hierarchy teaches, does not exist; but there are in the house of our heavenly Father many mansions, steps of approach, as it were, to the perfect intuition of God. And we confess, that he who here upon earth has not rendered himself worthy of the perfect intuition of God, will have to pass through those steps, and that for this reason our prayers may be beneficial to the departed, but not *vice versâ*." Lastly, for the promise of obedience to the Bishop of Rome, as the vicar of Christ, they substitute this article: "We firmly assert that Christ alone is the Head of his Church, and that his vicar on earth is the Holy Ghost." (John xiv. 17; xvi. 7.)

⁷ We have lying before us four pamphlets published by Ronge since his excommunication. They are, 1. A Vindication of himself, containing a history of his early life, of his passage through the clerical seminary, of his career as an officiating priest, of his various disputes with the Episcopal authorities of Breslau, and of the proceedings which led to his suspension, and subsequently to his deposition and excommunication; 2. An Address to the inferior Clergy of the Catholic Church; 3. An Address to the Catholic Schoolmasters; 4. An Address to his Brethren in the Faith and his Fellow-citizens. In all these pamphlets the Word of God is but rarely quoted or referred to, and then only to point an argument against Rome. "Reason, common sense, natural feeling, national dignity;" these are the carnal weapons with which the battle is fought; and throughout it is but too evident, that so far from Ronge being capable of sustaining the character of a reformer of Christ's holy Catholic Church, he would not even make a moderately useful and efficient preacher of the Gospel. The *Ami de la Religion* reports that Ronge had constituted a congregation at Breslau at the beginning of this year, and that a kindred congregation had since been formed at Leipzig; but until the arrival of the German journals nothing certain can be known on this subject.

THE
ENGLISH REVIEW,

OR .

QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF ECCLESIASTICAL AND
GENERAL LITERATURE.

JUNE, 1845.

- ART. I.—1. *The Letters and Despatches of John Churchill, first Duke of Marlborough, from 1702 to 1712. Edited by General the Right Hon. Sir GEORGE MURRAY, G.C.B., Colonel of the Royal Regiment of Foot, Governor of Fort George in North Britain, and Master General of the Ordnance; formerly Quartermaster General of the British Army in the War of the Spanish Peninsula, and afterwards Chief of the General Staff of the Allied Army of Occupation in France, commanded by Field Marshal his Grace the Duke of Wellington, Prince of Waterloo. &c. &c. Vols. i.—iii. (1702—1708). London: 1845.*
2. *The Diplomatic Correspondence of the Right Hon. Richard Hill, Envoy Extraordinary from the Court of St. James to the Duke of Savoy, in the reign of Queen Anne, from July 1703 to May 1706. Edited by the Rev. W. BLACKLEY, B.A., Domestic Chaplain to the Right Hon. the Viscount Hill. 2 vols. London: 1845.*

IN our last number we remarked upon the strange chasm in English history which yawns between the Congress of the Hague and the treaty of Utrecht. If any gentleman of Oxford or Cambridge would have the kindness to throw himself into this gulf, he would very much oblige the public, and very much disconcert Mr. Christie at his next annual motion on the low state of all sciences, and specially that of modern history, at our two Universities. The times emphatically call for such an act of devotion. It is too hard to heap the accumulated responsibilities of thirty colleges and nine halls on the shoulders of Mr. Hallam.

To the materials for such an undertaking may be now added the new publications of Mr. Murray, specified above. The first of these is as yet incomplete. We have transcribed at length the titles of its editor, for nothing that we could possibly say could indicate half so clearly as this enumeration, his unique fitness for the task he has commenced. A little legend is attached to the discovery of the papers composing the work, which, though very generally known, it will be better to recite. The present Duke of Marlborough constructed a new muniment-room at Blenheim for the reception of the family archives. To this place of custody all valuable documents were removed; an operation which recalled to the memory of somebody that a large collection of deeds and records still remained in a house at Hessington, near Woodstock, which had generally been inhabited by the land-steward of the family. His grace's solicitor received instructions to examine this collection, and to transfer to Blenheim such papers as might prove to be valuable. On repairing to Hessington, he found three large chests, placed one upon the other, which had never been disturbed within the memory of any person in the house. He was told that they contained nothing but old military papers and accounts, and such he found to be the case in the two upper chests, but in the third and undermost, he discovered eighteen folio volumes, bound in vellum. These proved to be the letters and despatches in question'. The circumstances here related occurred in the month of October 1842. And shortly afterwards, the whole of these papers, together with the papers of Cardonell the duke's secretary, and the journal of Dr. Hare his chaplain, were placed by the present duke in the hands of Sir George Murray for publication. It is naturally considered extraordinary that a mass of documents of such great importance and such unquestionable authenticity should so long have remained hidden. Not only were the present duke and his family entirely ignorant of the deposit, but it does

¹ In the library of Jesus College, Cambridge, is preserved a MS. volume, which we mention as connected with this subject. It is an Order-Book of Marlborough's army in 1705-6. The first entry is the order of march for the 17th of June, 1705, when the army broke up at midnight from the camp at Delft, and commenced the well-known retreat to the Meuse. In due course there follow the orders and dispositions for the passage of the enemy's lines on the 17th of July, and the orders for the anticipated combat of the 18th August on the banks of the Yssche; and so the orders of march and forage are given, up to the route for winter quarters of 1705. Then follows a muster roll of all the regiments and brigades in the allied army. Almost the first entry in 1706 is the order for the battle of Ramillies, which is given at full length. The last entry is the route from Cambron to Ghislingien on the 26th October of that year. The volume is a small folio, bound in parchment, and appears by the spelling to have been written by a Dutchman or German. It was presented to the college amongst a curious and valuable collection of books on the Art of War, at the end of the last century.

not seem that even the authors who were engaged upon the family history under the immediate personal superintendence of the Duchess Sarah, were ever made aware of it. It is clear too that they altogether escaped the detection of Coxe, though he had unlimited range over the repositories at Blenheim. We are here speaking, however, solely of these volumes of letters and despatches. Sir George Murray's preface seems to imply that Hare's journal and Cardonell's papers were also included in the new discoveries. But both these latter authorities were seen and consulted by Coxe, who shows in a note (Marl. i. 240.) that he knew the circumstances under which Hare's journal was compiled, and quotes the very letter of Cardonell on the subject transcribed by Sir George in p. 409 of the first volume of the Despatches.

The concealment of these papers is certainly a matter of wonder; and their discovery is certainly a matter of importance. But the general reader will not find himself much interested or much improved in perusing them. Nor will they even give exactly such aids to history as would be usually presumed. They do not change the acknowledged character of the great Duke of Marlborough. They show that he could observe the condition of a regiment as acutely as he could comprehend the affairs of Europe. But Coxe taught this long ago. They show that he had sorely to fight against the obstinacy of the Dutch deputies. But that even Smollett could tell. They might have been triumphantly produced against Swift and Chesterfield to show that he was really a very great general, but does anybody believe Swift and Chesterfield now? The persons who will derive most benefit from this publication, are the military student and the historian. The military student alone will appreciate many points of detail, both in the orders given and in the method of giving them. The historian will have what none but an historian knows how to value. He will have a good, original, accessible authority for a vast number of facts, which, though perhaps never called in question, might be found when curiously investigated to rest only on doubtful testimony, or on tradition. The ordinary reader of history little thinks how difficult it is to find genuine evidence for many of the facts which perhaps twenty historians have repeated from time to time without doubt or difficulty. As we have intimated, however, we do not think the contents of these despatches will materially affect the current narrative of any of the duke's campaigns. Indeed, there were not many important points which were left in obscurity. Hare's account of the battle of Blenheim, which Sir George Murray has now published, had already formed the basis of Coxe's description;

and a very good *Témoin Oculaire* has the bishop shewn himself. The best account of the battle of Ramillies is that given by Kane², which also was Coxe's authority; and very imperfect would all our history be without it. The battle of Malplaquet, both in its details, and in the previous movements of the two armies, requires more illustration than the others, but the published despatches do not yet extend to this period. The same remark will apply to the operations of 1711. We do not, however, anticipate any of this peculiar information in the forthcoming volumes. The particulars of an engagement conveyed in these despatches seldom exceed a faint outline of the positions of the two armies, the time at which an action commenced and terminated, the number of prisoners taken, and the march of the pursuing troops; and these particulars are repeated with scarcely a change of phraseology to half a dozen different correspondents. The Wellington Despatches are far more exact and minute than these, and yet it is seldom that Alison or Siborne can get all they want from Gurwood. It is true that we can collect a great deal of incidental intelligence from these letters, but it more frequently confirms than increases our previous knowledge.

The numerous letters to the Prince of Baden, show what a colleague Marlborough had on the Moselle. When a commander-in-chief is obliged to write day after day for more than a month to get six thousand troops put on the road to join him; when he sends his quarter-master-general, and at last goes himself, to his colleague with no better effect, we can easily infer his difficulties. But Prince Louis's character was already well known. The first hundred pages of Sir George's second volume are filled with letters written during the early part of this campaign, but they make little addition to the knowledge we already possess on this subject. The reasons which induced the duke to quit the Moselle and return to the Meuse were long ago published, and we should look in vain through these despatches for any such account of the marches and sufferings of the troops as we find in Hare's Epistolary Narrative. There is a great deal to be learnt or conjectured concerning John Duke of Marlborough, but this information could by no means be expected in his official

² Brigadier Kane is considered by military critics to be the only good historian of Marlborough's campaigns. He served first in Ireland, and afterwards through all the campaigns of these wars, in the 18th Royal Irish. His book is entitled "Campaigns of King William and the Duke of Marlborough, with remarks on the stratagems by which each battle was lost or won, from 1689 to 1712." It is a short narrative of barely an hundred pages, and though apparently twice printed, in 1745 and 1747, is of great rarity and value. Some high compliments on Kane and his writings, from what we may presume to be a competent pen, will be found in the United Service Journal for October, 1836.

despatches. Readers of history are pretty well convinced already that the victory of the Schellenberg was due to Marlborough, and not to Prince Louis; that the duke beat the French whenever the Dutch deputies would let him, that he cajoled the king of Prussia, and managed the king of Sweden, that he saved the House of Austria, and preserved the States of Holland, that his successes in diplomacy were only equalled by his successes in the field, and that by him alone was the grand alliance kept together, and the power of France withstood. All this the despatches will confirm. But when Marlborough had won the means of peace at his sword's point, how far was he anxious to employ them? How far was he honest in his dealings with the House of Hanover, or his correspondence with the House of Stuart? How far was he honourably disposed towards his colleagues in office? What principles dictated his conduct? Was he swayed by any deep feelings of religion, or any deep convictions of policy? Was he materially influenced by his wife? or persuaded against his own judgment by his friends? All this we must look for elsewhere.

When Coxe first published his *Life of Marlborough*, he remarked upon the strange oblivion into which the character and actions of his great hero had fallen. One cause of this was the deficiency of English history for this period, which we have so frequently alluded to. It was not to be expected that a generation which confined its researches on this subject to the continuators of Hume, would collect any very accurate ideas concerning the great captain of that age. Our improved state of knowledge on these points may be dated from Coxe. That very meritorious writer set about his new task with his usual industry. His conception of history was in many respects extremely good. His estimate of authorities was judicious. His materials were almost always original, they were examined with the most untiring perseverance, and digested with considerable skill. We remember to have seen it somewhere stated that he collated nearly thirty thousand MS. documents for his *Pelham Administration*. From these his narrative was formed with great perspicuity, and supported by references very creditably full for those days, though not quite so exact as would be required at present. Unfortunately, his inaccuracy in details is frequent, strangely so indeed; and it can often be detected from his own pages. But his chief failing was a too great veneration for his subject. He always seems to consider himself the family historiographer, and writes as if he were tutor to the eldest son. These merits and faults are very conspicuous in his *Marlborough*. His error is precisely that against which, in his preface, he asserts with remarkable innocence that he is watchfully on his guard.

"I have endeavoured," says the archdeacon, "to avoid an error too common with biographers, who often hold forth the subject of their memoirs as a perfect being, like a hero of romance." Yet in a few pages after this registered resolution, it is explained how John Churchill betrayed his master with a sorrowful heart, and from no other motives whatever but an extreme anxiety for the Protestant religion; though it is admitted almost at the same moment, that in a few months afterwards he was intriguing deeply for the restoration of this exiled papist to the throne of England. The truth is, that the chief value of Coxe's work is incidental. For what it pretends to be, it is a failure. It is a good piece of history, but a bad piece of biography. It contains a pretty true sketch of the court of Queen Anne, but a very false portrait of the great Duke of Marlborough.

Honours are generally expected to follow merits. In this case they preceded them. Marlborough got all his titles first, and earned them afterwards. He marched to his first great field with more honours on his head, and more pensions in his pocket, than Wellington brought back from the hundred fights of Hindostan and the Peninsula. Before Blenheim had ever been set down in a map of Germany, or English colours ever been seen on the Danube, John Churchill was duke of Marlborough, knight of the garter, and commander-in-chief of the British forces³. After the victory of Blenheim the English nation thanked him, and voted him a house, and the emperor gave him a principality and a castle. But what was to be done after Ramilies, and Oudenarde, and Malplaquet? They certainly had nothing more to give him. And perhaps it was only natural that they should take back what they had given him already, and abuse him for his pains. *Beneficia eo usque læta sunt, dum videntur exsolvi posse: ubi multum antevernere, pro gratia odium redditur.*

Arabella Churchill was eighteen years of age when the duke of York presented her brother with a commission in the Foot-guards. This was the first step. A respectable country-gentleman's son became an officer in the household troops, and a favourite of the heir presumptive. When Charles had beaten the patriots in 1683, his brother's favourite became a colonel, and a Scotch peer. When James was crowned, the Scotch peer became an English peer. When William was crowned, this English peer had taken service with his new master, and Baron Churchill

³ It is curious that even the peculiar augmentations of the Churchill coat-of-arms, which seem exactly like grants for military services, were anterior to the Duke of Marlborough. The original family coat was *sable*, a lion rampant *argent*, with a bend *gules* over all. It seems that this bend must have been considered as an abatement, for Sir Winston Churchill, in consideration of his fidelity to the royal cause, was permitted to disuse it, and to take also the canton of St. George, in 1661. The supporters were granted to the duke, then Lord Churchill of Sandridge, by James II., in 1689.

became an earl. Some of his mother's connections—the Leys—had been earls of Marlborough. The title had become extinct about ten years back. Churchill revived it, and made it immortal.

After all, James had nearly twenty years' faithful service of Churchill. William had scarcely as many months. In 1693 the newly-made earl of Marlborough was sent to the Tower. Whether he deserved that particular imprisonment or not, may be a matter of doubt, but there can now be no question that his conduct had been treasonable before his arrest, and was again so after his liberation. And the Stuart papers show, what might have been very reasonably conjectured, that he was as much suspected at St. Germain's as at Kensington, and that James mistrusted, while William imprisoned him.

At length he rose again to the surface, and was appointed governor to the young Duke of Gloucester. Perhaps William, as he saw his end approaching, was not unwilling to secure such talents for the service of his successor. At Anne's accession Marlborough got all that a subject could desire. If his wife had been queen instead of queen's favourite, he could hardly have enjoyed more honour or authority. And the indulgence of this sovereign, at all events, he well repaid. He not only won her battles and directed her councils, but throughout all the court cabals which succeeded, his conduct and correspondence show a personal attachment to the queen, and a consideration for her feelings, which are very conspicuous, and certainly, as things went in those days, not a little singular. And now having won his titles like a marshal of Louis XV., he fought for them like a marshal of Napoleon.

There is no need to follow him from the Meuse to the Danube, or from the Danube to the Moselle. Coxe has told all this story very clearly, and it may be observed, that although he did not get sight of these despatches, yet he obtained many of the letters contained in them from other quarters, from Vienna and Munich for instance, while the correspondence with the authorities at home was of course to be found in the State Paper Office. But he also obtained documents more valuable than these. From the peculiarity of the connection between Marlborough and Godolphin, their correspondence naturally assumed a different tone from that usually found in the despatches of a general on service to the minister at home. Marlborough wrote to the Lord Treasurer not as Lord Wellington wrote to Lord Castlereagh. He wrote to the father of his daughter's husband, to the friend and confidant of his wife, to the man who was practically his sole colleague in the government of the country, and who shared solely with him the confidence of the queen. He wrote to him not only

of the state of the war and the disposition of the allies, but of his own thoughts and opinions on every subject at home and abroad. In return he received from Godolphin not only official directions and financial statements, but minute intelligence of the humours of the cabinet, and the temper of the queen; of county elections and church preferments; of discontented lords and submissive commons, and of every thing which could touch the credit of their administration. These are the important "Marlborough Despatches." They are, we believe, extremely voluminous, reaching from 1701 to 1711, and all autographs. A complete collection of these would equal in historical importance any letters that have ever been published, and far surpass these volumes of Sir George Murray's.

Instead of following the campaigns in the Low Countries, let us see if we can get a little clearer comprehension of the great Whig administration under which all these laurels were won, than will be gathered from the Trade Histories of England. Godolphin became Lord Treasurer in 1702, and continued so till 1710. Throughout this interval, therefore, the Godolphin ministry may be said to have continued. But between these periods, though its policy was tolerably consistent, its constitution was considerably changed. Between the Tories and Whigs there stood in these days the Moderates; a body of respectable strength, who lent their aid to each side in turn. The Jacobites were also found occasionally on the Whig side, in obedience to the mandates of their chief, though they of course ranged themselves more naturally with the Tories. The great question of the day was the prosecution of the war. The Whigs in supporting it, supported all the main principles of their party. They secured the Protestant succession. They protected the States of Holland. They opposed the power of France, and they encouraged the rising party of capitalists and fundholders, in opposition to the gentry of landed property. The Tories were always averse to the war from first to last, though its glorious successes and consequent popularity forced them sometimes to adopt the language of its supporters.

Marlborough and Godolphin were originally reported to belong to the moderate Tories. In such character, Godolphin had been included in the Tory administration formed by William in 1700, and had retired from it in 1701, when it was reconstructed by that monarch just before his death, on a basis more nearly Whig. We use this qualified expression, because in fact the state of parties at this time was such, that it was almost impossible to form an effective administration without some kind of coalition, and changes were usually made by an infusion of Whig or Tory elements, in greater or less proportion, into the existing cabinet;

nor did any very extensive alteration take place till the great ministerial revolution of 1710. At Anne's accession, her natural partiality conspired with the advice of Marlborough to qualify the cabinet which William had left with a considerable admixture of Tories, and it was thus restored to much such a constitution as it had possessed in 1700, just before the last change. Godolphin took the Lord Treasurer's staff, which he held throughout the war. Marlborough posted to the Hague as generalissimo. Sir Nathan Wright retained the seals. The Duke of Devonshire and Mr. Boyle, it is true, filled the places of Lord High Steward and Chancellor of the Exchequer. But with these exceptions, the ministry was Tory, and included two of the most ardent of that party, Nottingham and Rochester. It was from this element, indeed, that the first disturbance arose.

We have stated that the Tories were decidedly opposed to the war. But with this characteristic principle of their reputed party, neither Marlborough nor Godolphin coincided. Accordingly, it was not long before an open rupture took place in the ministry. Rochester did not hesitate to set himself boldly against his colleagues, and with him sided Nottingham, Buckingham, Jersey, Sir C. Hedges and Sir E. Seymour. Measures were at first taken against Rochester only. He was removed from his government of Ireland in the spring of 1703, and succeeded by Ormond. After this experiment, the cabinet moved on for another twelvemonth, but without any great gain from the change. At length, in May 1704, the rest of its disaffected members were dismissed, and replaced by an importation of Moderates, including Harley and St. John. This was the first change in the Godolphin cabinet. It consisted in the substitution of Moderates for Tories, the original small Whig portion being left undisturbed. So that the government was now motley, but moderate in the main.

The game of Godolphin and Marlborough was to exclude the High Tories, and the leading Whigs; to balance one of these against the other; and to keep themselves and the crown distinct from any party whatever, to turn the scale as required. But an attempt of this kind is seldom very hopeful under a constitution like ours. It was evident that it could only succeed while the two parties were quite disunited, and evenly matched in strength, and that as soon as either acquired the slightest preponderance, it would insist on corresponding power. And, unfortunately, there stood the Duchess Sarah on one side, most vehemently condemning all overtures to the Tories, and the queen on the other, instinctively opposing all concessions to the Whigs. It was soon clear, however, that without the services of one of these parties government could not be carried on. The Tories were

now the most violent in opposition, and the elections of 1705 had gone in favour of the Whigs, two circumstances which pointed them out as the more proper body to be conciliated. Moreover, the moderation of Marlborough and Godolphin was unquestionably more Whig than Tory, notwithstanding their original party. The Duchess, too, had now avowed her Whig principles, without reserve or modification. Besides, it was difficult to conceive how the war could be carried on with a Tory ministry who were known to be averse to it, and the very mention of whose approach to power, notwithstanding their professions, always produced the immediate effect of encouraging Louis, and disheartening the Dutch. Yet, on the other hand, the prepossessions of the queen in favour of the Tories were known to be most obstinate. At length the Whigs were gratified by the promotion of Cowper, who in October 1705, received the seals in place of Sir Nathan Wright. In the succeeding month a false stroke of the Tories, in proposing to invite over the Electress Sophia, proved ruinous to their hopes. The queen, in her indignation, became accessible to the arguments of the duchess, and began to look on the Whigs with a more favourable eye. They had indeed, of late, been the mainstay of the administration, though not identified with it. With Marlborough and Godolphin they could soon agree; the difficulty was to reconcile them with Harley and St. John, whose insincerity was already suspected. This however was eventually accomplished. At Christmas they all dined at Harley's; Halifax, Boyle, Sunderland and Cowper; Harley and St. John; Godolphin and Marlborough. Harley proposed the toast of "Everlasting Union" in a bumper of Tokay, which was good, but thick. Cowper suggested drinking it in white Lisbon, which was *clearer*; and the allusion to the secretary's double-dealing was immediately caught. This was the second change. It consisted in a coalition of the Whig members with the existing ministry of moderate Tories. The only place they gained was that of Cowper. The rest of the cabinet remained the same, only it now avowedly relied on the Whig party for effective support. Thus commenced the year 1706.

But this apparent harmony did not long continue. The five great Whig peers who formed the *junta* had been out of power ever since their dismissal at the beginning of the reign. It was, of course, to be expected that they would soon make demands on a government which was supported entirely by a party of which they were the leaders, and an interminable struggle quickly commenced. The junta tried to force themselves, one by one, into the cabinet. The queen resisted each successive intrusion with the utmost pertinacity. Godolphin would clearly have liked the junta better as supporters than colleagues, but he could neither

deny their claims nor neglect their threats, and when their importunities were no longer endurable, he advocated their cause to the queen. When he was unsuccessful, he had recourse to Marlborough's influence, who reluctantly added his entreaties to the treasurer's remonstrances, and the duchess availed herself of her position to add the most vehement expostulations to both. After a longer or shorter struggle, as the case might be, the poor queen was compelled to yield, and the Whigs gained step after step. The worst of all this was, that it gradually undermined all the influence of the two ministers with their royal mistress. They were indeed in a most irksome position. They had all the responsibility of office, with little (on this subject) of its legitimate power. They offended their supporters if they neglected their claims, and offended the queen if they urged them. They were made to bear the blame of acts which they could not influence, and of resolutions which they could not change; and all delays, which arose from the pertinacity of the queen, were imputed to the secret reluctance of her advisers ⁴. It was just about this period that the queen sought support and consolation in her troubles from the advice of Harley, and the attentions of Lady Masham. The intrigues of these parties had long been suspected, and at length, in February 1708, matters were brought to a crisis. The queen was shown that she must dismiss either one party or the other, and the state of the government left her no choice. Harley went out, and was followed by St. John and Harcourt. This was the third change in the ministry, or rather, it was the critical point of the partial and gradual change which had been going on ever since the second. From the commencement of 1706 to 1710, the history of the Godolphin ministry presents a series of successful struggles on the part of the Whigs to get footing in the cabinet. The crisis just noticed, it is true, weakened very considerably the Tory element in the administration, but perhaps it would be hardly accurate to date from this point the great Whig ministry of Queen Anne, though such seems to be the view taken by Mr. Hallam. The only Whig of note who stepped in on this occasion was Walpole, for Boyle, who succeeded Harley, only exchanged one office for another. None of the junta were as yet introduced except Sunderland, who had got the secretaryship more than a year previous (Dec. 1706). Somers, Wharton, and

⁴ It is rather curious that Swift should give this precise explanation of the fall of Harley in his turn. "He (Oxford) lessened his confidence with the Queen by pressing on her those very points for which his friends accused him that they were not performed." *Enquiry, &c. Works*, xvi. 39. We should be sorry to receive the smallest fact on the authority of this piece of history, which, within seventy octavo pages, contains more deliberate and ingenious lies than any volume ever printed in America, or any state-paper issued by Napoleon. But Anne's temper makes the circumstance probable.

Orford gained no admission till several months afterwards. In fact it was at this precise period of the expulsion of its chief Tory element in the person of Harley, that the great ministry of Godolphin began to totter to its fall. The withdrawal of the duchess from court in the spring of this year 1708, left the entire command of the queen's ear to Abigail Masham and her cousin. Godolphin and Marlborough had at this time lost all favour and confidence, though they still kept office. The most brilliant successes of the war had already been gained, and parliament refused even a vote of thanks for the subsequent triumph of Malplaquet. And when at last the junta had fairly got into office, they barely had a six months' tenure of it. Somers and Wharton were appointed in the winter of 1708, Orford in that of 1709. With the very next year their mortifications and defeats commenced. Shrewsbury was made Lord Chamberlain April 13; Sunderland was dismissed June 13; Godolphin on August the 8th; and the whole new Tory ministry came in by the 21st of September, 1710.

This catastrophe was perhaps not to be avoided, except by greater personal sacrifices on all sides than could reasonably be expected from the parties concerned. The great Whig Ministry of Queen Anne—if by that term is meant the ministry which so victoriously carried out the principles of William III. and the grand alliance—was practically comprised in the two persons of Marlborough and Godolphin. On these grand points, the policy of these statesmen never varied during their tenure of office, whatever might have been their reputed party, or whatever the character of their colleagues or supporters. In this sense they were as true Whigs as any one of the Junta⁵. But this passage of history, amongst many others, shows the impossibility of conducting the government of our country without something like a party. The two ministers were strong in supreme ability, and (for the first four years) in the unexampled confidence and affection of their sovereign. But it was necessary to have a majority in parliament, and necessary to incur obligations in securing one. Perhaps it is too much to expect of any set of men, that they should forego all the pleasures of power when they have fairly earned them. It was not unnatural that the five lords should look for some share in a government, which depended on them for its existence. Still their struggles were not for principle,

⁵ Swift represents them as having turned Whigs after their accession to power. Thus in the *Examiner*, No. 37:—"It is well-known that the late ministry, of famous memory, was brought in during the present war, only with this circumstance, that two or three of the chief did first change their own principles, and then took in suitable companions." In No. 43, he says they had been "all their lives in the altitude of Tory professions," and somewhere else he maliciously describes their principles as having been "at least as high as was consistent with the Protestant succession."

but for place. The queen's objections were less to Whig measures, than to Whig men. The Junta might with ease have defeated every machination of the Tories and Jacobites, and secured every honest object of the Whigs, if they could have contented themselves with such considerations, and refrained from intruding into the presence of the queen, to whom they were objects of personal dislike. But when they insisted on admission to offices which brought them into daily contact with the sovereign, they ruined themselves and their cause. The poor queen had no rest. As soon as one change had been effected, another was proposed. "Is it not very hard," says she, "that men of sense and honour will not promote the good of their country, because every thing in the world is not done that they desire? Why, for God's sake, must I who have no interest, no end, no thought but for the good of my country, be made so miserable, as to be brought into the power of one set of men ⁶?" It might, on the other hand, be considered unfortunate that the queen should be gracious to all candidates for court favour, except to those particular persons who were upholding her throne; and that the possessors of the real power of the government, should be expected to exert it for the profit and honour of their political enemies. No doubt it would have been more convenient to Marlborough and Godolphin, and more agreeable to the queen, if they could have totally disconnected themselves from all parties except on the nights of a division, but it is hardly surprising that such an arrangement should be demurred to.

Though Godolphin and Marlborough had undoubtedly some dislike to the active Whig faction, yet their reluctance in these movements seems to us to have originated mainly in their knowledge of the queen's disposition. Their letters testify that they argued for their new colleagues most warmly, and the event shows that they lost all favour by such proceeding. A stronger-minded woman than Anne might have been well estranged from her servants, by such repeated importunities and such endless exactions. The sketches of Swift are not caricatures. "Madam! it is my humble duty to tell you, that unless my lord so-and-so be received into your service, I can no longer manage your affairs." "Madam! with all affectionate submission to your majesty, I must beg to resign the command of your majesty's army, unless I can have lord so-and-so for a colleague!" The meekest mistress would rather dismiss her servant, than put up with such repeated warnings. It was this which threw the queen into the hands of Mrs. Masham. It was this which gave such plausibility,

⁶ The Queen to Godolphin, Sept. 10. See also the same to the same, Sept. 21, 1706.

and, in some respects, such reality to the whispered representations of Harley, and induced a kind and well-intentioned lady to believe that she was kept in a state of disgraceful bondage, to escape from which she might justifiably avail herself of any means in her power.

Unfortunately, Anne, as Swift observes, had not a stock of amity to serve above one object at a time; and her old customers were discourteously set aside, as soon as any new one appeared. If Marlborough had deserved dismissal, he had not deserved neglect. He had failings enough in his character, but amongst these was not (as yet) infidelity to this particular sovereign. He discharged his duty well as an adviser, and as a general did for her and Europe what no one else could have done. In fact, he was nearly as much perplexed as she was. What he was to the queen, the duchess and Godolphin were to him. In the midst of all the distractions of a campaign, against his own judgment, and in spite of all his objections, he was compelled by the incessant importunities of his wife and his colleague, to dun the ears of his sovereign with odious demands. The letters to and fro are exceedingly curious. The worst of it is that we know the secret of their composition. The frankest expostulations of Marlborough, the most ingenuous confessions, and the most candid offers lose much of their force, when we recollect that the epistle was sketched, in draft, by Godolphin, that the superlatives and adverbs were inserted by the duchess, and that the whole exercise, after being revised and corrected by the duke, was sent as the genuine outpourings of his heart to his royal mistress. And the pathetic remonstrances of the queen in reply, were perhaps reduced into form by Harley, after the suggestions and erasures of Mrs. Abigail Masham⁷.

The Junta felt these reverses in their utmost bitterness. Their mortifications were dealt out to them singly, like those they had inflicted on their mistress. By the craft of their adversaries, they were disunited and cajoled, and compelled to witness the successive degradations of their friends, which by vigorous measures, taken early and in concert, they might probably have prevented, and certainly postponed. As regards their personal

⁷ We say "perhaps," for we do not remember that this is any where proved, though it is extremely probable. But as to Marlborough's correspondence with the Queen, a single letter from him to the duchess (Aug. 2, 1708) will show how those things were managed. "I have altered my answer," says he, "since I received yours of the 16th. You must be careful in the conversations you have, not to let her (the Queen) think you have any account of her letters, for that would make her more shy when she writes. . . . Having ended my letter, I received yours of the 16th, so that I am obliged to make some alteration in my answer, that it might agree with what you sent me. I have corrected my copy, and have marked in yours what I have left out, believing that would do rather hurt than good." In this very same letter he says, "*What I write is the truth of my heart!*"

discomfiture, we may perhaps think them the less deserving of pity, when we recollect that they were not men of such talent as to have been actually necessary to the effectiveness of the Whig Administration. Somers was the only man among them who was particularly eminent in wisdom and ability, and neither he nor Cowper were so obnoxious to Anne as the others. With their aid, Godolphin, Marlborough, and Boyle, could easily have carried on the government. The rest, without being deficient in wit or energy, were certainly not indispensable to the state, and three of them,—Halifax, Wharton, and Orford, showed symptoms of an inclination afterwards to enter into the alliance and the policy of their victorious adversaries.

Marlborough did not immediately share the disgrace of his colleagues. He was persuaded to continue in the command-in-chief, and the campaign of 1711 showed that his energies were devoted as zealously as ever to the service of his country.

Whether his talents were displayed as honestly in making peace as in making war, has been a matter of question. The objects of the grand alliance, as specified in the treaty, were these : to procure for Austria a reasonable satisfaction (*satisfactionem æquam et rationi convenientem*) of her claims on the Spanish monarchy; for the Dutch a barrier; and for the Dutch and English severally, freedom of commerce and navigation (*securitatem particularem et sufficientem pro navigatione et commerciis subditorum suorum*). There can be no doubt, of course, but that the grounds of war here expressed were insufficient to account for the intervention of Great Britain as a principal in the contest. The truth was, that the aggrandizement of France, as stated in the preamble, was dangerous to the liberties of Europe. And especially was it so to the liberties of England, for there could be no kind of doubt, that one of the first steps of Louis in the plenitude of his power, would be to demolish the Protestant succession, and to restore to the throne that exiled family who were now his dependents. In the spring of 1710, Marlborough was treating for peace at Gertruydenberg. Now the question is, how far the legitimate objects of the whole war were then attainable. Since the original treaty, a number of states had acceded to the alliance, who each of course had their claims upon unfortunate France. But it is not denied that the terms offered by Louis were manageable in every case but that of Austria. The Dutch had got their barrier. The Protestant succession was now safe enough as far as Louis was concerned, and he proffered the fullest recognition of Anne's title. They split simply on the thirty-seventh article. By this famous clause, Louis was compelled not only to withdraw his support from his grandson, and to use his utmost influence to make him abdicate

the throne of Spain, but to enforce this abdication by arms, if within a fixed period it could not be peaceably procured. The injustice and inhumanity apparent on the face of this demand did Louis some service. It supplied him with an unanswerable argument,—“If all my offers and sacrifices go for nothing; if I am still forced to make war, better it should be against my enemies, than against my children.” But there was something to be said on the other side. The terms of the grand alliance bound the contracting parties not to conclude a peace unless security were obtained that the crowns of France and Spain should never be united on one head⁸. But this demand had lately been couched in a different form, namely, that no Bourbon prince should sit on the throne of Spain. Now, if the negotiators conscientiously believed that the provisions of the original treaty could not be substantially secured by any less stringent condition than this,—if they conceived that the two crowns would be practically united, unless Philip were actually deposed, we think they were right in insisting on the thirty-seventh article. The dishonesty of Louis in transactions of this sort was matter of notoriety. Whatever professions he might make, neither the allies nor the Spaniards would be easily convinced that he was not secretly encouraging either by advice or assistance the pretensions of his grandson. But if he was bound, as he would be, by this article, not to words but to deeds; not to persuade, but to obtain, the abdication of Philip, there would be no room for his double dealing. It was necessary to make him Philip’s enemy, to make it quite sure that he was not his ally. And after all, it was extremely probable that the actual abandonment by Louis of Philip’s cause, which would have been evinced by his acceptance of this article, would have settled the question within the two months allowed for pacific arrangements; though Philip did talk about defending Spain to the last drop of his blood, and was not wanting in the requisite obstinacy for keeping his word.

On the whole, we think there is nothing on the face of this conference, to show that Marlborough’s motives were other than legitimate. And it hardly seems that the conclusion of a peace at this juncture, as a stroke of policy, could have been injurious to the Whigs. The general terms offered by Louis were highly

⁸ The language of the 8th article was this:—“*Ne pax ineatur nisi justis cautelis antea provisum sit, ne regna Galliae et Hispaniae unquam sub idem imperium veniant et uniantur, nec unquam unus et idem utriusque regni rex fiat, et speciatim ne Galli unquam in possessionem Indiarum juris Hispanici veniant.*” Afterwards, as the war proceeded, it was declared that no peace could be safe “as long as Spain and the Indies remained in the power of the House of Bourbon,” or, in another form, “until the whole monarchy of Spain were restored to the House of Austria.” The ministry in 1712 reverted to the original terms. Coxe’s remarks (Marl. iii. 517) on this head are inaccurate.

advantageous, and though the honours of Marlborough and the army were appropriated by the Whigs as due exclusively to their measures, yet the event showed that a nation could tire even of victories and conquests. The peace of Gertruydenberg, too, would have precluded the peace of Utrecht. The Whigs would have been no longer the war-party, and the Tories would have been robbed of most of their topics of abuse, and most of their subjects of self-gratulation. In the event, as every one knows, Louis rejected the article, and hostilities recommenced. It was certainly an argument for those who thought France still powerful, that in this campaign Villars should have given Marlborough one of those few checks which he ever experienced (from his enemies) in the field. It soon became clear enough, however, that his marching through Picardy to Paris was only a question of a month or two. But on the last day of the year 1711, he was dismissed from all his employments and places, and Louis had every thing his own way.

If we could trust the private letters of Marlborough, we might fairly assert, that so far from unnecessarily protracting the war, there was no period after the first campaign at which he was not most anxiously eager for peace. But unfortunately we have little ground for any such confidence. No letters were ever written, from the times of Phalaris to the times of Ganganelli, bearing so few of the marks of sincerity. And whether he wished for war, or wished for peace, it is hard to think that he wished it for any sake but his own. He negociated the grand alliance, he signed it, and he effected its objects. But for its principles, it is impossible to believe he cared a stiver. He betrayed William as he had betrayed James. He made overtures to Louis in 1694, as he had to William in 1687. When Anne came to the throne, and he and his wife had every thing they wished for, he took the command of the army, and conducted the war with that irresistible art which intuition seems so strangely to confer. Great as is his military renown, it is even less than his deserts. But his loyalty seems to have lasted no longer than his court-favour. The dismissal of his colleagues and the final disgrace of his wife had scarce occurred, when we find him intriguing again with the court of St. Germain's, though still actually in command of the allied army. It might be that he was not compassing or conniving at any serious project against Anne personally, but he was certainly undoing what he had done, and acting against all the principles of that war which he had lately been so victoriously conducting.

At length, in 1712, in pursuance, it is said, of an intimation from government, he and his wife left England. This

was doubtless a prudent step. The absurd stories of conspiracies, circulated at the time, and repeated afterwards by Swift, are refuted by their own monstrous exaggerations, but we do not think Marlborough incapable of fomenting or employing a popular commotion against the government, if such means could either have assisted his friends or embarrassed his enemies. From this time he makes but little figure in the history of the nation. When the last sickness of Anne, and the desperate designs of the two parties portended tumult and strife, he drew towards Antwerp, and stationed himself at a post from which in a few hours he could reach England. But though each party was fully sensible of the weight of his name and talents, and though each might fairly consider him purchaseable, yet neither seem to have placed any reliance on his intentions. Nor have modern historians been more successful in determining his views at this period. What is certain is, that he was in communication both with Hanover and St. Germain's, and that he received attentions from Harley and corresponded with Stanhope, probably with no other aim than making the best bargain with the conquerors. In the event he crossed to Dover, met the king loyally at Greenwich on his landing, and was most graciously received. But he had found himself excluded from the regency, and though he soon regained his command-in-chief, yet it was with but a shadow of his former power. It is said that George had never forgotten some supposed slights of the duke in the campaign of 1708. We think that a prince conspicuous for his uprightness, and not wanting in sagacity, may have had better reasons than this for not reposing too much confidence in John Duke of Marlborough. Our hero served George as he had served William and served James. When the expedition of 1715 was in preparation, he supplied the funds⁹. When the insurrection was hopeless, he did his best to crush it.

There is a fine classical argument by which the guilt of dishonesty is shewn to decrease in proportion as the practice increases. Juvenal thus convinces Calvinus that the friend who has stolen his money has really done nothing to be complained of.

⁹ As our assertion of this fact in our last number occasioned some surprise, we subjoin the following extract in confirmation of it. *Bolingbroke to James, Sept. 21, 1715.* "But I must say that since I have been engaged in the business, I have never observed so little secret kept in your majesty's affairs. A gentleman belonging to Stair mentioned the exact number of battalions expected from Sweden, and the Marquis D'Effiat told me the very sum which Marlborough had advanced to you." *Stuart Papers.* There was great suspicion of this at the time, as was very natural, but it fell rather on the duchess than on her husband. See Cox, iii. 627. To the best of our belief Lord Mahon was the first to settle this point decisively. The entire letter is printed in the appendix to his lordship's second edition of his history.

We think this, on the whole, the best line of defence which could be taken by an advocate of Marlborough, unless it be permissible, as in American courts, to plead guilty to the charge, and then claim a verdict of acquittal on other distinct grounds. Where everybody is a traitor, treason may perhaps cease, locally, to be a crime. *Quis tumidum guttur miretur in Alpibus?* Perhaps Marlborough did not much more than any of his friends had done, or were ready to do. And it is quite certain that it never seems to have been considered that by any of these acts he had sullied his fame as an honourable gentleman. When Swift charged him with clumsiness and cowardice, and hints at a *conspiracy to murder*¹, it may be inferred that he was omitting nothing likely to tell against the object of his attack, yet he says nothing about his treachery or desertion. These are amongst the frightful evils of a disputed succession. The old dynasty has lost its hold, and the new one has not gained it. There can never be wanting arguments for the support of one, or for the restoration of the other. Even the most solemn settlement of the crown is insufficient till years have thrown prescription round the new possessors. What Parliament has done, Parliament may undo. Allegiance to a sovereign, when once shaken, is not recoverable or transferable in a moment. Like Curio's troops, people think there is right on neither side, or on both sides.

Infidusque novis ducibus, dubiusque priori,
Fas utrumque putat.

It took sixty years to settle the Act of Settlement.

It is a fact very characteristic of Coxe's temper, that he should have unshrinkingly attributed all Marlborough's treachery to the influence of religion. He says that his desertion of James was dictated by his dread of popery, and his infidelity to William by his apprehensions of dissenters. And this assertion he commits to print in the same volume, and almost in the same sheet, in which he admits that the duke sent secret intelligence to the popish Louis of the Brest expedition; a proceeding which he excuses by saying that it was meant to be too late to be of service. Few writers, after reciting Marlborough's actions, would care to argue much about his piety. Yet it is impossible to read his letters without noticing the religious tone which he often assumes. We are here speaking of his most private correspondence, of his epistles to Godolphin and the duchess. Unfortunately his tone of

¹ Swift was fond of employing this little inuendo against any person whom he disliked. He charged the Duchess of Somerset with having poisoned her first husband. Finding the lady passive under the calumny, he changed his attack, and accused her of having red hair, which threw her into the most violent fury.

honesty and disinterestedness are quite as remarkable. And certainly whatever might have been his pretensions to religious feelings, he had not much reputation for religious knowledge. Once, during some ministerial troubles, when he was meditating an immediate return to England to try the effect of his presence, Godolphin wrote to him in camp, "If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded though one rose from the dead:" "*ask Dr. Hare,*" adds the Treasurer, "*to explain this quotation to you.*"

The great duke did not altogether escape retribution. He was robbed of his victories by a secretary and a waiting woman. He was punished, not by those whom he had injured, but by those whom he had served.

Si ego dignus hac contumelia
Sum maxime, at tu indigna quæ faceres tamen.

He had certainly served Anne faithfully up to the time of his disgrace, yet she repaid him with insult and dismissal. He had undoubtedly served the nation at Douay and Bouchain, yet they refused him a vote of thanks, and impeached him for theft. He had earned the house which the people promised him, yet they refused him money to complete it. He had saved the empire from ruin, yet the emperor denied him the command of the Netherlands which had been promised him, and took away the principality of Mindelheim which had been given him. And the incessant attacks and aspersions of his enemies succeeded in making him an object of very general dislike towards the end of the war. But this was only in his absence. No sooner did he shew himself to the people, than the recollection of his renown and his victories overpowered all other considerations, and the cavalcade was formed, and the mob harnessed to his coach in a moment. He was never hooted through Piccadilly, nor were the windows of Marlborough House ever cased in iron.

He well deserved these manifestations of feeling. What he did for the name and honour of England was prodigious. Since the days of Cromwell the military fame of Britain had fallen almost to nothing, notwithstanding the luckless pertinacity of William. The French troops and French generals were considered invincible, and Vendôme and Villars were indeed by no means unworthy successors of Turenne and Condé. Marlborough changed the face of all things. He restored to the people that conviction of national superiority which proverbs had taught them. "We now begin to think," writes Hill from Turin, "that French and English are indeed what they used to be, and that the times of Henry V. are come again." "It is plain," writes Shrewsbury

from Rome, "that our troops fought as if they would once again conquer France." Marlborough was to the Italians what old Talbot had been to the French. Mothers frightened their children with his name. At Rome they drew him like a Saracen, with an enormous flat face and two saucer-eyes. The French were confounded at his enterprise and fortune. When Marlborough was in camp, the best French generals with a superior army thought of nothing but keeping their lines, and were glad if they could do so. The orders from Louis to Marsin and Villeroy were like those of Napoleon to Villeneuve and Ganteaume. They were not to win a battle, but to avoid one. *Fallere et effugere erat triumphus*. Like Wellington in the Peninsula, Marlborough beat all these famous marshals in turn: Tallard and Marsin at Blenheim; Villeroy and Marsin at Ramilies; Vendôme at Oudenarde; Boufflers at Lisle; Villars at Malplaquet and on the Scheldt. And the times of these two great conquerors were equally critical. It was not in effect a mere question of the Dutch Barrier, or the Spanish Succession. The designs of Louis, if successful, would have changed the face of Europe. The event forms one of the great epochs of modern history. It transferred to Great Britain from France that supremacy which France sixty years previous had taken from Austria. And all this was done by one Englishman. Marlborough had no Nelson. Rooke was a sensible, honest seaman; but Malaga was not Trafalgar.

At the head of this article we promised a notice of another publication of Mr. Murray's. Hill's Correspondence is of greater historical value than the Marlborough Despatches. The Right Honourable and Reverend Richard Hill was a man of no ordinary enterprise and animation. Born, in 1654, of respectable parents, in the township of Hawkstone, Salop, he was forwarded to Shrewsbury School for his grammatical education; and in due time transferred to St. John's College, Cambridge, where he obtained a fellowship and deacon's orders. So far his career is anything but singular; but no Mr. Kennedy as yet has followed him in his subsequent course. With equal discrimination and more success than Mr. John Horne Tooke, he pondered on the drawbacks of his sober profession, and remembered that great gain is not exclusively confined to godliness. Dropping silently his ecclesiastical gown he entered a government office, and the Reverend Richard Hill became an active financier. The qualifications required in the commissariat of 1693 were wonderfully developed in the new assistant-deputy, and he soon appeared as pay-master of the forces to King William, and one

of the lords of the treasury. A painting at Hawkstone represents him in personal attendance on this monarch at the siege of Namur, and informs us that his figure was small, and his complexion dark, with that acuteness of expression usually discoverable in experienced officers of the civil power. He is said to have lived and died a Tory, though he always supported the war which his party opposed, and his admiration for King William—which Mr. Hallam thinks the best criterion of Whigism—was remarkably high. He seems, however, to have kept the good word of all parties. His peculiar ability in raising money, which secured him the respect of the government, was occasionally, as was very natural, exerted for himself, and large sums were forwarded to Hawkstone, to be there invested in Shropshire acres. County traditions tell of the mingled pleasure and bewilderment of the old father as these sparkling remittances successively reached him, and of his half-muttered wish, that ‘Dick may have come honestly’ by such a heap of treasure. The diplomatic talents of the commissary were next in requisition, and he was flattered by being set to catch the slippery lord of Turin. At length, after serving in the treasury and the admiralty, and as envoy at nearly all the courts of Italy, he returned to his country and to his habit, took priest’s orders, became F.R.S., was made LL.D., and got a fellowship at Eton, in which capacity he died, at the age of 73.

He was rather desirous of some high Church preferment, and Lord Dartmouth observes, incidentally, that King William had promised him the reversion of Winchester². Afterwards, when he had retired from court, his inclinations were fixed upon Ely, and he declined a smaller bishopric which the queen pressed on his acceptance. He died in the possession of very great wealth; indeed “too great,” as Speaker Onslow says, though he adds, that he had never heard any reproaches as to the manner in which it was acquired.

The year before his death, with a modest foresight, he wrote his own epitaph, in Latin and English, concluding the latter version with the following distich:—

I lived and served the Lord’s anointed,
As ’twas to me by God appointed.

Perhaps the reader may not quite share in the satisfaction of the Reverend Richard Hill at this review of his clerical career, on

² “But the Bishop (Burnet) was very much out of humour at this time (1698), having found out that the king had promised Mr. Hill of the treasury the reversion of Winchester, which he had set his heart upon,” D. on Burnet, iv. 376. Oxf. ed.

which point, however, we will not at present speak any further. The riches and renown of the commissary being divided between the sons of a brother and a sister, served either to found or re-found the two houses of Hawkstone and Attingham; yet few but traditional records of his exploits were known to exist before the discovery and publication of these volumes. The sagacious importunities of Mr. Blackley in his researches after such documents were at length successful, and at Attingham were found all Mr. Hill's letters and correspondence during the most important of his missions, viz., that to the court of Turin at the commencement of Queen Anne's reign. They are given to the public in the volumes before us. Mr. Blackley has snatched time from his duties as domestic chaplain, to correct the press-work of nearly a thousand pages of letters and accounts, with a felicity of observation and accuracy of arithmetic but seldom witnessed. The public are much indebted to his unobtrusive industry.

The kingdom of Sardinia is an agglomeration of successive deposits by the stream of European diplomacy, and has been several ages in forming. No enterprising English writer has yet given us a description of this remarkable specimen of territorial geology. Yet its rulers were not long ago considered as holding a reversionary interest in the throne of Great Britain. The images of swart Savoyards used to haunt the slumbers of George III. "If I break my coronation oath," said he to his ministers, "this kingdom will go to the house of Savoy!" It is indeed surprising that all the kingdoms in the world did not go there. If the hero of whom we shall speak presently had got all he asked for, Turin would have been a kind of imperial Delphi, an umbilical metropolis of the empire of Europe. The pedigree and principles of this royal house are alike the most ancient and inviolate in the civilized hemisphere. Dynasties of ordinary antiquity and acquisitiveness sink into insignificance compared with this. Through all the changes and chances of European revolutions has the sovereignty of Savoy remained in one single regnant house, and so strict and formal has been the succession, that up to the end of the last century, no prince had ever sate on this throne whose father had not also filled it before him. From the times of Beroaldus to the times of Charles Albert, the sole intruders have been Joseph Napoleon and Joachim Murat, who dispossessed the rightful lord but for ten short years. The nearest approach to such a transmission of the crown is made by the emperors of Turkey, but the first Othman dates only from the fourteenth century, whereas the source of the race of Savoy is as undiscoverable as the source of the Niger. About the days of Canute, from a long line of uncleanly chieftains, there at length emerged

into mentionable excellence, as Count of Maurienne, Humbert the White-handed. The distinction implied in this remarkable surname has unfortunately outlived his other claims to honour, which were unquestionably great; but he shewed the peculiar bent of his family by getting an extra title and a little more land. He was crowned count of Savoy, though the style was not taken by his descendants till the beginning of the twelfth century. His son, the first Amadeus, surnamed Long-tail, transmitted the sceptre through a straight line of Amédées and Humberts to Thomas, remarkable as being the only sovereign of that name in the annals of universal history. He came to the throne in 1188, with the additional titles of Piedmont, Aosta, Suse, and Italie, which his intervening ancestors had industriously accumulated. This prince having fifteen children, whereas the average number of infants of Savoy, throughout the middle ages, is barely eight, was constrained to send some far afield; and his eleventh child, Boniface, was accordingly despatched to us as Archbishop of Canterbury. So well did he thrive that in 1266 his elder brother Peter, then count regnant, came also to England. Henry III. welcomed him with the utmost distinction, gave him lordships, built him a house, knighted him, and made him prime minister. In short, says one of the court historiographers of Turin, he acquired such credit and authority in Britain that he was forced at length to retire to his own country, lest the English should turn him out. His titles of Richmond and Essex were unhappily not transferable, but he threw his mite into the ancestral treasury by obtaining with his wife the lordship of Faucigny. Amongst the numerous Amédées who followed him, was one so fortunate as to obtain, in 1290, the name of *Le Grand*. He is said to have conducted thirty-two sieges, and not one unjust war. Amongst other merits claimed for this prince by his biographer, is the somewhat equivocal credit of having kept the conscience of Philippe-le-Bel of France. When the Hospitallers were on the point of losing their new settlement of Rhodes before they had well got it, Amé the Great threw himself, with a reinforcement, into the island, and disappointed the Moslems. In perpetual memory of this exploit he dropped the old eagle of Savoy from his shield, and assumed in its stead *gules* a cross *argent*, the present bearing of his house³. To this pretty blazonry he added

³ The quarterings of the house of Savoy, as might be expected, are interminable. Generally however, at present, the shield is divided between Jerusalem, Geneva, Aosta, and Piedmont, in the order given. Over these is an inescutcheon, or an eagle displayed *sable*, which is for old Maurienne, the eagle being charged on the breast with the coat of Savoy. A second inescutcheon on the honour point, *argent*, a cross *gules*, cantoned with four Saracen's heads *proper*, is for Sardinia. It may be observed

the less artificial legend of four text letters, F. E. R. T., to signify *Fortitudo ejus Rhodum tenuit*; though the lords of Malta were ungrateful enough in later times to deny both the achievement and the interpretation. The next prince of note in this illustrious pedigree is Amadeus the Green. Lest the reader should too hastily draw from this distinctive epithet any inference discreditable to the acuteness and experience of its noble owner, or conclude that he had degenerated from the practical wisdom of his forefathers, a history of his surname is subjoined below⁴. Amongst the additional titles of the house appears, for the first time, under this sovereign, the lordship of Verrue, of which Mr. Hill will presently tell us further. The green count was also the founder of the order of the collar, which, under the name of the Annunciation, has since rivalled in renown the most honourable and noble order of the garter. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Amadeus the Red, so called *de l'inclination qu'il avait pour le vermeil*. The court journalist sketches in a few words the characteristic reign of this Savoyard Rufus, who was cut off by a fall from his horse in the prime of his acquisitions. *Il ne régna que huit ans, et cependant il accrut considérablement sa souveraineté*. After these fancy-coloured sovereigns came Amadeus the Pacific, surnamed Solomon, who shewed that peace, in proper hands, could be made as productive as war. In 1416, he succeeded in getting the counties of Savoy and Piedmont erected into sovereign duchies. His diplomatic victories increased the titles and territories of his house by five or six several lordships, and he varied a reign of sixty years by acting from 1439 to 1449 as anti-pope, under the name of Felix V. The pope left nine children, of whom the second son, Louis, followed him on the throne. This magnificent prince got more territories, more titles, and more children than even any count of Savoy. Sixteen sons and daugh-

that the dukes of Savoy were not allowed the royal title for Cyprus and Jerusalem, and this style is omitted altogether in the treaties of Anne and Victor. Louis charmed Victor in 1696 by allowing him the distinctions due to crowned heads.

⁴ In 1348 Amé ordered a grand tournament at Chambéry. At this festival he appeared in the lists clad in a complete suit of green armour, and though barely thirteen years of age distinguished himself most highly. To commemorate his precocious fortitude the name of *le Comte Vert* was given him. The events of this remarkable day were still further perpetuated by a royal order, which directed that the arms and devices of the most renowned combatants should be painted on the walls of the Franciscan Church in Chambéry. And there the paintings actually remained for some centuries, till the Cordeliers, in the spirit of Protestant churchwardens, white-washed their church. Guichenon has preserved the names of eighteen of these knights. While speaking of surnames we may revert to that of *Longtail*, which it will be remembered the first Amadeus took. It arose from the circumstance of his declining to enter into the imperial presence without his usual train of followers, a proof that Fergus Mac Ivor was not the only gentleman who disliked to meet strangers "without his tail on."

ters did he see well provided for. Ventimille, Verceil, Nice and Geneva, Achaia and the Morea belonged now to the court of Turin; and after them there fell rapidly to the same lot the kingdoms of Cyprus, Jerusalem, and Armenia; and the principality of Antioch. It had been remarked with complacent satisfaction, that though the sovereigns of this royal house had been unfettered by entails or inhibitions, and though any prodigal son might have dissipated with absolute freedom the accumulations of his ancestors, irresponsibly and without question, yet that the instinctive principles of the family had averted through five centuries any such grievous disgrace. But Louis sagaciously concluded that the disposition of man is uncertain, and that the virtues of always taking and never giving might not be indefinitely settled even upon the children of Savoy. Accordingly, he published an edict, by which the domains of this crown were declared to be for ever inalienable. Through all the troubles of Luther's times, against Francis I. and Charles V. and through all the hazards of the thirty years' war, did the Philiberts and Emanuels of Savoy preserve the inheritance and succession of the Humberts and Amédées, up to the peace of Westphalia, within a few years of which event was born Victor-Amédée the Second, the host of Mr. Hill, the ornament of Mr. Murray's volumes, and the hero in whose honour the above pedigree has been sketched.

Victor-Amédée II. ascended the throne of his ancestors in 1675, at the age of ten years. The care of the young prince and his dominions was committed to his mother, who discharged her trust with a sagacity which under similar circumstances had often before characterized the Dowagers of Savoy. The duke arrived at years of discretion in just about time enough to take part in the war of the first alliance against Louis XIV. For some time his caution kept him undecided. At length, in 1690, he declared for the Allies, and was immediately attacked by Catinat, who at the first intelligence of his decision marched eighteen thousand French into his country, beat him in a pitched battle, and overran half his territory. But Victor was not dismayed: though he had small objections to change in the abstract, yet he was not to be swayed by a little bribe or a little misfortune, as the reader will see clearly enough presently. In the summer of 1692, he penetrated at the head of the allied forces into Dauphiné, and ravaged the country almost to the gates of Lyons. There was no manifest obstacle to his further progress, but no further progress was made. Victor used to invert the old maxim, and always treated an enemy as if he might one day be his friend. He was opportunely seized with the small-pox, and

evacuated the French territory in September. The next year, Catinat made such demonstrations in Piedmont that Victor marched to the plain of Marsaglia to cover his capital, and engaged the enemy. After fighting desperately he was entirely routed, but he still held fast to the allies. Casal was then one of the strongest fortresses in Europe. It had been seized by the French, and abundantly stored and garrisoned. Victor sate down before it with a wretched army. The allies thought him mad. But the duke was perfectly sensible, and in fourteen days the place capitulated. After this exploit he was again driven from the field by sickness. This time he had the ague.

In the next year he went on a pilgrimage to Loretto. By way of transacting a little business at the same time he met there an envoy of Louis. The French king now knew his game better, and he and the duke soon came to terms. Independently of other advantages, Victor married his eldest daughter satisfactorily to the Duke of Burgundy. In return, he walked over from the allied forces to the French, and actually served as commander-in-chief to two hostile armies in one and the same campaign. The confederates were somewhat startled at this inversion of circumstances, but appear thoroughly to have understood their man. Knowing his anxiety to settle his family well, the emperor offered him *his* eldest son, but it was now too late. Victor probably had his own ideas of honour, and declined to break with Louis at so very short a date. In one little circumstance of this transaction he was less adroit. He had avoided mentioning openly his change of sentiment, till the next instalment due from England should have come to hand, but his secret got abroad a few days too soon, and payment was stopped at Genoa.

When the war of the grand alliance had fairly commenced, Victor-Amé became an object of importance to each party. At its beginning he was still the ally of France, and as far as family connections went, he was certainly drawn towards France and Spain. But the allies were well aware that he was a purchasable confederate, and they lost no time in asking his price. The transaction was a delicate one. Louis was watching his friend like a drunken voter at an Ipswich election, and Vendôme was close by with French troops enough to be disagreeable. At length the little fat Count D'Aversberg was despatched with full powers from Vienna. On the 12th of July 1703, he arrived within a mile or two of Turin, and secreted himself in a country house of the Marquis de St. Prié, where Victor, under pretence of hunting, contrived occasionally to meet him. At this period, England also interfered to assist the negotiation, and Mr. Richard Hill was accredited as Envoy Extraordinary from Queen

Anne to the Duke of Savoy. His credentials bear date July 26th. On receiving them he left England, and arrived at the Hague on the 20th of August, but here the course of events detained him for three or four months. The truth was, that the game at Turin was a difficult one even for so good a player as Victor-Amé. That he wished to close with the allies was pretty clear, but it was likely that if his sentiments were known, he would be crushed immediately by Vendôme, before Eugene or Stahremberg could get near enough to help him. The period was very critical to the allies, and Marlborough's letters during this time show how anxiously the result was looked for. Meantime, as the apparition of an English envoy at Turin would precipitate all things to a crisis, Hill remained at the Hague, receiving constant intelligence from Stepney, our minister at Vienna, as to the course things were taking. He was instructed to employ this interval in settling with the states-general their quotas of ships and money to be supplied both to Savoy in the event of D'Aversberg's success, and to Portugal, which had just acceded to the alliance. His letters from the Hague at this period, give us some very serviceable information as to the condition and disposition of the Dutch. It had been one of the main objections of the Tories, that the allies of England did not perform their promises or furnish their stipulated assistance in men or money. And the fact was undeniable. But Marlborough had always replied to these insinuations, that the allies were positively unable to act up to the letter of their engagements, and that the consequence of any rigid exaction of such dues on the part of Great Britain, must be the rupture of the grand alliance, and the disgraceful termination of the war. This fact, as far as concerns the Dutch, Hill's letters confirm. They were doing not what they ought, but what they could. *Ultra posse non est obligatio.*

Meantime a little diversion was afforded by the arrival of the anti-king of Spain, Charles of Austria, who was to be shipped off from the Hague to Lisbon, whither old Admiral Rooke was waiting at the Brill to convey him. The letters from Rooke to Hill on this and other matters are far from being the least interesting in the volume. Charles and his Germans were desperately afraid of meeting French ships on their passage, as well as of the waves of the Bay of Biscay. At length they managed to get the royal retinue on board. The king's "family," four hundred and fifty in number, were distributed as well as might be over the squadron, his baggage was on board his own ship, except "about forty old coaches," which were embarked on a tender. "One great man" was terribly disconcerted at hearing

there was to be gunpowder aboard the royal yacht. However, notwithstanding these and other hazards they got safe to Portugal, where their adventures became matter of Spanish history.

After some months of intriguing, a decisive step on the part of Louis brought matters to an issue at Turin. On the 29th of September, Vendôme seized and disarmed some troops of Savoy, and Victor-Amé could of course hesitate no longer to change his alliance. He concluded a treaty with D'Aversberg, and despatched him with it to Vienna for ratification. Its terms were of course those which the House of Savoy had been in the habit of securing, but they were rather too high for the emperor. He modified the treaty, and in this shape returned it to Victor, who was not inclined to abate his demands. His highness, however, was in rather a perilous situation at this moment. He had broken with Louis, and had not joined with the allies. He was exposed to the whole weight of the French arms, and had nothing but four thousand men and his own spirit to oppose to them. But with the latter article he was abundantly well provided.

It was at this period that Hill was despatched, with renewed instructions, from the Hague. He arrived at Turin on the 24th of January, 1704, where he found that the Duke was with his troops, and not expected back for a day or two. He lost no time in seeing his royal highness as soon as he returned, and the two negotiators were soon on a friendly footing. The state of things was now not a little curious. Victor-Amé, though not a member of the grand alliance, was acting at least as heartily as any of them in its cause. He was recruiting his troops, strengthening his forts, protecting his frontier, and preparing for Vendôme. On the other hand, Hill, though no kind of treaty subsisted between Savoy and England, was paying in hard money to the duke upwards of fifty thousand crowns a month. The main object of course with Hill on behalf of the allies was to mediate between Victor-Amé and the emperor, and bring their pending negotiation to a conclusion. To this end Marlborough too lent his powerful aid, both directly and through Prince Eugene. As soon as this was settled, the British envoy was to reduce the arrangements between the duke and himself to the form of a particular treaty between Great Britain and Savoy⁵.

But all this was no easy matter, and six months passed with

⁵ It will be seen from the remarks above, how inaccurate Coxe is in stating that "the following day (Oct. 4, 1703) he (Victor) rejected the offers made to him through the channel of the French commander, acceded to the grand alliance, and concluded subsidiary treaties with the maritime powers." (Marl. i. 213.)

affairs still in this strange condition. Meantime, too, the French were upon them, and Vendôme beginning in right earnest. The intention of the enemy seemed to be to take Verceil, Ivrea, and Verrue, by which all communication with Switzerland would be intercepted, and by seizing Nice to cut off the Savoyards from the sea; so that Victor-Amé would be besieged not in his capital but in his country. It was generally thought at this time, that for once in the world a Duke of Savoy was getting a hard bargain, and that the emperor should have haggled less about fiefs and investitures, while Victor was staking himself and his territory in the cause of the empire, for Blenheim had not yet been fought. At length, in July, the treaty did come back from Vienna in a shape which the duke approved, and in the beginning of August a particular treaty was signed between Savoy and England. By the first article of this treaty, Victor-Amé formally enters into the grand alliance. By the second, England guarantees the treaty just signed between him and the emperor, and by the third (which must surely have been the particular suggestion of Victor-Amé) she expressly and especially repeats the said guarantee for all *cessions* made by the emperor to the duke, cessions comprising some ten or twelve several towns, territories, and titles. In the remaining articles she promises to do her best to obtain a few more districts for Victor at a general peace, and above all things to secure his reversionary claim to the kingdom of Spain. Of a secret article in this treaty we shall speak below.

These were not altogether bad terms—but Victor had something to do for them, and he fairly did it. Vendôme had put his plans into execution. Verceil had fallen, rather ingloriously, in July. Ivrea made a better defence, but surrendered on the 29th of September. Verrue was now invested, and promised to make a steady stand. Victor-Amé betook himself to the camp and fought like a Trojan. It was not a place of any great renown for strength. Hill describes it as very like Eton, Verrue being Windsor Castle, and Crescentin Eton, and the two connected by a bridge across the Po, over which they communicated with the garrison. Vendôme had twelve thousand men besides reserves; Victor not half the number, including his German aids. Hill writes on the 24th of December, that they hoped to hold out for fifteen days, but things turned out far better than that. The next day Victor ordered a sally; drove the enemy from their trenches, levelled their approaches, spiked their guns, killed upwards of four hundred of them, and took a lieutenant-general and eight officers prisoners. Vendôme wore out all his artillery, guns and gunners, and got a new stock from France. He threw

100,000 shot and upwards of 20,000 shells into this wretched place, but nothing could shake the tenacious hold of Victor-Amé. Through all the snow and mud and frost of the winter, he clung with his teeth to this battered heap of rubbish. After the bridge was broken down, they communicated with the castle by means of mortars, and, as an especial piece of luxury, sent the governor a clean shirt tied to a shell. At length, on the 9th of April, the garrison surrendered as prisoners of war, after a resistance which would be more famous if it had not been eclipsed by the celebrated siege of Turin in the year following.

Victor now retired to Chivas, intending to keep Vendôme there as long as he could, and then fall back upon Turin. His energy in all this work was surprising. "For three nights," says Hill, "his royal highness has had no better bed than his cloak and a fascine." Yet it is certain that throughout all this time he was in private communication with Louis. It is true, that his feelings of honour, and perhaps his excellent bargain, kept him fast this time to the allies, and probably he was only amusing his enemies to help his friends, but the inactivity of the French at most critical periods naturally wore a very mysterious aspect. And when Verrue had fallen, Victor-Amé began to look very serious, and talk about his "wife and children," expressions which Mr. Hill justly considers of a most suspicious character. In fact the duke had been hardly treated. He was notoriously unable to cope with the French single-handed, and yet he had been left alone and unsupported for nearly twelve months, notwithstanding the emperor had expressly stipulated to send him reinforcements. Shrewsbury writes from Rome, "I am most confident that the Emperor prays very fervently for him (the duke), and gives him a noble occasion of showing the utmost of his virtue and constancy. If these can support him till the Prince of Baden has made an end of the war in Bavaria, he will give a notable proof of his steadiness and faithfulness to his friends." He was beguiled from week to week with assurances of Eugene's instant arrival, but not a man had ever appeared after Count Stahremberg's handful of Germans. He was kept afloat entirely by his own courage, by Godolphin's crowns, and by Marlborough's credit. There can be no doubt whatever but that Blenheim saved not only Vienna but Turin. Still it was a hard case for Victor-Amé. He had really fought Vendôme most manfully. He had been tempted into the grand alliance, and then left to take care of himself. He had lost three-fourths of his entire army. The French had taken possession of nearly all his dominions, and were now within three miles of his capital. And of what use were all his bonds and securities if he and Turin were

taken together? He certainly earned his reward fairly this time, as well by his indomitable spirit as by his steady resistance to temptation. So sagacious a prince as himself could now probably see pretty clearly that the chances of ultimate success were in favour of the allies, and if he could but hold out long enough, his sufferings would only warrant him in demanding proportionate compensation. The proceedings of both Victor and Louis were wonderfully characteristic. Neither party wished to go too far. As soon as any fortress fell, the French commanders rested on their arms to see what effect the loss might have upon the duke. After taking Verceil, Vendôme halted for twenty days. After Chivas had fallen and the duke been driven into Turin, La Feuillade kept at a very respectful distance from the walls, and sent a trumpet to Victor to ask for some balls and rackets, —a remarkably polite specimen of war, as Hill observes. On the other hand, Victor-Amé was exceedingly reluctant to forward the favourite expedition of the British against Toulon, notwithstanding all the most urgent representations of the envoy. "I have never," he writes April 13, 1704, "had Toulon out of my thoughts since I crossed the Alps. I think I could be content to lie seven years in purgatory to see it in flames; but I could never yet perceive his royal highness sincerely inclined to look that way. In plain English, I fear he will not put himself out of a state of grace, nor commit such a sin as will never be forgiven to him." It is evident that Mr. Hill perfectly understood his man.

At length, in the beginning of October, 1705, the French, who had spent infinite labour in constructing works and approaches against Turin, suddenly broke up their camp and marched off, to the great bewilderment of every body. It was generally believed that this must have been the result of some private negotiation, but such conjecture seems never to have been confirmed. Victor-Amé, like a good soldier, made the best possible use of his breathing time; he destroyed the enemies' works, strengthened his own, recruited his troops, recovered the abandoned posts, and put himself in the best plight he could for the campaign of the ensuing year. And now the Right Hon. Richard Hill, being able to quit his post with honour, and wishing to retire, obtained his discharge, and left Turin in December. His letters therefore from Savoy reach over the two years of 1704 and 1705.

We observed that these letters were more historically important than the Marlborough Despatches, and several circumstances tend to give them this superiority. They are written with far less ceremony and reserve, and convey a great deal more explicit

information. It is seldom that official correspondence is couched in such a lively style as this, or that it contains such free remarks on men and things. We do occasionally meet with such a letter in the Marlborough Despatches, but it forms an exception to the rule. Mr. Hill was told in his formal instructions, that there would be expected of him a perfect and ample narrative of all that should happen at the court of Turin during his ministry, with a particular account of the abilities and affections of the ministers, their dispositions to war or peace, their inclinations to foreign princes or states, together with all such observations as he should have been able to make, which might contribute information on the state of that government. This clause in the instructions was probably matter of form, but Hill observed it most faithfully⁶. And the intelligence he thus conveys is especially valuable, because we cannot find it elsewhere. His pages are not only authentic, but they are our sole published authority for much that they contain. This is not the case with the Marlborough Despatches; they confirm our old impressions, but they give us few new ones. Now with regard to Victor-Amé we certainly did not know, till the publication of Hill's correspondence, the full particulars of his accession to the grand alliance, of our treaty with him, or of the state of Savoy at that critical period. What the Shrewsbury correspondence does for the years 1695-6, these volumes do for 1704-5. Indeed, so far as we are aware, there is little or nothing of the history of Savoy extant in our own language, except what may be incidentally gathered from historians while treating of other countries, nor is the literature of the continent, or of the country itself, much richer on this point.

The early historical writers of Savoy were chroniclers, like those of most other countries. But they almost all took a peculiar line, and paid far more attention to the state of the royal family, than to the state of the nation. The writer who earned the greatest distinction, and who is indeed the standard historian of Savoy even at the present day, is Guichenon. But his work, like the others, is almost strictly genealogical, and in fact its title, *Histoire Généalogique*, declares its character at the outset. Of its kind it

⁶ He had previously been sent to Turin on a complimentary mission by William in August, 1699. On his return he wrote to some one of the ministry at home with a very clear and amusing sketch of all he had seen and heard, including a pretty portrait of Victor Amé. This document is without date, address, or signature, and is probably imperfect. It was found amongst Mr. Hill's papers by the editor, and very properly inserted in the appendix. We may here mention that this appendix also includes some letters of the Duke of Shrewsbury to Hill from Rome, which were not printed in the Shrewsbury correspondence. They put one point beyond all question—that the duke had no leaning to the creed of his ancestors.

may be called a noble work. The personal histories of all the rulers of Savoy from Beroaldus downwards, their descents and alliances, their issue and sepulture, their seals, arms, and coins, are registered with the utmost minuteness of detail. It was written in the middle of the 17th century, and dedicated to *Madame Royale*, as the Duchess-dowager of Savoy used to be called, and who in this case was Christine the grandmother of Victor-Amé. In 1778, the good people of Turin could do no better than reprint this work. In 1816, the Marquis de Beau-regard Costa, quarter-master-general of the army, attempted the first approximation to a history of the country. He had access to good materials in the national archives, and did his work pretty well, especially in the modern portion of it. To the best of our information this is the only history of Savoy itself. A history of its princes was published some ten years back by Datta, which we have never seen, but from its title we presume it reverts to the old genealogical style. A more important work has just recently appeared—*Histoire des Traités de la Maison Royale de la Savoie avec les Puissances Etrangères*, extending from the peace of Cambray to the present time—and a more ingenious way of writing the history of this kingdom could hardly have been devised. The motto in its title-page is singularly pertinent—*multis melior pax una triumphis*. As far as we are aware, these are the only direct authorities that can be consulted by an inquisitive reader.

This is more remarkable, because, independently of other striking features in the history of this state, it did really act, at certain periods of the middle ages, with considerable influence in the affairs of the continent, and furnished wives and husbands from its prolific palace, to almost all the ruling houses of Europe. Victor-Amadeus II. is a fine specimen of the race. As our limits are narrow, and as we are not bound to follow him beyond Mr. Hill's letters, we need not enlarge upon the events of 1706. The common histories of England will tell most of this story. When Louis found that he could make nothing by negotiations, La Feuillade had orders to press the siege of Turin in right earnest, and Vendôme covered him with a powerful army. Poor Victor-Amé was driven into the recesses of the Alps for shelter, and his game seemed all over. At this crisis Marlborough's management furnished Eugene with reinforcements, who lost not a moment in employing them. Fortunately Vendôme was recalled to the Netherlands, and the command left with Marsin. By the most skilful manœuvres Eugene effected a junction with Victor, who came out of his hiding-place to meet him, and both falling on the French the next day, forced the lines of circum-

vallation, cut the enemy to pieces, and relieved Turin just as the garrison had got to their last charge of powder. It is said that the Basilica on the heights of Superga, just outside the city, was built in pursuance of a vow made by Victor just before this battle.

No question but the hereditary propensities of Victor-Amé received considerable stimulus from the peculiar circumstances of his times. Almost in his own days Bavaria had risen to an electorate, and under his very eyes the rulers of Prussia and Hanover had secured regal crowns. Thrones changed hands at this period almost as generally as they did a century after, and when kingdoms were in circulation, it would be strange if a Duke of Savoy did not lay hold of one. Victor took a wider range than his ancestors. He did not content himself with towns and lordships. When the act of settlement was under consideration, Victor-Amé sent a civil message to the House of Commons, and asked for the kingdom of Great Britain⁷. When the Spanish succession was disputed, he asked for the kingdom of Spain. His actual acquisitions were these. In 1708, he got the whole duchy of Mantua. In 1713, he got the reversion to the crown of Spain, and the kingdom of Sicily, with the rank and consideration due to a crowned head. In the article of children he fell off a little, leaving only six.

There are some fine traits in this family of Savoy. The single-mindedness with which they pursued their hereditary game is very pleasing. And they never preyed upon each other. In times when the annals of other royal houses present a series of murders and usurpations, Turin is as quiet as Italy under Saturn. No sons conspire against their father, no brothers put each other's eyes out; step-mothers meddle not with wolf's-bane, nor do even uncles break their good faith. An occasional difference about a regency is the nearest approach to a dispute. Unenvied and unopposed the helpless heir ascends the throne of his father, while some parental regent continues the manufacture of advantageous treaties during the minority of his prince. *Hic est ergo cibus magni quoque vulturis*. In the statement of this quiet succession is of course implied the decent conduct of prince to people. They had no massacres, no League, no Fronde. They had no Henry IV., no wars of the Roses, no Henry VII. or Richard III. Nor can their gains be represented as ill-gotten. The practice of the house was occasionally sharp, but it was in the way of busi-

⁷ Victor's hand was originally destined for the Infanta of Portugal, the heir-apparent to that crown, but the marriage never took place. He afterwards espoused the grand-daughter of Charles I., on which nuptials he grounded his claim. Hill describes this lady in 1699 as "a very virtuous, good princess, made up of complaisance for the duke her husband, and of good nature and indulgence for the rest of the world."

ness. They drove a good bargain, and made the best of every thing, but they did not murder, nor cheat, nor rob. Few successful statesmen have died with less dirty palms than the descendants of Humbert the White-handed.

Let us be pardoned for anticipating by a few years the period of our narrative, and committing to paper an isolated fact. On the second of August, 1718, was signed in London the Quadruple Alliance between Great Britain, the emperor, France, and the Dutch. There is nothing unusually remarkable about the preliminaries, discussions, or signature of this treaty. It was not productive of any very momentous train of consequences. It was not the result of any very desperate struggle. But in the eyes of diplomatists and historians it is an epoch and a resting-place—a book-mark in the pages of Du Mont and Schoell. It is the only treaty by which the house of Savoy gets *nothing*.

The contracting parties at first were France, Great Britain, and the emperor. The states-general afterwards acceding, gave the name to the treaty. Victor-Amé made a virtue of necessity and acceded too, sorely against his principles and his will. By this act he yielded Sicily to the emperor, and received in return the poor compensation of Sardinia; a title and possession which his descendants still enjoy. The bargain was scarcely bettered by a renewed acknowledgment of his reversionary interest in Spain. Yet let not the reader condemn his conduct as a dereliction of hereditary duty, or excuse it as one of those errors to which humanity is liable. It is no case of *aliquando bonus dormitat*. Victor-Amadeus was wide awake the whole time, and did the very best he could. He resigned nothing that he could possibly keep, and clogged his resignations with all the conditions he could possibly obtain.

Though we are rapidly approaching our limits, yet we cannot close this article without some notice of a subject which will have a peculiar interest for the readers of this review. In speaking, a few pages back, of the treaty concluded by Mr. Hill between Great Britain and Savoy, we reserved a certain secret article of it for separate remark. This concerned the Vaudois and their religion. In the year 1686, Victor-Amé, at the instance, as he recites in subsequent treaties, of certain foreign powers, had issued persecuting edicts against these poor Protestants. In 1690, at the congress of the Hague, when he had joined the first alliance against Louis XIV., he revoked these edicts in compliment to Great Britain and the States. In 1694, while still a member of the confederacy, and shortly after his defeat by the French, he confirmed this revocation, and re-established the Vaudois in the full enjoyment of their privileges. In 1696, how-

ever, it will be remembered that he crossed over to the French, and then his disposition towards these unfortunate inhabitants of the valleys seems to have undergone a corresponding change. Considering all the circumstances, indeed, it is probable that he was never very well inclined towards them, and that the concessions extorted from him in their favour from time to time failed to produce their due effect. But the reconversion of Victor to the principles of the allies in 1703, furnished an opportunity to the Protestant states of interfering again in behalf of their defenceless brethren; and in Mr. Hill's instructions, two separate clauses direct him to give his best assistance to the Vaudois and other Protestants yet remaining within the duke's dominions, to inform them of his readiness to intercede for them, and to press the duke to revoke all outstanding decrees against them.

But this was not all. It was just at this period that Louis had been most severely persecuting the Cevennois, who were in open and serious revolt against him; and Victor was urged to arm his own Vaudois, and send them with aid to the Cevennes, as the best way of creating an effectual diversion in his own favour. It was a strong measure, no question. Louis and Victor, two Roman-Catholic princes, friends and allies, had been simultaneously engaged (we will presume from some motives of conscience) in oppressing their Protestant subjects, and now one of them is requested to come to terms with his own malcontents, arm them, and send them to aid the others in resisting their sovereign. Our readers will of course be aware that the subject of these Vaudois has been agitated in the present day. Now the right of Great Britain to interfere in the matter of the king of Sardinia and his people depends upon the identical treaty which Mr. Hill concluded, and the whole transaction, from beginning to end, receives abundant illustration from these opportune volumes of Mr. Blackley.

There are two distinct parties in this case, the Vaudois of Piedmont, the subjects of Victor-Amé, and the Cevennois, or Camisards, the subjects of Louis. We will first speak of the latter. We have observed that at the time of Mr. Hill's mission these people were in revolt against the tyranny of the Grand Monarque. Aided by the strength of their country they had done wonders. "A very little fellow," says Hill, "son of a peasant, bred to be a baker, at twenty years of age, with eighteen men like himself, began to make war against the king of France. He kept the field about eighteen months against a mareschal of France and an army of 10,000 men, and made an honourable capitulation at last with the mighty monarch." The person here described is Cavalier, who shared with Roland the guidance of

the insurgents. They seem to have been led into some not unnatural excesses. "It is certain," writes the British envoy, "that if these poor people could be persuaded not to make war upon priests and churches, and to talk of nothing but liberty from taxes and impositions, their party would soon be more formidable." At this period (1704) the revolt was considered so serious by Louis that he had appointed Villars, with a considerable detachment of troops, to the command of the district, and that clever general was now doing his utmost both by negotiations and blows to bring the province to submission. It was under these circumstances that the English were very desirous of aiding the Cevennois; a wish for which no particular degree of credit can be claimed, as the chief motive was evidently the hope of annoying Louis. The management of the business was entrusted to Hill. The insurgents were about 3000 strong, including 200 horsemen. After a great deal of intrigue and contrivance, two small English frigates were sent to Nice, with arms and ammunition. In June, Hill repaired to that port, and embarked on board these ships and three smaller vessels about 500 men, under the Marquis de Guiscard, with 16,000 crowns in money. The expedition, however, met with no success. The little squadron separated at sea; some were taken, some deserted, and some came back to port. The plot was desperate at the beginning, and grew more so just at the period of its execution, from the undecided state of affairs in the Cevennes, where a large body of the insurgents had by this time capitulated to Villars.

This was a fair project by the rules of war, and no more need be said for it. But the dealings of Great Britain concerning the Vaudois wear entirely a different aspect, and abundant evidence is given in Hill's correspondence that this country acted with true and disinterested sympathy for the poor Protestants of the valleys. In writing to secretary Hedges on the subject, Hill observes (July 22, 1704,) that the treaty of 1690, comprising the article in their favour, ended in 1696; but as no such limits are specified in that agreement, we presume he means that the change of Victor's policy in that year terminated the treaties previously contracted against Louis, and, together with them, this indulgence to the Vaudois. He says, however, that they had not experienced any very ill treatment since that period, and that their main hardship consisted in their hazardous position, for that the edicts of toleration being revoked, they depended for safety and existence on the forbearance of the government. And when he began, in pursuance of his instructions, to request some security in their behalf, he found Victor reluctant to commit himself to any promises on this point, so much so indeed, that

he requested directions from home on a subject which might even affect the final conclusion of the treaty. But Victor-Amé was exceedingly anxious to get the offers of the British government extended, on a certain point, beyond their original limit. He was to have 80,000 crowns per month paid, two-thirds by England, and one-third by the States. This was agreed to on all sides. But then the duke earnestly desired that this subsidy should be continued for two months over and above the conclusion of the war. To this the British minister demurred, and Victor and he had thus each a point to gain and a point to yield. In the end they acted as men usually do under such circumstances, and made mutual concessions. Hill promised the continuance of the subsidy, and Victor liberty of conscience to the Vaudois. And on the 11th of August, 1704, Sir C. Hedges wrote to the minister, and formally approved of the bargain. Two-thirds of 80,000 crowns for two months make 106,666 crowns; and this price England paid for the religious freedom of these poor people. Mr. Blackley has considered this transaction, in a note, very sensibly. There can be no doubt about the matter. It is not a question of intervention or non-intervention; of Popery or Protestantism; of bigotry or toleration; of cruelty or mercy. It is a simple contract debt. The crown of Sardinia has lost its power over the opinions of its Protestant subjects, not because such power was opposed to the Divine law or the law of nature, but because it sold it. Great Britain has a right to demand security for these people, not because persecution is hateful to God, but because she paid the money.

So lately as the month of April, 1842, a memorial on behalf of these poor people was presented to the Earl of Aberdeen by the London Committee of a society instituted for their relief. It was signed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishops of London and Winchester. And the attention of the public was drawn to the subject by an article in the Quarterly Review for December, 1843. It is rather remarkable that throughout the whole of that article the name of Mr. Hill is not once mentioned; nor does the writer of it appear to have been aware of the particulars of the negotiations. The state of the case is as follows. The principal treaty of 1704, between Great Britain and Savoy, which we have already alluded to, was followed by some secret articles, by the first of which Great Britain guaranteed the secret articles of the treaty between Savoy and Austria, and by the third of which she promises to use all her efforts to procure (*inter alia*) the valley of Pragelas for Victor—Victor obliging himself in the same article to tolerate the Protestants in *this* valley as soon as he should become its sovereign. And then by a *fourth*

article Victor confirms his treaty of October, 1690, concerning the Vaudois in general, and binds himself to the observance of the edict of indulgence of May, 1694, which though not recited in the treaty, is endowed with the same force and virtue as if it were actually inserted word for word.

Every document connected with these proceedings will be found in these volumes, for the satisfaction of those who wish to acquaint themselves more particularly with the subject. To the correspondence of our minister are subjoined the several treaties between England and Savoy bearing on this point, the addresses and memorials of the Protestant pastors to Mr. Hill, and even their receipts for money advanced to them. The editor has also procured translations and appended notes throughout, one of which tells us that M. Villeroi was a French marshal.

ART. II.—1. A. *Agende für die evangelische Kirche in den Königlich Preussischen Landen. Mit besonderen Bestimmungen und Zusätzen für die Provinz Preussen.* (Book of Common Prayer for the Evangelic Church in the dominions of the King of Prussia, with special orders and additions for the province of Prussia.) Berlin, 1829.

B. *The same*, for the province of Silesia. Berlin, 1829.

c. *The same*, for the provinces of Westphalia and Rhenish Prussia. Berlin, 1829.

2. *Kirchenbuch für die evangelische Kirche im Königreich Württemberg.* (Book of Common Prayer for the Evangelic Church in the kingdom of Württemberg.) Stuttgart, 1843.

3. *Agende für evangelische Kirchen. Zweite vermehrte und verbesserte Auflage.* (Book of Common Prayer for Evangelic Churches; second, improved, and enlarged edition.) München, 1844.

4. *Thesen über Liturgie, vorgelegt in der Pastoral Conferenz zu Gnadau,* (Liturgical Theses, proposed in the Pastoral Conference at Gnadau,) April 17, 1844, Von PROFESSOR SCHMIEDER, aus Wittenberg. *Evangelische Kirchen-Zeitung*, Bd. xxxiv. p. 308. *Allgemeine Kirchen-Zeitung Jahrg.* xxiii. p. 929.

WE have in our last number taken a brief review of the state of the liturgical question in Germany, as it appears from some of the more important publications recently put forth on that subject. We now propose to examine some of the liturgies which have actually been introduced in different parts of Germany since the new impulse given to the religious life of the country. First among them, both in order of time and in importance, stands the liturgy published for the Prussian dominions in the year 1829. The circumstances which led to its publication have already been alluded to in our last number; the revival of a religious spirit among the people, and the union which had, in however external a manner, been accomplished in 1817, imperatively required some such provision to be made. In making it, the late king, who took a personal interest in the subject¹, insisted much upon the principle, that in order to form a sound and acceptable liturgy, it was absolutely necessary to fall back

¹ It is a fact not, we believe, generally known, that the preface to a liturgy, printed in 1828 for the use of the Prussian Embassy Chapel at Rome, was written by the king himself. This liturgy was never published, but we have reason to think that it will shortly be made public. A small portion of it was printed some time ago with Thiele's sermons, and noticed by us in the *English Review*, vol. i. p. 462.

upon the precedents of the Reformation, so as to give to the new formularies a solid historical foundation, and thereby to preserve them as much as possible from the unliturgical influence of the modern taste and modern spirit in matters of religion. In order to prepare the public mind for the reception of the liturgy so constructed, it was in the first instance introduced only in the Cathedral at Berlin, and having the year after its first publication (1821) undergone a thorough revision, it was in this improved form circulated among the clergy of the different provinces, who were called on to give their vote for or against its adoption, and to accompany that vote with any remarks or suggestions which might tend to increase the usefulness of the contemplated undertaking. The result was, that within a short time a very great majority of the clergy declared in favour of it; at the same time, that many wishes were expressed for the preservation of particular forms and customs which had prevailed in different localities. To meet these wishes as far as possible, without encroaching too much upon the principle of ritual conformity, the Liturgy was republished for general use in the year 1829, in six different editions, besides a special edition for the use of the army, so as to meet the local wishes and predilections of the six chief divisions of the kingdom: viz. Prussia Proper, Brandenburg, Pomerania, Silesia, Saxony, and Westphalia with Rhenish Prussia. They all agree in what may be called the general type of this Liturgy, i. e., the form which is prescribed for general use, and from which, without some special reason, no minister is likely to deviate. The variations are chiefly, we may say almost exclusively, in the discretionary forms, of which a large number is supplied, with leave to the officiating minister to select one or other of them, in the place appointed for them in the general outline of the service. But even here the variations are not as many as might have been supposed; the more important and excellent forms being inserted alike in all the provincial editions, though as a matter of practice some of them would be preferred in one, and others in another province. Of the six editions before named, we have lying before us three, those for Prussia Proper, Silesia, and Westphalia with the Rhenish provinces. On a careful comparison we have found the two former almost uniform; the third contains many additional forms of prayer and liturgic formularies, taken chiefly, it appears, from the ancient *Agenda* for the Palatinate, and from other rituals of the Reformed Church, which was in those provinces the predominant communion. These additions, however, being only a multiplication of formularies under the same head for the minister's selection, the general contents of all the three liturgies are substantially the same. The whole

book is divided into two parts, whereof the first contains the principal Sunday and Festival service, to which the administration of the holy communion is annexed; the second, the occasional offices, the three creeds, the catechism, and an appendix, which consists of a variety of discretionary forms, chiefly for the occasional offices and the eucharistic service. In the first part, containing the principal Sunday and Festival service, we have three different forms, 1, a larger form, intended chiefly for high Festivals and more solemn occasions; 2, an abridged form, for use on ordinary Sundays; and 3, the abridged form arranged with choral enlargements, to be used in Churches where there are well-trained choirs. A selection of Church music, adapted to the words of the Liturgy, is appended to this part of the volume. There is also a form of preparation for the Holy Communion. In almost every part of these services the minister has a choice between a certain number of sentences and prayers, so as to enable him to introduce a great variety of services, though all cast in essentially the same mould.

In order to give our readers a clear idea of the character of this Liturgy, we subjoin the entire service, as it would stand on an ordinary Sunday², according to the first or more extensive

² It will not be uninteresting to compare this service with the two formularies published by Luther at the very commencement of the Reformation; the first under the title "*Formula Missæ*," in the year 1523, which adhered as closely as the distinctive doctrines of the Reformation would permit, to the Roman Catholic formulary of the mass; and the second under the name "*The German Mass*," in the year 1526. For the sake of greater clearness we here give an enumeration of their component parts, placed in juxta-position:—

<i>Formula Missæ.</i>	<i>The German Mass.</i>
1. The Introit.	A hymn or psalm.
2. The Kyrie Eleison.	The Kyrie Eleison.
3. The Gloria in Excelsis.	
4. The Collect.	The Collect.
5. The Epistle.	The Epistle.
6. The Gradual and Hallelujah.	A hymn.
7. The Gospel.	The Gospel.
8. The Nicene Symbol.	A hymn, containing a paraphrase of the Creed.
9. The Sermon.	The Sermon.
10. The Preface.	A Paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer and exhortation to the Communicants.
11. The Consecration with the Sanctus and Benedictus.	The Consecration.
12. The Pater Noster.	
13. The Pax Domini.	
14. The distribution of the elements while the Agnus Dei was being sung.	The distribution of the elements, the Agnus Dei, and other appropriate hymns being sung.
15. The Benedicamus Domino, or thanksgiving after Communion.	Thanksgiving after Communion.
16. The Blessing.	The Blessing.

Of these portions Nos. 11, 14, and 15, as belonging immediately to the administration of the Holy Communion, as likewise the Pax Domini after the Lord's Prayer, are

form, marking by a peculiar type those portions that are retained in the shortest of the three forms before mentioned. We shall also mark after each part between brackets the number of discretionary forms, from which the minister makes his selection, contained in each of the three liturgies, for Prussia Proper (A), for Silesia (B), and for Westphalia and the Rhine Provinces (C).

A hymn is sung by the congregation, or a voluntary played on the organ, during which the Minister enters, and kneels down at the altar. At the conclusion he rises, and standing before the altar, commences the service, all the people standing, with these words :

In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

[A. 2 ; B. 2 ; C. 2.]

Our help is in the Name of the Lord, who hath made heaven and earth.
The Minister.—Come, let us worship, and kneel³, and fall down before the Lord our Maker.

Almighty God, merciful Father, I, poor sinner, do confess before Thee, that I have often and greatly sinned, in thought, word, and deed. I acknowledge my guilt, my whole guilt ; yea, and I heartily repent, and am firmly resolved, by the help of Thy grace, seriously to amend, and to sin no more.

Almighty God have mercy upon you, and forgive you all your sins ; strengthen and confirm you by His Spirit in all goodness, and bring you to His everlasting Kingdom, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen⁴.

[A. 4 ; B. 4 ; C. 6.]

The Minister.—The Lord is nigh unto all that call upon Him, unto all that call upon Him in truth. Blessed are they that hear the word of God, and keep it, and bring forth fruit with patience.

[A. 18 ; B. 20 ; C. 20⁵.]

The Choir.—Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, as it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end. Amen.

omitted in the Sunday Morning service of the Prussian liturgy, in which the Communion Office is an entirely separate service, appended on Communion Days to the ordinary service after the congregation has been dismissed with the blessing. See below, note 2, p. 311. The Gloria in Excelsis and the Preface, though properly forming part of the Communion Office only, have been retained ; the Apostles' Creed has been substituted for the Nicene Symbol, and a few additions and enlargements have been made. On the whole, it is evident that the outline of the *formula missæ* is that which has been followed by the compilers of the present liturgy.

³ It does not appear whether, when this form is used, the congregation remain standing, as they are directed to do to the end of the liturgic part of the service ; or whether the above form may be given with a view to its use in congregations in which the people have been accustomed to kneel during the Confession. We have selected it as that which seemed to us the most devotional and appropriate ; and by this rule we shall be guided throughout in making our choice among the discretionary forms. The above is, in fact, an Exhortation, Confession, and Absolution ; but sometimes a simple Confession, without either Exhortation or Absolution, is used.

⁴ In the longer service the *Amen* is chanted by the choir.

⁵ Special forms are appointed for Advent, Christmas Day, New Year's Day, Passion Week, Maundy Thursday, Good Friday, Easter Day, The Day of Humiliation, The Ascension, Pentecost, and All Souls ; one form for each occasion.

The Minister.—Lord, have mercy upon us, and be gracious unto us.

[A. 2 ; B. 2 ; C. 2.]

The Choir.—Lord, have mercy upon us !

Christ, have mercy upon us !

Lord, have mercy upon us !

The Minister.—Glory be to God on high.

The Choir.—And on earth peace, good-will towards men⁶.

We praise Thee, we bless Thee, we worship Thee, we glorify Thee, we give thanks to Thee for Thy great glory, O Lord God, heavenly King, God the Father Almighty !

O Lord, the only begotten Son Jesu Christ ; O Lord God, Lamb of God, Son of the Father, that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us ; Thou that takest away the sins of the world, receive our prayer ; Thou that sittest at the right hand of God the Father, have mercy upon us !

For Thou only art holy ; Thou only art the Lord ; Thou only, O Jesu Christ, with the Holy Ghost, art most high in the glory of God the Father. Amen. Amen. Amen.

The Minister.—The Lord be with you.

[A. 2 ; B. 2 ; C. 2.]

The Choir.—And with thy spirit.

The Minister.—Grant to us always, O Lord, we beseech Thee, the Spirit to think and do such things as be rightful, that we who are nothing without Thee, may live according to Thy will, through Jesus Christ Thy Son our Lord. Amen.

[A. 38 ; B. 36 ; C. 36⁷.]

The Minister.—The Epistle is written :

(Here the Epistle is read.)

The Minister.—Let us love one another ; for love is of God ; and every one that loveth his brother, is born of God and knoweth God. Let us not love in word, neither in tongue, but in deed and in truth. Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy.

[A. 23 ; B. 23 ; C. 23⁸.]

The Choir.—Hallelujah⁹ !

*The Minister*¹.—The holy Gospel is written :

⁶ In the shorter service this is said by the Minister, and the Doxology cut short at this point, concluding with *Amen*.

⁷ Proper Collects before the Epistle are appointed for Advent, A. 1, B. 2, C. 2 ; for Christmas Day, A. 2, B. 2, C. 1 ; for New Year's Day, A. 2, B. 1, C. 1 ; for Passion Week, A. 2, B. 3, C. 2 ; for Maundy Thursday, A. 1, B. 1, C. 1 ; for Good Friday, A. 1, B. 1, C. 1 ; for Easter Day, A. 1, B. 2, C. 2 ; for The Day of Humiliation, A. 2, B. 1, C. 1 ; for Ascension Day, A. 1, B. 2, C. 1 ; for Pentecost, A. 1, B. 2, C. 1 ; for All Souls, A. 1, B. 1, C. 1.

⁸ There is a proper form appointed for each of the aforementioned Festivals and particular days.

⁹ In the shorter service the *Hallelujah* is said by the Minister.

¹ A special prayer before the Gospel is appointed for the following Festivals :—Christmas Day, A. 1, B. 1, C. 2 ; Good Friday, A. 1, B. 1, C. 1 ; Easter Day, A. 1, B. 1, C. 1 ; Ascension Day, A. 1, B. 1, C. 2 ; Pentecost, A. 1, B. 1, C. 2.

(Here the Gospel is read.)

The Minister.—Blessed be Thou, O Christ! Amen².

[A. 2; B. 2; C. 2.]

The Minister.—I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven and Earth: And in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord; Who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, Born of the Virgin Mary, Suffered under Pontius Pilate, Was crucified, dead, and buried; He descended into hell; The third day He rose again from the dead; He ascended into Heaven, And sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty; From thence He shall come to judge the quick and the dead. I believe in the Holy Ghost; A holy universal Christian Church; The Communion of Saints; The Forgiveness of Sins; The Resurrection of the Flesh; And the Life everlasting. Amen³.

The Choir.—Amen. Amen.

(Here follows the sermon⁴, preceded and followed by a hymn, sung by the congregation; after the sermon the Minister returns to the altar, and there concludes the Liturgy.)

The Minister.—The God of peace sanctify you wholly; and may your whole spirit and soul and body be preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ. Faithful is He that calleth you, who also will do it.

[A. 16; B. 16; C. 16⁵.]

The Minister.—Lift up your hearts, and let us give thanks unto our Lord God.

[A. 2; B. 2; C. 2.]

Right it is, very meet and blessed, that we should at all times and in all places give thanks unto Thee, O Almighty God, through Jesus Christ our Lord⁶, for whose sake Thou hast spared us, and dost grant us pardon of our sins, and the promise of eternal life; and with angels and archangels, and with all the company of heaven, we sing unto Thee and unto thine infinite Glory, one song of praise:

The Choir.—Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord God of Sabaoth. Heaven and earth are full of his glory.

Hosanna in the highest! Blessed be He that cometh in the name of the Lord! Hosanna in the highest!

The Minister.—Lord God, heavenly Father! We beseech Thee to govern with Thy Holy Spirit Thy Christian Church, with all its teachers and ministers, that it may be kept in the pure doctrine of Thy word, and that true faith may be quickened and strengthened, and love towards all men planted and increased in us.

² In the longer service the choir may chant in this place, "Glory be to Thee, O Lord! Amen."

³ In the place of the Creed, leave is given to sing a hymn which contains a sort of confession of faith.

⁴ Permission is given to postpone the sermon till the end of the Liturgy, immediately before the blessing.

⁵ Special forms are appointed for each of the days mentioned in Note 5, p. 300, one for each.

⁶ At this place, an addition, answering to our Proper Preface, is inserted on Christmas Day, Easter Day, and Pentecost.

Magnify, O Lord, Thy mercy upon the King, our Lord, the Crown Prince, the Crown Princess, the whole Royal Family, and all that are related and attached to them. Grant unto them length of days, to be a perpetual blessing, and a pattern of Christian conversation. Give unto our King a long and happy reign. Protect the royal army, and all the faithful servants of King and country. Teach them to be, as it becometh Christians, ever mindful of their oath, and let their services be blest to Thy glory, and the welfare of our fatherland⁷. Bless us and all the royal dominions. Assist every one in his need, and be Thou a Saviour of all men, especially of them that believe in Thee. Preserve us from a wicked and impenitent death⁸, and finally bring us all into Thy eternal and heavenly Kingdom, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen⁹.

[A. 1; B. 1; C. 3.]

The Choir.—Amen.

The Minister.—Our Father, which art in Heaven, Hallowed be Thy Name; Thy Kingdom come; Thy will be done in Earth, as it is in Heaven; Give us this day our daily bread; And forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us; And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil; For Thine is the Kingdom, the power, and the glory, for ever and ever. Amen.

The Minister.—The Lord bless thee and keep thee! The Lord make his face to shine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee! The Lord lift up His countenance upon thee, and give thee peace! ✠ Amen.

[A. 2; B. 1; C. 1.]

The Choir.—Amen. Amen. Amen.

The Service is closed with a Hymn sung by the congregation.

To any one whose acquaintance with our own beautiful Liturgy is not a matter of routine, but who has studied it attentively and noted the admirable design which runs through its whole structure, and the deeply and chastely devotional spirit which all

⁷ A special addition is here inserted on the Anniversary of the Pacification of Europe, Nov. 20, 1815, which is kept on the last Sunday but one of the ecclesiastical year.

⁸ In this place a special supplication is inserted on Good Friday and All Souls' Day, which on account of its great beauty we here transcribe. After the words, "Preserve us from a wicked and impenitent death," the prayer thus continues: "Prepare us more and more for a happy end; but especially in the last hour of death, drive from us all temptations, and increase our faith in Thy Son Jesus, that we may overcome all the terrors of death. Then, when our ears can hear no more, let Thy Spirit bear witness with our spirit, that as Thy children, and joint-heirs with Christ, we shall shortly be, together with Jesus, in Thy heavenly presence. Then, when our eyes can see no more, open Thou the eyes of our faith, that we may see heaven opened, and the Lord Jesus at the right hand of His Father, that we, too, may be where He is. Then, when our tongue can speak no more, let Thy Holy Spirit make intercession for us with unutterable groanings; and teach each one of us to cry in his heart, 'Father, into Thy hands I commend my spirit!' O most faithful God, grant that we may live in Thy fear, die in Thy favour, depart hence in Thy peace, rest in the grave under Thy protection, and rise again by Thy power, and so inherit the blessed hope of everlasting life, for Thy dear Son's sake, Jesus Christ our Lord; to whom, with Thee and the Holy Ghost, be laud and praise, honour and glory, now and for evermore. Amen."

⁹ Instead of this general prayer, a litany is used on the Day of Humiliation.

its forms breathe, it will be at once apparent how meagre and unsatisfying, how ill-assorted and disjointed the foregoing formulary is. And indeed, we do not see how it can well be otherwise in a liturgy overlaid as this is, with discretionary forms. It is absolutely impossible that they should bear the same significance, and the same appropriateness to the place in which they are respectively inserted, as the formularies of a liturgy, every part of which is framed with a view to all the other parts with which it is connected, and with which it is therefore kept in harmony, and in characteristic unity of purpose. The very principle of breaking up a liturgy into such a number of arbitrarily commutable fragments, without any fixed rule or principle suggested by the liturgy itself to guide the minister in his selection, is decidedly vicious, and no form of worship founded upon it can ever come up to the high standard which a Church ought to set up for herself in the composition of her songs of adoration, and her supplicatory addresses to the throne of grace. We are reminded by this scheme of liturgic transposition of a toy which consists of a number of human countenances cut up longitudinally, in such a manner as to make every strip of each face correspond in its external points with the adjoining strips of every other face. This is, no doubt, an ingenious method of producing an amusing variety of countenances, but we never yet heard of a painter having recourse to such an expedient in his compositions. In saying this, we do not wish to cast any censure upon the framers of this liturgy; for we verily believe that they have effected the utmost which the religious state and temper of the congregations for whose worship they had to provide, would admit of; that they have, in fact, produced the best liturgy which the times would bear. Nor does the fault upon which we have animadverted, attach to the Prussian liturgy only; we meet with it in every one of the liturgies which have been published in Germany since the commencement of its religious regeneration. In proof of this we have only to compare the other two liturgies referred to at the head of this article: the liturgy introduced by authority in the kingdom of Würtemberg (No. 2), and the *Agende* for Evangelic Churches, published at Munich (No. 3).

The former of these was, like the Prussian, subjected to the ordeal of public opinion before the seal of authority was stamped upon it; and possesses a peculiar interest from the strong contrast which its return to sounder views, and a more ecclesiastic taste, forms with the modern rationalistic liturgy which it has happily superseded. Würtemberg was in the sixteenth century distinguished both by its sufferings for the cause of evangelic truth, and by its firm adherence to the principles of the Reformation; and

down to the close of the last century, its University of Tübingen was celebrated for the orthodoxy as well as the erudition of its divines; while the different editions of its liturgy¹, the latest of which dates of the year 1784, are characterized throughout by soundness, both of matter and of expression. Its ancient and biblical formularies the spirit of free-thinking which, in consequence of the French Revolution, diffused itself rapidly among all classes in Germany, could not endure; and the result was the publication, in the year 1808, of a new liturgical manual for the use of the kingdom of Würtemberg, which for doctrinal unsoundness, and miserable modernized flatness of expression, can hardly be equalled². The reaction which took place in the re-

¹ Of these, the compilers of the present Liturgy (No. 2) have made copious use. They had before them, as appears from their quotations, no less than six editions, dated severally 1617, 1657, 1660, 1666, 1736, and 1784. The first and last of these are lying before us, and bear ample witness to the piety and general orthodoxy of the Church, for whose use, and by whose authority, they were published.

² In order to give our readers some idea of the extent to which rationalism had at that period invaded all the offices of the Church, we subjoin a few specimens from this liturgy.

The first of five optional formularies of BAPTISM opens with the following exhortation, which offends the ear by the very form of the pronoun used in addressing the sponsors; that pronoun being not the ancient, and now restored ecclesiastic form "*Ihr*," but the modern, worldly, and conversational form "*Sie*," which sounds pretty much as if, in English, the minister were to commence his address to the sponsors with the words,—Ladies and Gentlemen.

"You have assembled here, animated by sentiments of Christian benevolence, in order solemnly to dedicate this new-born infant to God its Creator, and to Jesus its Redeemer and Lord. The action which You are about to perform is important and serious.

"You herewith consider this infant as a creature worthy of regard, destined for great and everlasting purposes; You acknowledge it as a being in which noble powers are slumbering, in which germs for every good thing lie concealed. You feel that it is in this world in order to develop those powers, to unfold those germs, and to grow ripe for a still higher existence; but You feel, at the same time, how much it is in want of help, how much it stands in need, not only of the assistance of its human brethren, but especially of the support of its Creator himself, in order happily to attain the ends of its existence. In the very first days of its earthly being, You intend therefore to dedicate it as a member of the congregation which the Son of God has founded upon earth; as a member of that happy congregation which is indebted to its Founder and Lord for heavenly gifts; in which are to be found the purest knowledge of God, forgiveness of sins, the most powerful means of improvement and culture, a pure virtuous mind and brotherly benevolence, consolation and refreshment under all troubles, and a lively hope of eternal happiness. You desire to secure to this infant in good time the possession of the greatest advantages which can accrue to a reasonable being during his sojourn upon earth.

By this provision You become its benefactors, and lay it under a great obligation. At the same time You also enter with this infant into a relation to which important duties are attached. Your benevolence towards it must not confine itself to the few moments of this solemn action; henceforth You are, together with its parents, the men nearest to it upon earth; You give it to-day claims to Your perpetual faithful care; in You it is to find hereafter safe guides in the path of life, tender counsellors and friends, touching patterns of Christian wisdom and virtue; You are hereafter to remind it of the sacred obligations which are imposed upon it to-day for its future life by Your intervention, and You are to contribute to its remaining undeviatingly faithful to them. May

ligious state of the population after the deliverance of Germany from the yoke of Napoleon, gradually leavened the Church of Württemberg also; and a commission was appointed for the purpose of preparing a new liturgy, which should have more of the character of the olden times. This commission published the result of its labours, in the year 1840, under the title "*Entwurf*

God Himself make You fit for this, and may He grant You, to behold hereafter, in this beloved infant, a happy creature, growing up under His blessing and the guidance of His Spirit into a worthy professor of Him who has purchased it with His blood, and to whom it is now to be consecrated."

Then follows a prayer much in the same style, to which are added the Lord's Prayer, and "The Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ;" both, however, bracketed off, with a note, that for the sake of brevity they may be omitted. After this, the questions are put to the sponsors. The first of these consists of a rationalistic paraphrase of the Apostles' Creed, in which the second clause runs thus:—"Do You believe in Jesus Christ his Son, who, having come from Heaven, lived, taught, suffered and died as man upon earth; by His divine doctrine and His death upon the cross, became our Redeemer and guide to a happy immortality; after His death, rose again; and, exalted into heaven to the right hand of the Father, rules over all, and will hereafter judge the quick and the dead?" The second question is:—"Do You renounce all unbelief and all superstition, all sinful dispositions, inclinations, and works?" The third question:—"Do You, on the contrary, consider yourselves bound to be eternally faithful to the holy God, Father, Son, and Spirit, and to shape your whole life after the doctrine of Jesus?" The fourth:—"Do You wish this infant to be baptized upon this confession?" The whole concludes with the usual form of baptism, and a short benediction; the only parts of the entire office, besides the Lord's Prayer and the Grace marked for optional use, which are really orthodox.

The following is the Post Communion Prayer of the first of six different forms for the administration of THE HOLY COMMUNION.

Divine Redeemer, through the suffering of death perfected for glory! in this hour consecrated to thy memory we again entirely acknowledge how unspeakably great things Thou hast done and suffered for us; and our whole soul feels itself drawn towards Thee in love and gratitude. But what value could these sentiments have in thy eyes, if they did not cause our heart and our life to become like unto thine? if we were only to think of Thee in these short moments with feelings of gratitude and longing for Thee, but ungratefully to forget Thee the remainder of our time? if we were only by vows of faithfulness at thy altar to acknowledge Thee for our Lord, and in our intercourse with men, our brethren, to deny Thee by sin? No! Great Fore-runner! We are prepared thankfully to honour Thee, not only by words, but in deed and in truth, not only by momentary feelings, but by an entire holy life. Be the way of frivolity, of folly and of sin ever so broad and inviting; it suffices to make us avoid it, that we miss Thee in that way; that walking in it we should displease Thee, for ever recede from the high goal at which Thou art perfected, and for ever remain at a distance from the mansions of glory, in which we might rejoice in our union with Thee. Be the way of thy discipleship, the way of faith, of sanctification and virtue ever so narrow, often rough and found but by few; to us who cleave to Thee with love and gratitude, it suffices to make us follow it steadfastly to the end, that we know it is the only way which will hereafter bring us to Thee and to thy blessedness.

To such a love for Thee, which for thy sake and through Thee can do all, ventures all, renounces all, suffers all, inflame us anew, Thou most exalted and most loveable! May this day's remembrance of thy faithful, self-sacrificing, and bliss-imparting love, with which Thou hast loved us unto death, live in our heart, till it grows cold in death; may it be operative in all our actions, the very last of which be performed in thy name: may it render us daily more worthy of a closer union with Thee; may it draw our affections more and more up from the earth to that which is eternal; may it teach us to look cheerfully and with heavenly comfort beyond death and the grave;

einer Liturgie für die evangelische Kirche im Königreich Württemberg," (Draft of a Liturgy for the Evangelic Church in the kingdom of Württemberg,) which was extensively circulated, with a view to ascertain the feelings and opinions of the clergy and of the people at large. It was received with very general approbation, and having undergone careful revision and considerable enlargement, in consequence of the suggestions made from different quarters, it was put forth by authority in the year 1843.

The other liturgy, *Agende* for evangelic Churches, which we have quoted at the head of this article (No. 3), does not possess the same authority; nor do the two prefaces of the anonymous editors to the first and second editions, 1836 and 1844, give any information as to its origin, further than that it was drawn up to meet the want of such a manual, more immediately in the evangelic Churches of Bavaria. A similar work was, it appears, published in 1837, for the Rhenish provinces of Bavaria³. Both these manuals proceed upon the principle, which guided the compilers of the Prussian liturgy also, that for sound ritual forms the ancient liturgies must be exploited; and of both extensive use has been made in the compilation of the new Liturgy for the kingdom of Württemberg. As the ritual arrangements

and may it in our last hour, when Thou shalt come and thy reward with Thee, cause us to depart in the joyful anticipation of thy heavenly blessedness. Amen."

After these specimens of the tone and language employed in the administration of the sacraments, we cannot be surprised at the terms in which the Collects for the great festivals are conceived, of which we select the following two as liturgic curiosities:

CHRISTMAS: "Thou who once didst dwell on earth, in order to lift us up to heaven, and to be our guide to the Father, most exalted Son of the Deity! Thou didst once thyself experience all the infirmities which encompass us, all the sufferings which oppress us, all the temptations which become dangerous to us. Thou becamest acquainted with them—without sin; Thou overcamest them all; to Thee they were means of glorious perfection. O that they might prove the same to us,—that none of them might divert us from our aim,—that we might overcome them all, as Thou overcamest! May thy mind quicken us, thy spirit fill us, the light of thy example shine unto us; may the look of faith upon that high aim which Thou, Great Forerunner! hast attained, strengthen us, to live after Thee, to suffer after Thee, to wrestle after Thee, until we overcome through Thee, and in the mansions of higher perfection and of purer bliss rejoice in Thee and with Thee for ever! Amen."

PENTECOST. "Spirit of the Almighty! from whom comes all power, all encouragement to goodness, all new moral life; who by thy divine operation hast founded the kingdom of God upon earth; who art still able to strengthen the weak, to comfort the sad, and to quicken the dead; let us too feel thy divine all-quicken power. Lift us up above the dust of the earth, disperse the illusions of sense, and cause the darkness to disappear which clouds our horizon. O let a ray of that better world to which we belong illumine our spirit; make it more and more participant of the divine nature; fill it with lively hope, and make this hour to us all a fountain of rich and everlasting blessings. Amen."

³ The title is "*Entwurf einer Agende für die evangelische Kirche Rheinbaierns*" (Draft of a liturgy for the evangelic Church of Rhenish Bavaria). Its character is sufficiently attested by the frequent citations from it in the Liturgy for Württemberg; but we have been unable to obtain a sight of the book itself.

of the *Agende* for evangetic Churches are, with a few unimportant differences in the order in which the different formularies are placed, perfectly analogous to those of the Württemberg Liturgy, we shall combine the two manuals together in our account of their contents, distinguishing the *Württembergische Kirchenbuch*, as No. II., and the *Agende für evangelische Kirchen*, as No. III., and mentioning under each head the number of discretionary forms, from which the minister may make his selection. Both the Liturgies are divided into two parts,—the first of which contains forms of prayer for the usual congregational worship, the second the sacramental and occasional offices. The forms of prayer are arranged under the following heads:—

I. PRAYERS FOR FESTIVALS:—*Advent*, II. 11, III. 2; *Christmas*, II. (including the two holy days immediately following) 12, III. 3; *Turn of the Year*, New Year's Eve, and New Year's Day⁴, II. 11, III. 4; *Epiphany*, II. 7, III. 2; *Lent and Passion Week*, to Easter Eve⁵, II. 27, III. 8; *Easter*, II. 13, III. 3; *Ascension*, II. 11, III. 2; *Pentecost*, II. 13, III. 3; *Feast of the Holy Trinity*, II. 10, III. 2; *Feast of the Reformation*⁶, II. 7, III. 2; *Feast of the consecration of the Church* (anniversary), II. 3, III. 2; *Birthday of the King and Queen*⁷, II. 5, III. 3; *Feast of thanksgiving for harvest and vintage*⁸, II. 6, III. 2; *Close of the Ecclesiastical year*, II. 2, none in III.

II. PRAYERS FOR SUNDAYS:—before the Sermon⁹, II. 23, III. 6; after the Sermon, II. 27, III. 5.

⁴ All these prayers have exclusive reference to the close of one and the commencement of another secular year. The Feast of the Circumcision is altogether lost sight of, except in one of the formularies in No. II., which is taken from the ancient *Kirchenbuch*, or Liturgy.

⁵ This head comprises in No. II. special prayers to be used before reading the history of our Lord's Passion; prayers commemorative of the institution of the Lord's Supper, to be used on Maundy Thursday; and prayers in reference to particular parts of the Passion, entitled severally, "Jesus in Gethsemane;" "Jesus before his judges;" "The Thief on the Cross;" "Jesu's Words on the Cross;" and "The Seven Words." No. III. has two general Passion prayers, two prayers for a Day of Penance and Humiliation (Ash Wednesday?), two for Maundy Thursday, and two for Good Friday.

⁶ Two of the prayers under this head in No. II. are entitled, "A Thanksgiving Prayer for the gift of the Bible."

⁷ One of the prayers under this head in No. II. is appointed to be used at the ceremony of swearing allegiance.

⁸ Of the six prayers under this head in No. II. two are to be used in years of abundance, two in case the harvest and vintage prove moderately good, and two in years in which the crops have failed.

⁹ In No. III. the prayers before the sermon are headed "Altar Prayers;" the prayers after the sermon "Pulpit Prayers;"—the same distinction between prayers before the sermon, or Altar Prayers, and prayers after the sermon, or Pulpit Prayers, applies also to the whole of the prayers for festivals, some of which belong to the one, some to the other head, while some in No. II. are left indifferent. Besides the prayers above enumerated, there are in No. III., under the separate title of Collects,

III. PRAYERS FOR HOLY DAYS, only in No. II., as follows:—*Days of the Apostles*, without distinction of the names of the different Apostles, or of the days consecrated to them, 6; *John the Baptist's Day*, 4; *The Purification and the Annunciation*, one for each.

IV. PRAYERS TO BE USED IN PUBLIC CATECHISING:—before catechising, II. 5, III. 2; after catechising, II. 6, III. 2; to which are added in No. II. two before and after a School Sermon; and two before and after a Catechetical Sermon.

V. PRAYERS FOR DAYS OF PENANCE:—in No. II., three before the Sermon, and four after; of which latter number two are in the form of Litanies; in No. III., only the two mentioned before among the Lent and Passion Prayers, and a Litany.

VI. PRAYERS FOR PRAYER MEETINGS AND BIBLE CLASSES:—Of these, No. II. contains in all sixteen; of which six are specially marked for use on the occasion of early services, and one for the close of the week; No. III. contains two prayers for week-day services. Under this head are appended, moreover, in No. II., a form of prayer for the Churching of women, and another to be used at the building of a house.

VII. SPECIAL PRAYERS AND THANKSGIVINGS, only in No. II., under the following heads:—A. *for spiritual blessings*; for the spread of God's Word, 6; for union in spirit, 1; for the preservation of Baptismal grace, 1; for a profitable reception of the Holy Communion, 1; intercession for communicants, 1; intercession for those who having been recently confirmed, for the first time receive the Holy Communion, 1.—B. *for King and country*; for the King, 2; for the States, 2.—C. *touching the produce of the earth, and bodily need*; generally for the fruits of the earth, 2; for harvest or vintage, 2; for the preservation of the fruits of the earth in times of danger, 2, one a supplication, the other a thanksgiving; against cruelty to animals, 1; to be used in watering-places, 1; and in mines, 1.—D. *respecting all manner of necessities*; at times of general distress, 2; intercession for the rich, 1; the poor, 1; in time of war, 2; after peace, 1; under special parochial calamities, 2; in time of pestilence, 2; of disease among cattle, 1; thanksgivings for deliverance, 2.

The Sacramental and Occasional Offices in the second part, comprise forms of prayer and regular services for the following occasions:—

I. HOLY BAPTISM; II. 4, one of which is also adapted for the administration of baptism in private houses; III. 4; for the bap-

ten short prayers to be used on Sundays, and one prayer for each of the days for which there are Altar and Pulpit prayers appointed under the head of Prayers for Festivals.

tism of a child in danger of dying, II. 1, III. 1 ; for the subsequent reception of the child into the public congregation, II. 2, one of which is to be used when there are children both to be received, and to be baptized, III. 1.

II. CONFIRMATION ; preparatory prayer, II. 2, none in III. ; office of Confirmation, II. 2, III. 1.

III. PREPARATION FOR THE HOLY COMMUNION ; notice of communion, II. 1, none in III. ; prayers before and after sermons preparatory for the Holy Communion, II. 4, III. 1 ; confession, II. 4, none in III.¹

IV. ADMINISTRATION OF THE HOLY COMMUNION ; in the public congregation, II. 3, III. 1 ; specially for the administration of the Holy Communion on Maundy Thursday, only in No. III. 1 ; sick communion, II. 3, III. 1 ; with two additional prayers to be used on the latter occasion, in No. II. ; benedictions to be pronounced upon persons sick unto death, or on the point of death, only in No. II. 5 ; prayers for a dying person, only in No. II. 2 ; confirmation and first communion of a sick child, only in No. II. 1.

V. MATRIMONY ; prayers before and after marriage-sermons, II. 5, III. 1 ; solemnization of matrimony, II. 3, III. 2 ; address after a marriage-sermon, only in No. II. 2 ; benedictory service for persons who have been married for a great number of years, only in No. II. 1.

VI. BURIAL OF THE DEAD ; in No. II., office of burial, 2 ; prayers to be said before and after funeral sermons, 17 ; of which the following are for special occasions : at the interment of a child ; of a youth or virgin ; of a father or mother leaving young children unprovided for ; in cases of sudden death ; at the burial of a Christian sufferer ; and at the burial of a very aged person ; in No. III. benediction of the departed person in the house, 1 ; forms of prayer to be used at the grave, 3.

VII. ORDINATION ; only one formulary in No. II., and two in No. III.

VIII. INSTITUTION ; consisting in a solemn and public introduction of the Minister to his new flock, two in No. II., none in No. III.

IX. CONSECRATION OF A CHURCH ; two forms in No. II., none in No. III.

X. CONSECRATION OF A CHURCHYARD ; in No. II. one for taking leave of the old, and one for consecrating the new cemetery ; none in No. III.

Besides the above formularies, we have in No. II. forms

¹ In No. III. the Confession and Communion are, as in our Liturgy, thrown together into one service.

of special intercession for particular persons and occasions, to be inserted in the general prayers; and two forms of notice for the publication of banns of marriage. Both manuals contain also the Lord's Prayer, and a series of salutations to be pronounced by the Minister at the commencement of worship, and a number of benedictions at its close. Many of these are passages taken from Holy Scripture; viz. for salutations, 2 Cor. xiii. 14; Phil. iv. 23; 2 Cor. i. 2; 2 Pet. i. 2; 2 John 3; Ephes. i. 3; 1 Pet. i. 3; 2 Cor. i. 3, 4; 1 Pet. v. 10, 11; 1 Tim. i. 17; and specially on Good Friday, Revel. v. 12;—for benedictions, Numb. vi. 24—26; Phil. iv. 7; 2 Thess. iii. 16; 1 Thess. v. 23; Heb. xiii. 20, 21; 1 Pet. v. 14; 2 Thess. ii. 16, 17; Rom. xv. 13; 1 Pet. v. 10, 11; Ephes. iii. 20, 21.

In addition to the Liturgy, of which the above is an abstract, the *Kirchenbuch für die evangelische Kirche in Württemberg*, comprises, in a second volume, a variety of Scriptural and doctrinal materials, viz.—1. A harmonized history of our Lord's passion, in seven sections;—2. Two annual cycles of Epistles and Gospels;—3. An accurate reprint of an authorized edition of the Augsburg Confession, published in 1747;—4. Historical data for the annual festival of the Reformation, consisting of a sketch of the life of Luther, and of a history of the Augsburg Confession.

From these outlines of the general arrangement of the liturgical works before us, we now turn to the consideration of such portions of their contents as appeared to us, on perusal, particularly deserving of notice.

The most important of these, and that which was found to be the most difficult to deal with, is the form of words to be used in the administration of the Holy Communion². As far as the form of consecration was concerned, the course was a tolerably

² The arrangement of the Communion Service, as a service entirely distinct from the general congregational worship, is in all three, the Prussian Liturgy, the Württemberg Kirchenbuch, and the Agende published at Munich, the same as regards the essential parts, viz. the exhortation, the consecration or recital of the words of institution, the distribution of the elements, the post-communion thanksgiving prayer, and the blessing. The Prussian Liturgy inserts the Pax Domini and a short prayer after the consecration, orders the singing of the Agnus Dei and appropriate hymns during the distribution of the elements, and closes the service with an hymn sung after the blessing. It presupposes a distinct preparatory service, containing the penitential elements of the Communion Service. The Württemberg Kirchenbuch provides a distinct preparatory service of a penitential character, but at the same time allows that service to be omitted, and in the place of it a confession and absolution to be inserted in the Communion Service itself; it adds a short supplication followed by the Lord's prayer before the consecration, and interposes a hymn between the post-communion thanksgiving prayer and the blessing. The Agende published at Munich has no preparatory services, but makes the confession and absolution followed by the Lord's prayer an integral part of the Communion Service, and inserts the Pax Domini between the consecration and the distribution of the elements.

plain one; for if some of the old Protestant liturgies had suggested an interpretation of the words of institution unfavourable to the doctrine of the real presence, and if others had preserved a consecration prayer which gave countenance to a carnal view of that presence, the great majority of them established a clear and sufficient precedent for the course adopted in the modern liturgies under review, viz. to use simply the words of institution as the form of consecration, without any supplicatory preface, such as that in our own Communion Service. Upon the historical basis, therefore, upon which confessedly these modern liturgies are founded, there could be no controversy as to the propriety of this part of the Communion Service, as it stands in the Prussian Liturgy, where it is introduced only by the words "Kneel down, and hear the words of institution: Our Lord Jesus Christ, in the night, &c.;" or in the Würtemberg Liturgy: "Hear in faith the words of institution of the Holy Supper: Our Lord, &c.;" or, lastly, in the *Agende* for evangelic churches, where the words of institution follow, without any introduction whatever, immediately after the Lord's Prayer. For so we find them placed, immediately after the Lord's Prayer, in the Liturgy of the Palatinate of 1563; in the Brandenburg Liturgy of 1572; and in the Würtemberg Liturgy of 1617; again, in like manner without any introduction whatever, between the *Ter Sanctus* and the Lord's Prayer, in the Liturgy of Archbishop Herman of Cologne, 1543; and before both the *Ter Sanctus* and the Lord's Prayer, in the Brandenburg Liturgy of 1533; and the Wittenberg Liturgy of 1565. But while the historical precedents are thus in favour of a naked insertion of the words of institution, without any accompanying declaration or prayer in which the doctrine of the real presence might be either asserted or denied, the historical precedents for the words of administration run quite the other way; implying, as by far the greatest number of the old Liturgies do, the real presence in the most direct manner. "Take and eat, THIS is the body of Christ, which was given for thee;"—"Take and drink, THIS is the blood of the New Testament, which was shed for thy sin;"—such are the words of administration in the Brandenburg Liturgies of 1533 and 1572; in the Wittenberg Liturgy of 1565; in the Liturgies of the Palatinate of 1543 and 1563; to the same effect is the form in the Liturgy of Archbishop Herman, 1543: "Take and eat *for thy salvation*, the body of Christ which was given for thee;"—"Take and drink *for thy salvation*, the blood of the New Testament which was shed for thy sin;"—in the Würtemberg Liturgy of 1617, "Take and eat, this is the body of *Jesus Christ*, which was given for

thee;”—“Take and drink, this is the blood of *Jesus Christ*, which was shed for thy sin;” and in the Strasburg Liturgy, 1598, “Take, eat, this is the body of *Christ*, given for your sin. *May it strengthen and preserve you unto eternal life*;”—“Drink, this is the blood of *Christ*, shed for your sin. *May it strengthen and preserve you unto eternal life*.” Among all the old Liturgies which we have had an opportunity of comparing³, two only contain words of administration, by which the question of the real presence is left untouched, viz., that of Prussia, 1741, which uses the form: “The bread which we break, is the communion of the body of *Jesus Christ*;”—“The cup of blessing which we bless, is the communion of the blood of *Jesus Christ*, for the remission of our sins;”—and the Hessian Liturgy of 1657, which, by the side of the direct form, “Take and eat, this is the body of the Lord *Jesus Christ*, which was given for you;”—“Take and drink, this cup is the New Testament in the blood of the Lord *Jesus Christ*, which was shed for you and for many, for the remission of your sins;”—has this also, for discretionary use: “The bread which we break is the communion of the body of *Jesus Christ*, broken for your sin on the wood of the cross;”—“The cup of blessing which we bless, is the communion of the blood of *Jesus Christ*, shed for your sin on the wood of the cross.” Here, then, lay the difficulty of the compilers. A form of words so positive and direct as that which most of the old liturgies supplied, was sure to be objected to by very many, while nothing short of it would content the staunch old Lutherans. In the *Agende* for evangelic churches we find that form retained: “Take and eat, this is the body of *Jesus Christ*, given into death for your sins;”—“Take and drink, this is the blood of *Jesus Christ*, shed for your sins;”—but then this Liturgy has the advantage of not being enjoined by authority, a circumstance which made it a matter of far more delicate concern in the compilation of the two others, to avoid that which might provoke opposition. No doubt it was from this feeling that the editors of the draft for the new Württemberg Liturgy adopted, by the side of that which they found in their own older liturgies, the ambiguous form by which the Prussian Liturgy has evaded rather than met the difficulty; in the end, however, the old Lutheran mind seems to

³ We are indebted for the opportunity of consulting so many of these exceedingly rare and precious documents to the kindness and courtesy of CHEVALIER BUNSEN, whose name has long been identified with the liturgical questions of Germany by his own interesting labours in that field; and we beg here to tender to his Excellency our humble and grateful acknowledgments for the free and ready access which he has given us to the rich treasures of his library in this department of theological literature.

have prevailed, and the Liturgy actually published by authority admits of no other form of administration than this: "Take and eat; this is the body of Jesus Christ, given into death for your sins (Do this in remembrance of Him);"—"Take and drink; this is the blood of Jesus Christ, shed for your sins. (Do this in remembrance of Him)." The Prussian Liturgy does, it must be confessed, place itself beyond the reach of the cavils of either party, by framing the form of administration thus: "Take and eat, *says our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ*: This is my body which is given for you; do this in remembrance of me;"—"Take this and drink ye all of it, *says our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ*: This cup is the New Testament in my blood, which is shed for you; do this in remembrance of me." But however ingenious this method of turning the edge of the difficulty may be, we greatly doubt whether the conversion of that which ought to be a benedictory exhortation into a mere historical recital, can be considered a legitimate, or will prove, to minds of deep thought and ardent devotion, a satisfactory, mode of gathering around the same table of our Lord in outward appearance of unity, men whose views and sympathies on this holy and mysterious subject are separated by no less a gulf than that which separates firm belief from positive denial.

In looking at the provision made by the Liturgies before us, for the administration of the Sacrament of Baptism, we are pleased to find that the language of the formularies implies that it will be ministered in the public congregation. All the old liturgies proceed upon that supposition; yet for a long time past the abuse of making Baptism a private ceremony has prevailed throughout the German Protestant Churches; and it is only of late years that a wish for its restoration as a public service has been loudly and very generally expressed. As, however, no directions are given on the subject, and as the Baptismal Office is not, as with us, inserted in the ordinary public service, but remains a separate and independent service, it is not probable that the desired change will be speedily effected; meanwhile it is, under the provisions of these liturgies, open to any minister who is disposed to do so, to effect so salutary a change in his own parish.

In the structure of the Baptismal Service the formularies before us are of very unequal merit. The solemn form of renunciation has been altogether dispensed with in the different forms of No. III., and in one of the discretionary formularies of No. I.; in No. II. the ancient form, which all the old liturgies contain, "Dost thou renounce *the devil*, and all his works and ways?" has been preserved, but with a direction that it is not to be used,

except those who bring the child to the font expressly desire it. In all other cases the form prescribed is either, "Dost thou renounce all sinful thoughts, words, and works?" or "Dost thou renounce the kingdom of darkness, and all ungodly works and ways?" Fully alive to this tenderness to designate Satan by his own proper name, and to the unwillingness of a great portion of German Christendom, to recognize the personal existence of the Evil One, the Prussian Liturgy has again made use of an ingenious method of evasion. "Dost thou renounce," is the question there, "*dem Bösen und seinen Werken und seinem Wesen?*" which, like the Greek *τῷ πονηρῷ*, may mean either "*the Evil One* and all *his* works and ways;" or it may mean, "*evil* and all *its* works and ways." This equivocation is the more inconsistent, as one of the forms of exorcism contained in almost all the old liturgies, has been retained at the commencement of the office, which begins thus: "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen! [*Let the spirit of the impure one* (or, of impurity) *give place to the Holy Spirit*!"] The last words, however, which are placed between brackets, may at discretion be omitted.

There are various other points, in regard to which these Liturgies are open to just censure. The most important of them is the sparing use that is made of Holy Scripture in public worship. Besides the Epistle and Gospel, there is no provision for the public and authoritative reading of God's Word in the service; an arrangement which presents a strikingly unfavourable contrast to that of our Liturgy, in which a portion of the Book of Psalms, two Lessons, from the Old and New Testament, and the recital of the Commandments, form part of the service, to say nothing of the daily recurring Psalms and Canticles. Another point which we have noticed, is the infrequency of the Lord's prayer, both in the general service, and in the occasional offices. To us, who are accustomed to the reverent use of that most perfect form of prayer in every principal division of our services, it sounds passing strange to read, for instance, through an ordination formulary, or a baptismal office, without meeting with the Lord's prayer at all. Equally striking is the frequent omission of those intercessory words "through Jesus Christ our Lord," which so appropriately terminate almost every

⁴ Among the forms of exorcism in the old Baptismal Offices, we have noted in particular the following: "In the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ, I command all evil spirits to depart from this child, and to do him no hurt," in the Liturgy of Archbishop Herman, 1543; and, "I conjure thee, thou unclean spirit, in the Name of the Father ✠ and of the Son ✠ and of the Holy Ghost ✠, to come out and to depart from this servant of Jesus Christ," in the Wittenberg Liturgy of 1565.

prayer of our Liturgy. Another blemish is the suppression of the second, and the division of the tenth commandments ; which we deem it the more desirable to point out, as it has been the fashion to charge this mutilation of the two tables upon the Roman Church, as if she alone were guilty of it. On the contrary, it appears from the Liturgies before us, that in the oldest and soundest of the formularies of the Reformation, the commandments read as follows :—

1. (I am the Lord thy God.) Thou shalt have none other gods but me.
2. Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain (for the Lord will not hold him guiltless that taketh His name in vain).
3. Thou shalt sanctify the Sabbath-day.
4. Thou shalt honour thy father and thy mother (that thou mayest prosper, and thy days may be long upon earth).
5. Thou shalt not kill.
6. Thou shalt not commit adultery.
7. Thou shalt not steal.
8. Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour.
9. Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house.
10. Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, nor his servant, nor his maid, nor his cattle, nor any thing that is his.

Considering that this arrangement of the commandments is manifestly at variance with the text of Scripture, and that it is one which has been brought in question repeatedly in the Romish controversy, it was not too much to expect that the matter would have been rectified in the new Liturgies, and we can only attribute to inadvertence on the part of the compilers, the fact that the mutilation has been suffered to continue.

While these Liturgies are open to so many just exceptions on the ground of omissions, it is rather curious to find in them what one would have least expected to meet with in that quarter, prayers for the dead. The only way to account for this singular phenomenon is, that the principle "*De mortuis nil nisi bonum*," which among ourselves throws, in the opinion of the vulgar, a halo of sanctification over all but the most openly and decidedly godless, and sometimes even over them, has become yet more fruitful in the rich soil of German sentiment and imagination. Religion is in fact with our German neighbours, much more than it is with us, and much more than is altogether desirable, a matter of mere feeling, a kind of condiment with which they are wont to season the more unsavoury passages of life ; and the chamber of death is therefore the place in which we may expect to find it used in richest profusion, though not, perhaps, with a nicely discriminating judgment, or with a due regard to antecedent facts. Upon no other ground than this does it appear intelligible,

that a people among whom soundness of religious belief has almost wholly vanished, and religious observances have fallen into too general desuetude, whose formularies of worship are cold and meagre, because a deeper and more fervent tone of devotion would meet with no sympathy, and cause much offence, should run into excesses bordering on superstition, if not directly promoting it, in their funeral offices. The prayers which they contain are not, as the prayers of our burial service, framed with a view to the general prospects of the Church, comprehending in these, by a charitable hope, which in some cases may be unwarrantably extended, the individual departed out of this life; neither are they, as some divines of our Church have thought they legitimately might be, devout breathings of the soul accompanying, if not helping forward, the spirit which has departed hence in the faith of Christ and in the peace of his fellowship, through ascending degrees of bliss and glory, leading up to the beatific vision and the perfect fruition of Godhead;—the prayers to which we allude as contained in the German Liturgies before us, are of a far different, of a decidedly objectionable character. They are calculated to engender and to support the notion, that to the religious service performed over the corpse, an effectual power and virtue is attached, by which the fate of the departed spirit in the unseen world may be determined,—or in plain terms, that the prayers of the survivors, and the minister's benediction pronounced over the corpse may save the soul of the deceased.

The most objectionable in this respect is the language of the *Agende* for Evangelic Churches. We have there a special formulary entitled, "Benediction of the departed in the house;" in which, among other petitions, the following occurs:

"Receive the departed soul into thy hands, that no torment may touch it; preserve it from all evil; bring it to everlasting rest in thy bosom, to the inheritance of the saints in light."

And further on:

"Here the Minister lifts up his hand upon the departed (i. e. upon the lifeless corpse) and says:

"Blessed be thou of God the Father, who has created thee after his likeness. Blessed be thou of God the Son, who has purchased and redeemed thee with his blood. Blessed be thou of God the Holy Ghost, who has prepared and sanctified thee for his temple. The merciful and gracious God who has blessed thy coming in, bless in like manner thy going out, henceforth and for ever. Amen."

Again, in the formulary appointed to be said at the grave, the Minister while throwing three times earth into the grave, pronounces the following "consecration:"

"From the dust thou wast taken, and unto dust thou shalt return."

The Lord Jesus will raise thee up in the last day. *I consecrate thee unto thy rest*, in the Name of the Triune God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Amen."

It does not require much sagacity to anticipate what will be the effect produced upon the minds of the unthinking mass by the performance of such offices as these, which cannot fail to give countenance to the notion, that a religious service pronounced over the dead corpse can help forward the salvation of the soul in the unseen world, and secure the joyful resurrection of the body in the day of judgment.

It is but fair to state that the Prussian Liturgy for the most part steers clear of so palpably objectionable a mode of expression. The only passage at all chargeable with this tendency, that we have met with, occurs in one of the formularies for discretionary use, contained in the edition for Westphalia and Rhenish Prussia. We there find, after the expression, at the grave, of a hope that the soul of the departed has entered into felicity, the following prayer:—

"Grant that his soul may now rejoice before thy throne, among the myriads of thy angels and saints, and that the body may quietly rest in the grave until its resurrection."

The expressions used in the Württemberg Liturgy are a good deal stronger:—

"From the dust thou wast taken, and unto dust shalt thou return. Thy body the Lord Jesus Christ will raise again in his great day. But thy spirit we commend to the favour and mercy of God, for the sake of his Son our only Saviour and Intercessor. Amen."

And again:

"Almighty God, Lord of life and death! We have committed the lifeless body of one of our brethren to its last resting-place, and we commend his immortal soul into the hands of thy mercy."

Having freely expressed our opinion respecting the faulty arrangement of these liturgies, and various blemishes which we have noted in the details, we desire to record our admiration of some things in them which, it appears to us, might very profitably be adopted, or at least imitated by ourselves. Among these we reckon especially, a solemn form of induction; the newly-appointed minister being presented by some of his brother ministers, one of whom is generally his ecclesiastical superior, to the congregation in which he is to serve. A separate formulary for this purpose is contained in the Prussian Liturgy for Westphalia and the Rhenish provinces, and likewise in the Württemberg Liturgy. The latter especially is in many parts very beautiful, and we should have been tempted to give it in

extenso, but that in consequence of the unsound and unclear views of the German Churches on the subject of holy orders, this service of induction of a minister already ordained, to a new charge, is not kept sufficiently distinct from the proper ordination service. The criticisms in which this confusion of two essentially distinct services would involve us, would necessarily carry us far beyond our limits⁵; we shall therefore content ourselves to lay before our readers another special service which these Liturgies contain, and for which no provision whatever is made in our Church, a preparatory service, namely, for the Holy Communion⁶. We believe we speak the sentiments of not a few of our brethren in the ministry, when we say, that this is felt by them as a deficiency. Various are the attempts which have been made, by class meetings at the clergyman's own residence, by prayer meetings perhaps at the school-room, and in some few instances by a special service at the church, superadded to the daily prayers on the eve of communion days, to make some kind of provision for assisting especially the poor and more ignorant of the flock, in a due preparation for the Sacrament of the Holy Eucharist. To those who have felt this want, and, it may be, have endeavoured to supply it, as far as is possible under existing circumstances, it will not be uninteresting to compare the following Preparatory Service for the Holy Communion, taken from the Würtemberg Liturgy:

“ Beloved in Christ Jesus.

“ The Apostle Paul exhorts all who desire to partake of the Lord's Supper, after this wise: Let a man examine himself, and so let him eat of that bread and drink of that cup; and he adds this warning: For he that eateth and drinketh unworthily, is guilty of the body and blood of the Lord, and eateth and drinketh judgment to himself. To the intent, therefore, that none of us may unworthily and without examining himself come to the Holy Supper, and by such heavy sin take hurt in his soul, let us do that which the Apostle has so earnestly enjoined, and let us judge ourselves, that we may not be judged.

“ Hear what the Word of God testifies concerning the sinfulness of man, and how it inculcates the necessity of repentance. If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us. Every imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth up. That which is born of the flesh, is flesh. There is no difference; we are all sinners together, and come short of the glory which we ought to have in God. But the Lord is the all-seeing Judge of the thoughts and intents of the heart, and all things are naked and opened before his eyes. Ungod-

⁵ We hope at some future time to return to this subject, and to review the whole question of ordination in the German Protestant Churches in a separate article.

⁶ We do not, of course, forget that the admirable exhortations in our Communion Office supply in some degree the want we allude to.

liness is not pleasing to Him, and the wicked cannot stand before Him. If we continue in sin, and walk in impenitence and obduracy, we treasure up for ourselves wrath against the day of wrath and revelation of the righteous judgment of God. For He will render unto every man according to his works, and with Him there is no respect of persons. Repent therefore, and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out. Let the wicked man forsake his ways, and the unrighteous man his thoughts. Acknowledge your misdoings, be sorry for your transgressions, and humble yourselves before God. Take heed lest there be in any of you an evil heart of unbelief. To-day, if ye will hear God's voice, harden not your hearts. Consider the things that make for your peace, and make haste, that ye may save your souls.

"So earnestly does God's word put us in mind how unworthy and deserving of punishment we are; and so loudly does it call us to repentance: but it also declares unto us the unsearchable riches of the mercy of God. Hear then how the Holy Scripture comforts those that are penitent, and promises them pardon, peace, and salvation. As I live, saith the Lord, I have no pleasure in the death of the sinner, but that he should be converted and live. As a father pitieth his children, so does the Lord have compassion on them that fear Him. There is joy in heaven over every sinner that repenteth. So God loved the world, that He gave his only begotten Son, to the end that all that believe in Him, should not perish, but have everlasting life. Be ye reconciled unto God; for He has made Him sin for us who knew no sin, that we might be made the righteousness of God in Him.

"Having therefore heard such comfort and such promises from the word of truth and of life, lift up together with me your hearts unto God in prayer and say: Gracious and merciful God, Thou callest us day by day into the way of peace, and causest repentance and forgiveness of sins to be preached in the name of thy Son Jesus Christ. But we have not hearkened as we ought to have done to the call of Thy mercy; we have esteemed far too lightly the riches of Thy goodness and long-suffering which has borne with us so long a time. Forgive us, O Lord, forgive us the sloth of our flesh, and the hardness of our hearts. Cast us not away from Thy presence, and take not Thy Holy Spirit from us. Do Thou work in our souls sincere and deep repentance for our sins, an earnest desire for Thy righteousness, and sure confidence in Thy fatherly mercy through Thy dear Son. Let none of us neglect the time when Thou visitest in mercy; and forasmuch as we are now invited to the table of our Saviour, grant that we may approach it with repentance and true faith, to the end that this feast of grace may be to us a continual blessing. Let Thy Spirit sanctify us, and let Thy peace which passeth all understanding, keep our hearts and minds in Christ Jesus unto eternal life.

"So minded, let us humble ourselves before our holy Lord God, acknowledge and confess our sins, sue for his mercy in Christ Jesus, and say:—

"I poor sinner confess before God my Heavenly Father, that I have

sinned, alas ! grievously and in many ways, not only by outward transgression of his commandments, but and much more by inward corruption and contamination of the spirit; by unbelief, faint-heartedness, and impatience; by sloth and manifold neglect of what is good; by pride and high-mindedness, by envy and malice, by wrath and bitterness, by vanity and love of the world, by fleshly lusts and desires, by covetousness and an earthly mind, and by innumerable evil imaginations of my heart. For these my sins, which I cannot discern in myself as perfectly as my Lord and God discerns them in me, I repent me, and am truly sorry; and with contrite heart I cry for mercy and pardon through his dear Son Jesus Christ.

“ If ye be sincerely thus minded, affirm the same with one accord and with loud voice, saying: *I am.*”

“ Whosoever acknowledgeth his transgression and departeth from it, shall receive mercy. To you, therefore, who confess and are heartily sorry for your sins, and believe verily in Jesus Christ, and earnestly purpose to amend your lives, I, as an ordained minister of God’s word, declare the forgiveness of all your sins, in the name of God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost. Amen.

“ Rejoice in the mercy which ye have received, and sin no more. Sanctify the Lord God in your hearts, and bring forth sincere fruits of repentance. May He, the God of mercy, who thus again grants you assurance of the forgiveness of your sins, and in the Holy Supper gives you a pledge thereof, enable you by his grace to walk before Him as his obedient children, and may He work in you of his good pleasure, through our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be honour for ever and ever. Amen.”

There are various other points in which the provisions made by the compilers of the new Liturgies for the Evangelic Churches of Germany are worthy of all commendation and imitation; such, for instance, as the public examination of the candidates for Confirmation, incorporated in the Confirmation Service⁷; a special service for the confirmation and first communion of a young person in dangerous sickness; a form of retention of sins addressed to impenitent sinners immediately after the absolution given to the penitent⁸; divers prayers for special occasions, and the like.

⁷ With the immense congregations of catechumens at our Confirmations, gathered together from a considerable number of parishes, such an arrangement would of course be impracticable. But if the numbers of our Episcopate were brought into proportion to the extent of its charge, by the appointment of suffragans in each of the present dioceses, it might then become practicable to administer Confirmation annually in every diocese, and to avoid the crowding together of candidates from so many different places. And if this were done, if Confirmation were ministered in each parish church, or nearly so, in the presence of the whole congregation, to the young members of the flock, the ordinance would then appear in its due importance in the eyes of all; and its interest and impressiveness would be much increased by a solemn profession of their faith made by the catechumens in the face of the Church, before receiving that holy rite.

⁸ The Prussian Liturgy for the province of Silesia has the following form: “ But to the secure, the impenitent, the wilful despisers, the Holy Ghost doth declare, that

But we must forbear, and endeavour to bring our article to a close.

On reviewing the whole subject as it lies before us, both in the works which have been published, and in the liturgical attempts which have been made of late years in Germany, we cannot arrive at any other conclusion than this, that the time for the establishment of a truly Scriptural and Catholic liturgy, agreeable alike to the usages of the Primitive Church, and to the wants of the German people, is yet far distant. The reasons on which this opinion is founded, are in a great measure contained in the evidence of the present state of the question which we have adduced, and in the observations with which we have accompanied it; and instead of recapitulating them in this place, we shall prefer laying before our readers in conclusion the opinion publicly delivered to the same effect by a learned divine in Germany, a short time ago, which we have quoted under No. 4, at the head of this article; the liturgical theses, namely, propounded by Professor Schmieder at the Pastoral Conference at Gnadau on the 17th of April, 1844⁹.

“ 1. Liturgy is the settled order of worship, that is, of the common adoration of God; it presupposes, therefore, fellowship in the love and knowledge of God, in faith and humility before God as our Lord; and, by consequence, mutual agreement, a godly love of the brethren.

“ 2. Whenever a decided division of opinion in things pertaining to God, or a too great difference in the intensity of love and devotion to God, or a practical separation, subversive of brotherly love, takes place in a religious community, worship is impeded, and the liturgy, which is the settled order of worship, loses its heart-uniting power, its meaning and significance; it becomes a grievous shackle to those who have become estranged from the spirit of the liturgy, and from worship itself, and as the united act of the congregation, it becomes a mere lip-service before God, the Searcher of hearts.

“ 3. Whenever such divisions in the faith, such differences of devotional zeal, such separations of the congregational life, become established, the fellowship of worship is dissolved, and different modes of worship with different liturgies arise in opposition to each other, by doctrinal dissension, by separation and schism.

“ 4. The Christian Church, or the congregation of those who worship God in Christ, and through Christ, has often experienced this; thus, for instance, a practical separation of life brought about the schism

unless they repent, their sins are retained against the day of judgment; and this I hereby publicly pronounce unto them, by virtue of my office, for a testimony against them. And may the God of love grant unto them the grace of amendment. Amen.” The use of it is, however, not obligatory, but permissory, in those places in which it has formerly been customary.

⁹ The attention of our readers has already been drawn to these theses. (See English Review, No. III. p. 233; No. IV. p. 503.) They have since created so much discussion, and they are so intimately connected with the subject of this article, that we doubt not it will be gratifying to our readers to peruse them at full length.

between the Greek and Roman Churches; doctrinal dissension, the schism between the Evangelic and the Roman Churches; difference in the intensity of devotion, the peculiar constitution of the Church of the united brethren [Moravians]. All these schisms have, at the same time, produced differences of worship, and essentially different liturgies, which, again, have confirmed and strengthened the schisms themselves.

"5. The Evangelic Church of Germany, both Lutheran and Reformed, had, by the general spread of infidelity, by the waxing cold of the love of Christ, and by the consequent extinction of *Christian* love of the brethren, fallen into a general indifference to its worship, which was termed 'external adoration of God;' this caused the old Church liturgy, which, with all its faults, was full of solid matter, to be felt as a grievance; the Church was inundated with empty and unmeaning hymns and forms of prayer, and the old established order was wilfully set aside.

"6. The newly-awakened faith, the newly-kindled fervour of devotion, and Christian love of the brethren, require a worship in which they shall be reflected, and realize the spirit of Christian Communion; hence the demand for liturgic restoration.

"7. The attempt, however, to effect this restoration meets with an immediate and not sufficiently considered obstruction in the very nature of the revival which has taken place:

"a. In regard to a common foundation of faith. The impulse towards Christ given by the Holy Ghost is felt in common, it is true, by all whom that revival has reached; but in doctrine and belief they differ as yet widely, and if they were all to make an open profession of their heart's belief, it would—with the exception of a few fundamental articles, conceived in general terms,—sound, not like an harmonious concert, but like the simultaneous tuning of the instruments. From such a state of things no liturgy can take its rise.

"b. In regard to the fervour of devotion. Some difference of degree among the different worshippers there always will be; but at present the awakened individuals amount to no more than a *διασπορά* in the Evangelic Church; they neither can nor will separate themselves, but at the same time they neither can nor will force upon the yet slumbering congregations the expression of their own faith and devotion.

"c. In regard to Christian love of the brethren. A large proportion of the members of the Church at this time hardly know this intimate bond of love at all, and those who know it, those who have been awakened, are in a great measure divided among themselves by dissensions in the faith. This time is not yet ripe for the regeneration of worship, and the production of a new Liturgy. We must content ourselves with isolated attempts, with preparatory labours, with the collection and production of Liturgic materials.

"8. To the carnal Israel of the Old Testament the covenant with God was given in the form of the law, and its worship in the shape of a complete Liturgy; the spiritual Israel of the New Testament received, in the place of the law, the Gospel and the Holy Ghost; and both, the

matter and the form of its worship, was to be the living fruit of its common adoration of God in Spirit and in truth : the gradual settlement of the order of worship produced the Liturgy.

"9. The relation, therefore, in which worship and Liturgy ought to stand to each other in the Christian Church, is this, not that the Liturgy produces the worship, but that the worship, flowing with life and freedom from the Spirit, gradually becomes consolidated in the form of a Liturgy, yet without becoming hard and petrified. In the Greek and Roman Churches the Liturgy has become a petrification ; in the Evangelic Churches, while certain solid elements are retained, it has again become liquid and pliant.

"10. The object of worship being, not that the congregation should be taught, but that it should act, that is, by worshipping God in Christ, common action must be the predominant character of the Liturgy ; long sermons, doctrinal, corrective, or controversial, find no place in worship or in the Liturgy ; they distract and destroy worship, and if required, must be placed somewhere else. The ancient Church correctly distinguished between *Homilia* and *Tractatus*. The latter is misplaced in worship, which is to be essentially and exclusively the act of the congregation. It may be exceedingly necessary and salutary, and requires to be sanctified by the worship of God ; but like catechetical instruction, it does not constitute a pure element of worship, because it directs the attention to a variety of details and thereby distracts it.

"11. Worship being the act of the congregation, the Liturgy, even in its permanent parts, must not present to the minds of the congregation, or put into its mouth, any doctrinal matter with a view to inculcate it or to force it upon the congregation ; every thing must be spoken from the heart of the people. The Athanasian Creed is un-liturgical.

"12. In using formularies and sermons in public worship for the instruction of the people, and for controversial purposes, the Reformers acted in accordance with the wants of their age, and not upon liturgic principles ; but in putting into the mouths of the people sound Christian hymns, they acted in a truly liturgic spirit.

"13. Congregational singing must be short, simple, and intelligible ; there must be no lengthy, doctrinal, or sentimental hymns ; not more at a time than six short or three long verses ; and the number of hymns so limited, that the congregation may know them all by heart. The human voice should predominate ; the use of the organ is to be kept under.

"14. The tunes, too, must be simple and easy ; their number is at present too great, and critical severity must remove those which have no church character. Artistic chanting is to be admitted into worship only to a very moderate extent. The choir must be renovated by the introduction of adult and pious members of the congregation, who are good singers. At the same time a model school for organists and vocal Church music, like those which existed at Metz and Orleans in the days of St. Lewis, is a desideratum.

"15. The restoration of the altar service in the new Prussian Liturgy,

in which the act of adoration is mainly concentrated, is matter of grateful acknowledgment; but there is an absurdity in the position of the officiating minister, who, while praying to the Lord with the congregation and on its behalf, turns towards the congregation, book in hand, as if he was reading to the people.

"16. The capability of producing good liturgic forms is almost entirely lost among us; the forms that are produced, unless they are old liturgic forms in a new dress, and even when they are so, are scarcely ever appropriate.

"17. In order to restore a liturgic taste for vocal Church music, not only the powerful hymns of the age of the Reformation, down to Paul Gerhardt, but the old Church hymns and sequences also of the Greek and Roman churches ought to be taken for patterns. In like manner, the old Latin and Greek Liturgies ought to be studied with a view to form a correct liturgic taste as to prayers and sentences; besides which that study would yield a rich harvest of prayers full of unction. 'All things are your's, and ye are Christ's.'"

"18. All worship is an act on man's part towards God; but richness and delightsomeness is imparted to it only by faith in a reciprocal acting on God's part, and by the enjoyment which God himself vouchsafes to us in our worship. This enjoyment is no where higher than in Christian worship; and the crown of Christian worship itself is the fruition of God in Christ Jesus.

"19. Christian worship is the adoration of God in Christ Jesus, pervaded by the fruition of God and of his spiritual gifts of grace. To express this, it has recently been said that *Sacrificium* and *Sacramentum* are the spiritual elements of worship; taking these words in their most general sense, not in that to which the Church has limited them, this may be admitted, but it would be more accurate to say: *Adoratio* and *Communio*.

"20. The new [Prussian] Liturgy corresponds in its altar service with this idea, forasmuch as 1. it makes the entire worship to consist in adoration; 2. it subdivides this adoration, into confession of sins, confession of the faith, doxology, prayer and thanksgiving (at the close of the Holy Communion); 3. it interweaves the adoration with fruition of the incarnation of Christ (Glory be to God in the highest, &c.), of the Word of God (Epistle and Gospel), of the communion of the Holy Ghost (sermon), and lastly, of the body and blood of Christ.

"21. What is wanting to this Liturgy, is freshness, power, richness, pliancy; the fault lies in this, that it originated in the mere compilation of old liturgic elements, and is not the production of the spirit of the congregation; a thing impossible in the present state of our Church.

"22. But it is far better than the Lutheran and Reformed Liturgies, whose place it has taken; because in both adoration is pushed into the background, and instruction spread out above measure. The Lutheran practice of chanting collects, is an isolated petrified fragment of ritual music, which obstructs rather than assists the proper intent of

singing, the understanding and appropriation of the words. The Communion service, in which the Lord's prayer and the words of institution are put in bare and rigid juxta-position, is likewise as dead as possible; for they are placed by the side of each other, but not in relation to each other, without one word added to assist the congregation in appropriating these most holy elements of worship.

"23. On the other hand, the new Prussian Liturgy is capable of ample and living development; and, considering what is at this time possible, a good beginning has been made in the cathedral of Berlin since Advent last; but care should be taken not to allow the musical enjoyment to preponderate.

"24. The culminating point of the Christian service is the Supper of the Lord, the perfect *Communio*; participation of it properly includes in it the crown of worship, *Adoratio*; the history of the Liturgy proves this. It is much to be lamented that for want of communicants the Holy Communion, which down to the Reformation invariably formed part of every principal service in all Christian Churches, should be so frequently wanting; and it is yet more to be lamented, that the Communion is still too generally considered as a mere appendage of divine service, which may without impropriety be omitted.

"25. It admits of a question, whether in towns at least, where the ministers might obtain assistants in holy orders for baptisms, and other like official acts, the doctrinal sermon ought not to be transferred to the evening service, so as to give in the morning service only a short homily, to enliven the altar-service, and to make the Holy Communion the principal aim of the service.

"26. The prevailing infrequency of participation in the Holy Communion, is assuredly contrary to the Lord's institution, no less than to the custom of the primitive Church. A return to more frequent communion on the part of all, and to weekly communion on the part of the clergy, would be most salutary. The penitential service does not necessarily form part of the Holy Communion; attendance on it might be made compulsory once at the least in every year, between the first Sunday in Lent and Pentecost; leaving those who wish for it, to attend as often as they please. But this proposal is suited for another time than the present."

Without wishing to be held responsible for every one of the opinions recorded by Professor Schmieder in these theses, we cannot but express our heartfelt gratification at seeing so much sound churchmanship put forth among our German neighbours. However slow the progress of these principles may be, and we fear must be, for some time to come in Germany, the very fact of their being put on record, and made the subject of general discussion, is a great gain, especially among so speculative a people as the Germans.

For our own part we have risen from this review of the present state of the liturgical question in Germany, with two truths

strongly impressed on our mind, the conviction of which we trust our readers will share with us. The first of them is, that our Church is coming far short of her duty towards our brethren of the Evangelic Communion in Germany, by not giving them an opportunity of seeing our Church system fully and practically at work before their eyes. It is painful to observe by what ridiculous and at the same time deeply-rooted prejudices they are prevented from forming a more intimate acquaintance with the constitution and actual character of our Church. The general impression which they have of her is, that in relation to this country she is a wealthy, purse-proud, aristocratic establishment, which cumbereth the ground; and in relation to themselves, they believe it to be our sole aim and object to force upon them our succession and our Liturgy. They little suspect that the essential elements of our Church life are precisely that wherein they are so lamentably deficient; and it would therefore be rendering them a great service, if (which we might easily do by means of our own settlements in different parts of their country) we could exhibit to them our Church in a position in which they would have no cause to be jealous of her, and yet at the same time under circumstances favourable to their more familiar intercourse with us.

The other truth which has forced itself irresistibly upon our mind, is that we of this English Church have indeed abundant reason to be thankful to the great Head of the Church for the blessing of a settled Liturgy, Catholic in its character, and on the whole so well suited to the feelings and habits, and to the theological opinions of this great nation. For what, after all, are the few points of disagreement in ritual matters which agitate our Church at present, in comparison with the endless incongruity of opinion and of feeling which prevails in Germany, and renders the prospect of a common national worship, if not hopeless, at least immeasurably far distant! Let those who are discontented with our established and time-honoured order of worship, those who endeavour to raise the cry of liturgical reform amongst us, cast their eye abroad, and they will learn more highly to appreciate the unspeakable blessings which we enjoy, and of which they are wont to think and to speak so lightly. If once we were to cast ourselves loose from the safe anchorage on which we have been moored, with only a short intermission, for three centuries, it is impossible to tell whither we should be carried by the squalls, the cross-currents and counter-tides of this unstable age. Nay, rather let us hold fast that which we have so long and so certainly proved to be good.

ART. III.—1. *Maynooth, the Crown, and the Country, or a Protest, on behalf of the Monarchy and the Nation, against the new, augmented, permanent, and uncontrolled endowment of the Roman Catholic College of Maynooth, &c.* London: F. and J. Rivington. 1845.

2. *A Review of the Maynooth Endowment Bill, showing its fatal tendencies, with a Proposal for the Conciliation of Contending Parties in Ireland. By the Author of Maynooth, the Crown, and the Country.* London: F. and J. Rivington. 1845.

THE statute by which the Romish College of Maynooth is endowed *in perpetuum* with British funds, and its buildings consigned to the paternal care of the English government, has now virtually become a law of this realm. The time, therefore, for opposition is past. The deed is done, and its record graven upon the tables of England's history. Strange have been the inconsistencies of principle, most awful the backslidings, exhibited in this memorable struggle. Liberals, who have been patronising and petting Popery, as one of the schisms from the Church, find out all of a sudden that they cannot follow out their principles; that latitudinarianism has its *ne plus ultra*; that a stand must be made somewhere for ABSTRACT TRUTH; that some standard must be recognized besides the conscientious conviction of the individual. The multifarious sectaries, who claim for each congregation, or each individual, the *right* of framing his own faith, and protest against the presumption of asserting that *the Church's* creeds are TRUE, and therefore *authoritatively demand* assent, have felt themselves transported into a common paroxysm of dogmatism. And stranger, more melancholy to relate, amongst the warm supporters of this permanent establishment of schism by the state, there have not been wanting those who should have better understood their allegiance to the *One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church*. In this hour of darkness, we speak it in sorrow so overwhelming that anger is swallowed up, the Church of Christ has been deserted by some with whom she had taken sweet counsel, whom she regarded as her familiar friends, whom she looked to with assurance as faithful among the faithless.

There is no fact in all history more lucidly apparent, more undeniable, more demonstrable than this,—that the Irish branch of the

United Church of England and Ireland, is the branch of Christ's Catholic Church, planted there in apostolic times, and watered by St. Patrick and St. Columba. It is indisputable that Romanism in Ireland is a modern schism intruded upon that Church in the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and James the First. It is notorious that the authority of the Bishop of Rome was utterly unknown until the latter half of the twelfth century, and then came to be recognized entirely by *English* influence. It is familiar to every alphabetarian in Irish ecclesiastical records, that the Reformation was established in 1560 by seventeen out of nineteen bishops (the two dissentients, Walsh of Meath, and Leverous of Kildare, having illegally usurped their sees during the Marian persecution, while the legitimate prelates were alive); that from them the present Irish bishops derive the succession unbroken from apostolic times; that, notwithstanding the palpable absurdity of enacting, as was done by the Irish Parliament of 1560, that the *English Liturgy* should be used instead of the *Latin* Mass, amongst a people to whom English was yet more unfamiliar, the Irish did quietly resort to their parish churches during the greater part of Elizabeth's reign; that the Irish Titulars derive their orders not from the ancient Irish Church, but from Italian or Spanish emissaries sent over to foment rebellion against the Queen; and lastly, that the foundations of their modern schism were laid in treason and in blood¹. If these things be so, and every one who is not in

¹ As a specimen of the means employed to set up the Romish schism in Ireland, we give the following extract from the Bull of Gregory XIII. (A.D. 1580), ratifying the appointment of Sir John of Desmond as commander of the rebels assembled at Smerwick (near Dingle), *vice* James Geraldine or Fitzmaurice, who had been killed near Limerick. The traitor James had himself come over from Rome, armed with a Bull in his favour, attended by some hundred Italian robbers, the Jesuit Saunders, and Bishop Omelrian, a Franciscan friar, consecrated to intrude into the see of Killaloe! The same pope had created Thomas Stukely, who was to have commanded the expedition conjointly with James, but that he was killed upon the coast of Morocco, Marquis of Leinster, Earl of Wexford and Carlow, Viscount Murrough, and Baron of Ross. The Bull is dated May 13, 1580.

"Gregory XIII., Pope, to all and singular the Archbishops, Bishops, and other Prelates, as also to the Princes, Earls, Barons, Clergy, Nobility, and People of the Kingdom of Ireland, Health and Apostolical Benediction.

"Whereas in recent years we have by our letters exhorted you to assist (in order to the recovery of your liberty and the defence and preservation of it against heretics) James Geraldine, of worthy memory, (who was endeavouring, with most high-minded zeal, to shake off the cruel yoke of slavery imposed on you by the English deserters from the holy Roman Church,) and to aid him with promptness and energy in his preparations to make war on God's enemies and yours.

"And whereas to encourage you to engage in this service with greater alacrity, we granted to all the confessed and contrite who should follow the aforesaid General James and his army, the champion and defender of the Catholic faith, and who should join themselves to him or support his cause in this expedition by their counsel, countenance, *military stores, arms, and other necessities of war*, or in any manner whatever, a plenary pardon and remission of all their sins, and the same privileges

history *plane hospes* knows them to be so, what else but some judicial infatuation can account for the strange inconsistency of those who can discourse well and learnedly of the rights of the Church, and yet lend their aid to that ferocious schism which professes that nothing but her overthrow will suffice—that Ireland's apostolic, and once glorious Church must be levelled with the ground, and a modern usurper must tread her ruined altars in the dust?

We do not flatter ourselves that our arguments can roll back the current of legislation. What our Rulers have written, they have written. But it is our bounden duty to leave on record a deliberate and solemn protest. We desire to clear ourselves from any participation in this national iniquity. When the Almighty was about to smite his own apostate city, He, graciously to preserve those who consented not to her guilty councils, “set a mark upon the foreheads of the men that sighed and cried for all the abominations that be done in the midst of Jerusalem.”—(Ezek. ix. 4.) It is a glorious privilege, although a melancholy office, to witness for despised and forgotten TRUTH in the midst of a forward generation.

“He who loves his country and searches after truth,” to borrow the language of that masterly writer whose pamphlet we have taken for our text, “should not the result of his endeavours for the prevention of evil and recovery of good, be equal to his desires; yet will find ample consolation in the consciousness that in his generation he has served in some degree to keep alive a traditional assertion of truth,—to be, as it were, one link in a chain of protestation against falsehood, and has helped to animate those who may come after him to contend in the same cause; and he will rejoice also in the persuasion, that all the time and thought which he may have expended in labours for the honour of lawfully-constituted civil authority, and of Him from whom all authority is derived, will be rewarded with abundant recompence into his bosom when nations and empires shall have passed away.”—(Maynooth, p. 5.)

which have been usually bestowed by the popes of Rome on persons setting out to the war with the Turks, and for the recovery of the Holy Land.

“And whereas, further, tidings have been recently received by us, not without deep distress of mind on our part, that the aforesaid James in a *valiant encounter with the enemy* (as it hath pleased the Lord), hath been slain; and that our beloved son, John Geraldine, his kinsman, hath succeeded to him in the expedition, and hath already performed many valiant deeds in his worthy struggle for the Catholic faith; we therefore, in the strongest manner of which we are capable, exhort, require, and urge you in the Lord, all and singular, to aid the said General John, and his army, *against the aforesaid heretics*, by every means in your power, according to the admonitions which we addressed to you for the regulation of your conduct towards the said James while he was yet alive.” K. T. L.

For a fuller view of this most important subject, vid. Bp. Mant's History of the Church of Ireland, and King's Primer of the Church History of Ireland, a most useful little Manual for circulation.

We are not about to enter upon any discussion of the great principles upon which are grounded the connexion of religion with the state. "The question" before us is, "whether in a Christian state, the religious duty which attaches to it is properly limited to the form of the Church? or whether, according to an opinion which has some adherents in this country, and has received much practical countenance in others, the civil power may uphold a variety of creeds and communions, limited either by the Christian name, or by an adhesion to doctrines assumed as fundamental?"

We have proposed the question in the words of Mr. Gladstone. In his words too shall we answer it. That answer seems to us unanswerable. How can it be reconciled with the endowment and establishment of the Romish schism in Ireland?

"Insuperable difficulties of conscience," says this distinguished writer, "appear to arise, when we have agreed to substitute for catholic principles the vague test of some more vague agreement upon undefined fundamentals. Suppose we adopt this for our rule, that the state may unite with itself any religious body professing the *essential* doctrines of Christianity. The fatal objection arises, that there is, manifestly and beyond dispute, no criterion of essential doctrines apart from the body of the Church, upon which a state could practically act. The same temper which excites a jealousy even of the exclusive recognition of the Church, would create an infinitely stronger and more reasonable dissatisfaction if the state were absolutely to refuse countenance and aid to a body of religionists, on the naked ground of some one doctrine or opinion in theology; and at some one it is, whichever that may be, that the dividing line must be drawn. Because their deviations from the rule of the Church must be limited; and because it is impossible to ascertain any intelligible and practical method of limitation, we are driven back to the position, that the rule capable of the best prospective determination, and most truly satisfying the obligations of duty, is that of ALLIANCE WITH THE CHURCH ALONE. The Church, therefore, is the society with which, and with WHICH ALONE, they can consistently form such an alliance as has been here described. While the doctrine of one body is authoritatively declared by Scripture, to recognize the Christian religion in separate bodies, might be to countenance the sin which lies somewhere, though it may be hidden, or may be divided among many offending parties, in every such putting asunder of what God has united."—(The State etc. vol. i. p. 120.)

To this convincing answer, we feel it unnecessary to make any addition. But we shall apply these general principles, so ably laid down, to the particular case before us. We call upon Mr. Gladstone to explain how, if such be the duty of the state, it can be any thing but a grievous sin to form alliance with the Romish

schism. The recent endowment of Maynooth contains an affirmation of the principle, that it is right for the legislature to establish Romanism in the place of, or conjointly with, THE CHURCH in Ireland. It was candid in Mr. Gladstone fairly to admit so much. "The Bill is most important as to the principles which it involves; for it is impossible not to see—it must be admitted that it decides the question of payment to the Roman Catholic Priesthood of Ireland—that it decides the religious objection to that question." Speech, April 11, 1845. *Quantum mutatus!*

But we shall be told, as Mr. Gladstone informed the house in the speech already referred to, the state has already broken in upon this principle, "by annual votes of money for other denominations of Christians not agreeing with ourselves;" or as the premier himself descanted, giving the key-note to almost every successive supporter of the Bill, "Parliament has already granted money to Maynooth, and the present Bill only proposes to increase what has already been sanctioned." What then, does wrong become right because it has been already perpetrated? Must truth hide her blushing head, when some miserable precedent of error is brought forward as an *argumentum ad verecundiam*? If one, or two, or three false steps have been made, is it necessary that for consistency, the nation should add iniquity to iniquity, indefinitely and infinitely? Is there no *locus pœnitentiæ* for the state? Is it impossible ever for it to remain stationary, and because a fault has been committed, must it continually go down a descending climax of moral deterioration? When any course of action is recommended for our adoption, our duty surely is to examine the case *upon its own merit*, and determine, as the voice of conscience approves or disapproves. The question for us to consider is simply, am I called on to violate any moral principle? It is a crooked deontology which can discern any justification of a crime, in the former commission of identical or analogous atrocities. The moral obligations of the state are similar to those of the individual, and if all discussion of the morality of a *particular act* is to be closed by this Chinese appeal to precedent, then may the fornicator or the drunkard lull his conscience, and indulge himself, and answer your calls to repentance by saying, I have already *given up the principle*; my present courses are but carrying out the details; consistency obliges me to go on.

The parliament may be regarded as the great criterion of our national morality. And nothing in all the progress of the Maynooth Bill seemed to us more afflicting, than the entire absence of any attempt to reconcile the Bill with the eternal law of rectitude. *Precedents*, or alleged precedents, were quoted, results were

canvassed, but the great question whether, *in se*, the endowment of a schism was right, was completely blinked.

Even though a thousand precedents could be adduced, we should still discuss the question upon its own merits. If it could be shown that the state had done the same before, we should still examine whether or no its conduct had accorded with the rule of right. If not, then away with precedents of evil. Our language to the state, as to the individual, is, do not add iniquity to iniquity for consistency, but "*Sin no more, lest a worse thing come on thee!*"

But wide as have been the deflections of the state from the right rule, yet we assert, that in point of fact, no former enactment does form a precedent for the recent endowment of Maynooth. That certainly is not a precedent which is most confidently appealed to as such.

Maynooth was originally founded, not by the Imperial, but by the Irish Parliament, and under the pressure of extraordinary circumstances; circumstances so different from the present state of things, that there is no analogy between the cases.

"The circumstances of that period (1795) were full of difficulty and danger. All the seminaries in France, where the Irish Roman Catholic ecclesiastics had hitherto been usually educated, were destroyed; and, even if they had not been so, yet such was the condition of the times, that all loyal and constitutional principles would have been rooted out of them. Take one specimen of the public opinion prevalent in France at that period with regard to education. In 1792, Condorcet had come forward with his Report on that subject, and in the words of the Historian of Education in France (M. de Riancey), '*il part de deux principes audacieusement formulés; la négation de toute religion et la perfectibilité indéfinie de l'espèce humaine.*' So much, then, for the moral and religious part of the subject; now for the civil. In 1793, David presented his Report on the same topic to the French Convention, proposing, '*l'érection sur le Pont-Neuf d'un monument qui représenterait l'image du Peuple Géant; les effigies des Rois et les débris de leur vils attributs lui serviraient de piédestal;*' and, as a close to the whole, the National Assembly shortly after decreed, as a necessary qualification for the office of instructor in every school, that he should take the oath '*de haine à la royauté et d'attachement à la république.*' It is evident, then, that at the period of the foundation of Maynooth, continental education had become almost unattainable to the future Roman Catholic ecclesiastics of Ireland; or, if attainable, was only to be had adulterated with atheistical and anarchical principles; and it must not be forgotten, in addition to this, that it was very reasonable to hope, alas! that this hope, as we shall show, has been so unhappily frustrated, that if education, free from all foreign influences, civil and ecclesiastical, were provided by the state for that class of Irish subjects

which had hitherto been trained abroad, they would grow up in feelings of patriotism and loyalty, and would be examples, in their own practice, of that submission and obedience to civil authority, which ministers of the Gospel are specially required, by the word of God, to teach, and for the due maintenance of which they are enjoined to pray.”—(Maynooth, p. 14.)

Maynooth, then, was founded, not because government felt it to be their duty to make provision for the education of the Romish ecclesiastics in Ireland. The institution was not designed as a mark of favour bestowed by the state upon the Roman schism. The step was taken to avoid a desperate and imminent danger, the danger of admitting, as pastors of the people, men trained in the revolutionary schools of the French republic. The inciting motive was the anxiety to stop the progress of anti-social and anti-British principles. “As the Catholic clergy (says Mr. Grattan) were liable to be affected in their education abroad by anti-English sentiments, it was thought advisable to adopt this mode of preventing it.” (Life of Grattan.) There is no question about Mr. Pitt’s intention in the foundation of Maynooth, and there is as little question that Maynooth has signally failed to realize *that intention*. The repeal agitation has recently furnished a criterion to determine how far “anti-English sentiments have been prevented by this mode.” That traitorous scheme for the dismemberment of the empire received the almost unanimous and enthusiastic support of the Maynooth-bred ecclesiastics. Archbishops, bishops, deans, archdeacons, and parish priests, at monster meetings, at public entertainments, before the altars of God, all vied with each other in glowing denunciations of the “Saxon invaders.” In diocese after diocese we have seen their names enrolled in the list of England’s foes. So openly revolutionary have been some of the *Episcopal* addresses, that the Vatican has trembled at the shock, and the *pontiff* deemed it *needful to moderate these transports of anti-British frenzy*. Nor has this been a mere sudden and transient outbreak of excited feeling. Since Maynooth has “begun to be felt,” so far from the hopes of Pitt receiving accomplishment, there has been a growing increase of “anti-English sentiments.” In the year 1825, Mr. O’Connell, in his evidence before the House of Commons, declared, that “the priests who were educated *in France* had a natural abhorrence of the French Revolution; but with the priests educated at Maynooth, the anti-Jacobin feeling is gone by; and therefore in the phrase that is usually called loyalty, they do not come so much within the description of it as the priests educated in France.” To such a witness, upon such a subject, it would be idle to add any further testimony. Maynooth, then, has

confessedly and avowedly failed to produce the effect which Pitt designed and expected that it would produce. It has plainly and undeniably worked out a result totally contrary to what he anticipated. He founded it to produce priests *more loyal* than those educated in France, and it has produced, *teste* Daniel O'Connell, priests *less loyal*. It has *worked out* a danger greater than that which it was set up to *prevent*. What is it, then, but sheer dishonesty to allege the conduct of Pitt as a precedent for the recent endowment of Maynooth? The minister of 1845 has before his eyes the object which Mr. Pitt intended to effect, and the machinery which he established to effect that object. He can see, by the light of experience, that the machinery has failed to do its purposed work, and has operated with a force in a direction opposite to what he intended. And yet, when he calls for fresh powers to be granted to Maynooth; when he bestows upon it a permanent revenue thrice as large as before; when he commits the care of its buildings to the English government; when he has felt the empire shaken to its centre by the anti-Anglicism of the Maynooth priests; when he sanctions the principles in which they have been nurtured, by demanding increased support for the institution which has so trained them, and disclaiming any idea of interfering with those principles; and when these principles, so widely instilled *by Maynooth*, are the very principles which Pitt established it to prevent, he would have us believe, forsooth, that it was merely a "matter of detail;" that "the principle had been given up already; that the Maynooth Endowment Bill of 1845 is but a legitimate and natural carrying out of the precedent set by George the Third and Mr. Pitt in 1795!"

So far indeed from the measure of Sir Robert Peel being a carrying out of the principles of Mr. Pitt, that the course adopted by him is *the only one which we can be sure his illustrious predecessor would not have adopted*. We do not pretend to any power of hypothetical vaticination. We cannot conjecture whether, if Pitt had lived to hear his *élèves* of Maynooth fulminating against the Saxon, and inciting the masses of the faithful to revolt in such orations as those of Doctor Higgins and Doctor Mc Hale, he would not have been the first to proclaim the failure of his plan for preventing "anti-English sentiments," and whether disappointment and indignation might not have stimulated him to propose the total withdrawal of the grant. Nor can we conjecture how far he might have deemed the evils of Maynooth remediable. It is not for us to call up, like spirits from the abyss, the projects which he might have framed to link Irish Roman Catholicism with the British crown; to restrain the Papal power;

to exclude Jesuitical influence from the college; to obtain some direct influence over it by the appointment of regius professors; to punish the inculcation of disloyal and anti-British principles. On these points it would be useless to waste conjecture. But one thing is certain beyond controversy. That this great statesman would not have proposed to *triple and perpetuate the endowment*, without any attempt to change the constitution, or alter the principles of the institution, when it was plainly *counteracting* the very design for which it was founded, and confessedly manufacturing more rapidly than revolutionary France herself, "those anti-English sentiments" which it was established to prevent.

Again :—

"In 1795, British Roman Catholics had no private colleges *at home*. As the preamble of the act of 1795 states, the law did not permit them. But in 1845 the case is widely different. In England they have now private seminaries at Old Hall Green, Ushaw, Oscott, Prior Park, Stonyhurst, Ampleforth, Downside, Everton, Ratcliffe; and in Scotland, at Blairs, near Aberdeen. There is then we see no want of Roman Catholic colleges in England and Scotland. And what is the case with Ireland? Notwithstanding the foundation of Maynooth, to which the country has contributed an annual grant of about 9000*l.* since 1795, *other ecclesiastical seminaries* have arisen in all parts of the country from *private* endowments. There are institutions of this kind at Carlow, Kilkenny, Tuam, Waterford, and Wexford."—(Review, p. 16.)

So much for the "precedent" which we have heard quoted with such self-complacent reiteration. Upon the other pretended *precedents*, i. e. Roman Catholic *Chaplains* to gaols and workhouses, we shall not waste one word.

Our first ground of objection to the recent endowment of Maynooth was taken upon the broad general principle, that it is contrary to the *duty* of the state to endow and ally itself with *any* form of religion except the Church of Christ. We shall now proceed to state some further objections which we think overwhelmingly strong against the encouragement of Maynooth in particular. Maynooth is not to be changed by the new statute. Its constitution, its teaching, its government are to continue *in statu quo*. Sir Robert has disclaimed all intention of attempting a reformation. The British Parliament is merely to feed it with funds to educate as it pleases, and the education is to go on uninterfered with, however "anti-English" may be the *sentiments* inculcated.

1. Maynooth, then, is, we assert it plainly, *directly subject to Papal influence*. The government of Maynooth is absolutely in

the hands of the Romish bishops, who are *appointed by the Pope*, and who, claiming to hold from him as his vassals, assume *the title of Barons*².

"The government is vested in trustees, who are a *self-elected body*; no control can be exercised by the Civil Power, either subsequently or antecedently, over their election; and as its late President, Dr. Crotty, informs us, this Board of Trustees consists always of eleven bishops and six laymen, the four archbishops being always trustees. The trustees elect the professors³, all of whom, from the foundation to 1826, the year preceeding that of the Maynooth Report, (with two exceptions,) have been ecclesiastics.

"Now, these things being borne in mind, let it also be remembered that the bishops of Ireland are appointed by the Pope, that they nominate the professors at Maynooth, that they have supreme control over its doctrine and discipline, that they appoint to all spiritual cures in their respective dioceses, and that five-eighths of the future priests of Ireland are trained at Maynooth. Let it also be recollected that the four archbishops cannot exercise even episcopal functions before they receive the pallium from Rome; that all the bishops are bound to the Pope, first by the subscription of the Trent Creed, and by the Trent oath to him, as priest; and secondly, by a most solemn one of subscription and fidelity to him as bishop. Thus we have a correct notion of the extent and power of the Papal influence, through Maynooth, over Ireland generally, and peculiarly and directly *upon Maynooth itself*. We do not hesitate then to affirm, that the main-spring of the machine is no other than the Pope himself. The British nation pays for Maynooth, and the POPE GOVERNS IT."—(Maynooth, pp. 30—32.)

That vassalage of the ecclesiastical power to the Roman bishops, which England cast off as inconsistent with her safety, and which every country in Europe, Roman catholic as well as protestant, has found it necessary to modify, now subsists in Ireland in uncontrolled and undiminished force. "The Roman Catholic Hierarchy in Ire-

² It is as Barons, holding under the Pope, that the Irish Titulars assume the title of "my Lord." The claim of the Pope to the *temporal dominion over Ireland* has been frequently put forward, and has never been abandoned. That claim is dated from the year 1092, when it is pretended that Ireland was given up by its governors to Urban II. On this was founded the grant of the *lordship* of Ireland to Henry II. by pope Adrian, his holiness remaining *king* of Ireland. Mr. King is not correct in stating that the title of king of Ireland was conferred on Henry II., vid. *Primer of Irish Church History*. The title of king was bestowed upon Henry VIII. in the year 1542.

³ The celebrated "John, archbishop of Tuam," was for nine years professor of dogmatic theology. It is this professor upon whom it devolves by the statutes of Maynooth, "strenuously to impress on his class that the allegiance which they owe to the sovereign cannot be relaxed or annulled by any authority whatever." It is amusing, and at the same time awful, to think of Dr. Mc Hale being for nine long years the *preacher of allegiance to the English government*! When the teacher is such, is it surprising that the scholars are what they are.

land," said Lord Castlereagh, "is known to be in a state of more complete and unqualified dependence on a *foreign* authority, than any other Catholic Church now subsisting in Europe." In Ireland alone of all the countries of Europe, Rome acts in total independence of the Civil Power. She issues her mandates without control, she appoints the bishops, refusing even the privilege of a *Veto*. Papal supremacy is so successfully inculcated by the Maynooth professors, that we are informed, upon the authority of Mr. O'Connell, in 1821—"I speak advisedly, that a sanguinary insurrection would immediately have followed the enactment of the Bill;" i. e. a Bill conferring upon the Crown the right of *Veto* in the appointment of the Romish bishops, a right claimed by the state in every country of Europe, except Ireland. The Maynooth-taught ecclesiastics indignantly reject the Gallican Articles, and embrace the ultramontane doctrine of Papal sovereignty. They stand in a relation of direct subordination to the Pope, unparalleled now except in the Papal states. The obligations which Maynooth teaches them that they owe to a Foreign Prince, are inconsistent with due allegiance to a *Church of England Sovereign*. We know full well that most Roman Catholics will now disclaim for the Pontiff any *direct* power in temporal matters. But none can pretend to deny that Irish Romanists universally admit, and that Maynooth industriously teaches, that the Pope possesses by right a power in spiritual matters, which may at any moment become inextricably connected with political affairs, and may collide against the authority of the English government. Let none be blinded by this subtle distinction between the Pope's direct and indirect influence. If *any power* be conceded to a Foreign Court, and that Court guided by Jesuit counsels, who can predict how or when that power may come into living exercise. Let the words of Barrow never be forgotten: "from that doctrine (of the Pope's direct supremacy in temporals), that opinion in effect doth not differ which Bellarmine avoucheth for the common opinion of Catholics, that by reason of the spiritual power the Pope, at least indirectly, hath a supreme power even in temporal matters. This opinion, so common, doth not in effect and practical consideration, differ in any wise from the former, but only in words designed to shun envy, and veil the impudence of that other assertion; for the qualification, *by reason of the spiritual power*, and, at least indirectly, are but notional, insignificant, and illusive in regard to practice; it importing not, if he hath in his keeping a *sovereign power*, upon what account, or in what formality he doth employ it; seeing that *every matter is easily referrible to a spiritual account*; seeing he is sole judge upon what account he doth act; seeing that experience sheweth that he will spiritualize all his

interests, and upon any occasion exercise that pretended authority; seeing it little mattereth, if he may strike princes, whether he does it by a downright blow or slantingly." We protest, therefore, against the endowment by the English parliament of a seminary which teaches the Pope's supremacy, because that tenet in any form, and with every qualification, is still as dangerous as when three centuries ago the English parliament found it needful to reject and cast it out, and because it is subversive of the civil and ecclesiastical polity established in this realm.

II. We protest, secondly, against the endowment of Maynooth, because that seminary has been, and is still, without denial, *subject to Jesuit influence*.

In the year 1812, Dr. Murray, the titular Archbishop of Dublin, was President of Maynooth. During that year, Dr. Kenny was appointed Vice-President. Dr. Kenny had been educated at Palermo, in a college of Jesuits, and was himself a Jesuit. Not only was he a Jesuit, but the *local superior of the order in Ireland*. Nor was the teaching at Maynooth different from what might be expected from such superintendence. Dr. Kenny himself admitted in evidence, in answer to the question "whether the education given in Palermo is the same, or materially different from that of Maynooth," that "*all the principles of faith and morals are precisely the same*."—(Maynooth Report, Dec. 7, 1826.) After a short continuance at Maynooth as Vice-President, Dr. Kenny removed to Clongowes, a place situated only six miles from Maynooth, where he became the founder and superintendent of the *Jesuit College*. The influence of Dr. Kenny might easily be exercised over Maynooth from this convenient neighbourhood. Nor did a semi-official sort of relationship cease to exist between the new head of the Jesuit College and his former pupils. He "revisited," to borrow his own words, "Maynooth from time to time, to conduct the spiritual retreat⁴ of the students in that college." "He also," to copy from the evidence of Mr. Mc Nally, the professor of logic at Maynooth, "composed

⁴ "It is well known to those who are acquainted with the history of Jesuitism, that, among other means of working on the mind, and rousing it to the necessary pitch of fanaticism, the Jesuits lay much stress on the practice invented by themselves of retreats. These retreats take place annually. They continue for eight or ten days, during which the devotee is placed under a system of discipline, comprising meditation, self-examination, retirement from the world, profound silence, repeated devotional exercises; and the mind is heated and excited till it becomes a plastic and willing tool in the hands of its spiritual directors. These retreats, to which the Jesuits attach a value inferior only to the Gospel, used to be confined to monks, friars, and a few of the most enthusiastic of the laity. But within the last few years they have been, we understand, extended to the *parochial priests*, and the management of them has been especially committed by several of the Romish bishops to the Jesuits."—Quarterly Review, vol. lxxvii. p. 555.

meditations, which were read for the students at their morning and evening devotions, and this extended to all the students in the college."

Again; the only Commentary upon Holy Scripture which the students are obliged to peruse, is the Commentary of the *Jesuit Menochius*.

But chiefly, and to the following most alarming statement we earnestly entreat attention, the power of Jesuitism over Maynooth is thus fearfully apparent. The *sodality of the heart of Jesus* is, as is well known, a *form of Jesuitism*. This sodality was established amongst the students, at the recommendation of the trustees, and by permission obtained from Rome by Dr. Murray! From the evidence of the dean, Mr. Philip Dowley (Nov. 1826), it seems that so long ago as the year 1826, no less than *two hundred* students were members of this Jesuit sodality. A book of devotions for the use of this sodality was published by Mr. P. Blenkinsop, *stationer to the Royal College* of Maynooth, with the approbation of Dr. Murray, in which the reader is informed, that it "will be convenient every day to make a special commemoration of St. Ignatius of Loyola."

That there should exist in the heart of the British Empire an enormous seminary of Jesuits, ready to pour forth its tenets through England herself, and through her furthest dependencies, is truly a fact sufficiently appalling. How it fared with every country which gave admission to that mysterious system, history will inform all who have eyes to see, and ears to hear.

"In 1755," says the work to which this article is so largely indebted, "the Jesuits were proscribed in Spain; in 1759, were banished from Portugal; in 1767, they were expelled from Naples, and from the two Sicilies, and in the following year from Parma and Placentia; the order was suppressed by a pope himself, Clement XIV., at the urgent demand of sovereign Princes, in 1773, but again revived by Pius VII., in 1814, as the most powerful ally of the papacy. In 1644, the university of Paris in its petition to parliament, affirmed that the pernicious doctrines of the Jesuits affected the security of all states, and the repose of all nations interested in the preservation of the authority and just power, and of the lives of their kings and princes. In 1763, the parliament of Paris declared by its decree of August 6, that 'the order of the Jesuits was by its nature inadmissible in all rightly-constituted states, as being contrary to natural right, subversive of all authority, and tending to introduce in Churches and states, under religious pretexts, a political society, whose essence consists in incessant exertions to arrive by every means, direct or indirect, secret or public, first at an absolute independence, and subsequently at the usurpation of all authority.'"—(Maynooth, pp. 88, 89.)

Nor did the British government, but a few years ago, appear less fearful and less jealous of Jesuit influence. The relief bill of 1829, enacts that any Jesuit coming into England, shall on conviction be banished for life. What then, but judicial blindness, can account for the endowment of Jesuitism by the very men who framed that stringent sentence? If Jesuit influence is really so formidable, how can we measure the terribleness of our present position. If in its infancy, and notwithstanding its slender resources, Maynooth has already "*made itself felt*" in England, in Scotland, in the United States, in Canada, in India, in Australia, what may not be the eventful consequences of its redoubled efforts and quadrupled resources, while England innocently pays for its own destruction, and Jesuitism touches all the moving springs of the vast machine?

III. A third ground of objection upon which we take our stand is this, that the endowment of Maynooth recently accomplished either necessitates and involves the establishment of Romanism in Ireland, or makes things far worse than before. Sir Robert Peel strongly protested against the notion that there was any necessary connexion between the two measures. Our assertion is—that the liberal endowment of Maynooth, unless followed by the establishment of Romanism, plainly tends to increase the dangers at present impending from the anomalous and unsettled position of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland.

Suppose the fondest hopes of the patrons of Maynooth to be realized. Suppose that a better order of young men were sent for education to the enriched and enlarged seminary. Suppose a tone like that of our universities to pervade both the professors and the pupils. Suppose the young priests to be sent forth to their cures elevated in feeling, refined in taste, furnished for society with the manners of gentlemen, as well as the information of scholars. We ask how long could such a priesthood subsist upon the present system of involuntary voluntarism? We do not mean that the present incomes of the priests would be too small for refined and educated gentlemen, for they are abundantly ample. But we ask how any such could bear to screw their livelihood from an impoverished people *in the sort of way* in which the Irish priests now exact their revenues.

It is a fearful thought, but unhappily it is true, that almost the entire revenues of the Irish Romanist priests are derived from open simony. They set to sale the holiest rites, and most awful sacraments, without even a show of concealment. For the sacrament of matrimony, the priest *charges* according to his valuation of the parties, and marriages are frequently prevented

by a dispute about the price. With respect to baptism, Mr. Croly⁵, a most competent witness, states, that—

“The general rule is to baptize at private houses, or at the priest’s house, or lodgings, and under circumstances not of a very hallowed description. One leading feature in the transaction, on the part of the priest, is to get in the customary offering, and to swell if possible its amount. Children are sometimes sent away without baptism for lack of money; and women remain frequently a considerable time without being church-ed or purified after child-birth, because the priest has not been satisfied respecting the baptism money.”—p. 33.

Again; another source of income is extreme unction. Mr. Croly shall describe its mode of collection.

“This rite is often administered under most distressing circumstances; amid sickness, lamentation, destitution, and want; yet money is demanded in most cases, particularly in the country; and instances occur of payment being demanded beforehand, and even of money being pocketed by the priest which had been given as *alms for the relief of the dying*.”—p. 34.

Similar scenes occur in collecting the income derived from confession, and the administration of the eucharist.

“The priest,” says Mr. Croly, “selects twice a year one or two houses in every plough-land or neighbourhood, where he holds what are called stations of confession; and it is required that the families all about should meet him when he comes among them upon these occasions; should make their confessions, receive the Holy Sacrament, and finally pay the customary dues. If increased dues are demanded, disagreeable and sometimes scandalous altercations ensue. Such as absent themselves, unless they send the dues as an apology, are generally made the subject of public abuse and exposure. All these things take place at the administration of two sacraments, penance and the eucharist.”—p. 29.

Upon two Sundays in the year, the people are expected to bring to the chapel contributions for the support of their priests. On these occasions, the priest takes his stand at the chapel door. He receives his offering from each individual as he comes up, and if the amount be not satisfactory, the donor is thrust back, and debarred of entrance. The names of the defaulters are then read out from the altar with such scurrilous vituperation as none of our readers could believe possible, except those who have some practical knowledge of the real state of Ireland.

In such modes, and by such means, are the incomes, often

⁵ Vid. Essay on Ecclesiastical Finance, as regards the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, by the Rev. David O’Croly, Parish Priest of Ovens and Aglis. Cork, 1834.

very large incomes, of the Irish priests collected. It is superfluous to add, that no elevated and refined class of men could employ such instrumentality. Support upon the voluntary system is sufficiently offensive to any minister of cultivated mind and independent feeling. But here is a voluntary system which is enforced, and must be so, by malediction, by terror, by horse-whips, and by fisty-cuffs.

It is idle therefore to affect to treat the melioration of the condition of Maynooth, as if it were a question entirely unconnected with the endowment of the Roman Catholic Church. If it succeed in producing a more cultivated race of priests, which is the desiderated object, we maintain that they could not exist upon the present system of voluntary remuneration. If the plan succeed, the present voluntary system will be no longer possible. An endowment must be provided for the Romish clergy; for we think it simply impossible that it is intended to educate them highly, and then leave them to exist upon the fraction of the present incomes which would remain, if the contributions were really voluntary, and if no methods of collection were adopted but those which an educated gentleman could bring himself to employ.

Sir Robert Peel evidently feared to look this plainly in the face. He displayed certainly less than his wonted acuteness when he professed to be unable to perceive any proper connexion between these two questions. Nothing seems to us more perspicuous. And therefore, regarding as we do the establishment of the Romish schism in Ireland upon the ruins of, or even coordinately with the Catholic Church, as a fearful dereliction of the duty owed by the state to the Church and her Divine Head, we must protest against what seems to us not merely a step towards, but a cause necessarily resulting in that end. And such we deem the recent endowment of the College of Maynooth.

Of the arguments most confidently urged in favour of this scheme, two have been already discussed sufficiently above. We have shown that it is false to allege that the recent statute is but a carrying out of the precedent supplied by Mr. Pitt and George III. And we have alluded to the prominent part taken by the Maynooth-bred ecclesiastics in the endeavour to dismember the empire with enough of clearness to show what fruits of loyalty can be expected from the larger growth of that same seminary.

Another object to be attained by, and therefore an argument confidently brought forward in favour of, the Maynooth Endowment Bill, was the *conciliation* of the Irish Romanists. In one of his most finished and ornate periods, the premier described this boon as likely to charm away the demon of anti-Saxon hatred, to

gain the warm affections of the Hibernian heart, and link them in closest amity to the English throne. But compromise of principle never yet received a return of gratitude. We believe that the language of the titular bishop of Ardagh speaks the real mind of Irish Romanism. It has been already echoed far and wide by the Romish press.

“Much has been said about the gratitude we owe for the grant to Maynooth, but I confess that I for one (and *I am joined in the sentiment by the priests and people of this diocese*) feel no gratitude whatever. In the first place, our own energies and determination wrung that paltry sum from a bigoted and anti-Irish cabinet, nor shall we ever thank the rich glutton when he disdainfully flings us the crumbs from his table. Secondly, the grant is so miserable in amount, that it can be looked on in no other light than as a sheer mockery and insult. It is really a shame to see a man at the head of any government, who is capable of entertaining such monstrous reveries as those exhibited by our premier. We want and demand a *repeal of the iniquitous union*; there is no other remedy for the wants of our country.”—Letter to Mr. O’Connell, enclosing 74*l.*, contributed in one week by the clergy of Ardagh to the repeal fund, read at Conciliation Hall, April 28.

Not a few are disposed to favour the encouragement of Maynooth, from a persuasion that a more expanded course of literary instruction will liberalize Roman Catholicism, explode its exclusive and anti-social tenets, and at length ensure the rejection of its doctrinal errors. Never was there a more entire, though it is so common, or a more dangerous misconception. Let Maynooth eclipse the fame of Trinity College in natural philosophy, let it rival the classics of Oxford, and the metaphysics of Edinburgh, would all this have any tendency to render it less devotedly Romish? Truly they little understand the versatile genius of Roman Catholicism who fancy that it can appear in no forms fitted to captivate the very loftiest order of the human intellect. Where is it, within all that mighty frame, that the pulse of Popery beats strongest? Where are the most dangerous doctrines of Papal supremacy, where are the ultramontane pretensions most uncompromisingly, and most jealously maintained? Is it not confessedly by that very order which has gathered within it the master-minds, the profound scholars, the accomplished diplomatists of the Roman Catholic world? The Society of Jesus alone is a palpable contradiction to the notion that the largest development of the intellectual faculties, and the most splendid achievements in literature and science are inconsistent with the firmest faith in Rome’s doctrinal errors, and the most zealous devotion to the cause of Rome’s worst anti-social and despotic civil pretensions.

It may doubtless seem almost incomprehensible to us, educated

in a different faith, how any cultivated mind, enlarged by study and well versed in Scriptural knowledge, can embrace and firmly hold such a system as Romanism. But the *fact* is so. Romanism has numbered amongst her children many of the mightiest intellects and holiest saints of our race, who had worked deep in the mine of Scripture; and, moreover, who thoroughly understood all the objections of reformers, who after full discussion made up their minds that the objectors were wrong and Romanism right.

What grounds have we for thinking it impossible, that if education were so diffused as to bring up whole masses to their level, their minds might pass through similar processes? What probability is there in the expectation, that education will produce upon the Maynooth ecclesiastics an effect which we see it has not produced upon More, and Bellarmine, and Wiseman?

We cannot refrain, while upon this subject, from making rather a lengthy extract from one of Mr. Macaulay's eloquent Essays. Mr. Macaulay is no theologian, as our readers will perceive, and therefore for "real presence" we shall beg them to read *transubstantiation*, and for "Catholicism" *Roman Catholicism*.

"We often hear it said, that the world is constantly becoming more and more enlightened, and that this enlightening must be favourable to Protestantism, and unfavourable to Catholicism. We wish that we could think so. But we see great reason to doubt whether this be a well-founded expectation. We see that during the last two hundred and fifty years the human mind has been in the highest degree active; that it has made great advances in every branch of natural philosophy; that it has produced innumerable inventions tending to promote the convenience of life; that medicine, surgery, chemistry, engineering, have been very greatly improved; that government, police, and law have been improved, though not to so great an extent as the physical sciences. Yet we see that during these two hundred and fifty years Protestantism has made no conquests worth speaking of. Nay, we believe, that as far as there has been any change, that change has, on the whole, been in favour of the Church of Rome. We cannot, therefore, feel confident that the progress of knowledge will necessarily be fatal to a system which has, to say the least, stood its ground, in spite of the immense progress made by the human race in knowledge since the days of Queen Elizabeth. When we reflect that Sir Thomas More was ready to die for the doctrine of transubstantiation, we cannot but feel some doubt whether the doctrine of transubstantiation may not triumph over all opposition. More was a man of eminent talents. He had all the information on the subject that we have, or that while the world lasts any human being will have. The text, 'this is my body,' was in his New Testament as it is in ours. The absurdity of the literal interpretation was as great and as obvious in the sixteenth century as it is now. No progress that science has made,

or can make, can add to what seems to us the overwhelming force of the argument against the real presence. We are, therefore, unable to understand why what Sir Thomas More believed respecting transubstantiation may not be believed to the end of time by men equal in abilities and honesty to Sir Thomas More."—*Essays*, vol. iii. pp. 211—213.

It was the fashion some years ago to believe, that if you could get a Roman Catholic to read the Scriptures you would accomplish his conversion. Such a supposition, we confess, always seemed to us entirely irrational. Not to say that in very many disputed points, *e. g.* the supremacy of St. Peter, transubstantiation, the miraculous powers of the priests, their punitive discipline, their dependence for support upon their people, the letter of Scripture completely falls in with the *prejudices* of a Romanist;—we never could overlook the simple fact, that not only thousands of bigoted Romanists have read the Scriptures, but that whole libraries might be filled with their commentaries on the Sacred Text. It always, therefore, appeared to us extremely unphilosophical to expect a result from the reading of the Scriptures, which experience has so plainly shown that it does not produce. That *some* Romanists have been converted by Scripture reading is certainly true: but if, of those who have read the Scriptures, thousands have remained Romanists for one who has renounced his faith, we are warranted in stating, that reading the Bible will not, as far as experience is a guide, make men abjure Romanism. This is the extraordinary exception, not the general rule.

In dangerous circumstances, to expect aid from a side whence no aid will come, serves but to aggravate the peril. In Ireland it would be affectation to deny that Romanism seems girded with such gigantic power, that the very existence of the Church is threatened, and fearfully endangered. Let us then ascertain our position well. Let us not rely on bulwarks which may be forced, and which if forced, will leave us naked before the advancing foe. Let us not stake our cause upon throws which may disappoint us. Neither the spread of science, nor the diffusion of literature, nor the common reading of the Scriptures, are sufficient to overthrow our subtle and changeful adversary. Whoever thinks so, will be disappointed, and that very disappointment may imperil his own faith.

"I know not on what grounds," well said Mr. Gladstone, "men can conceive that furnishing ease, and leisure, and means of learning, to a people abounding in natural talent, in at least an equal degree with any other people on the face of the earth, will actually weaken their means

of supporting the faith which they profess. The expectation is one of the weakest I ever heard advanced."—Speech, April 11, 1845.

It is a curious example of the vicissitudes of this changeful world, that an *English* legislature should be engaged in the effort to advance academical instruction in *Ireland*. Time was when the flower of England's youth longed for a place in the flourishing schools of Hibernia⁶. Attracted by the splendid reputation of the Irish teachers, vast numbers crossed the sea, and were received with an hospitality, which even in the seventh century was a marked feature in the Irish character⁷.

"Erant *ibidem* (in Hiberniâ) eo tempore (scil. A.D. 664) multi nobilium simul et mediocrium de gente *Anglorum*, qui tempore Finani et Colmani episcoporum, relictâ insulâ patriâ, vel divinæ lectionis, vel continentioris vitæ gratiâ illo secesserunt quos omnes Scotti libentissime suscipientes victum eis quotidianum sine pretio, libros quoque ad legendum, et magisterium gratuitum præbere curabant."—Bed. Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. "Our Anglo-Saxons of that day," says our learned Camden, "used to flock together to Ireland as a market of learning, whence it is that we continually find it said in our writers concerning holy men of old, *he was sent away to be educated in Ireland*. Nor need we wonder," continues the excellent antiquarian, "that Ireland which is now (A.D. 1607) half savage and destitute of education, should at that time have abounded in men of such holiness, piety, and splendid geniuses, while the cultivation of literature elsewhere in the Christian world lay neglected and half buried; since the providence of the Almighty Ruler of the universe is pleased to scatter the seeds of holiness and virtues in the different ages of the world, now among these nations, now among those, as it were in so many beds and flower-knots; thus producing blossoms, which as they appear in one place and another with fresh vigour, may thrive and be preserved, for his own glory and the benefit of mankind."

There is still extant a letter addressed by Adhelm, the celebrated Abbot of Malmesbury, to a youth named Eahfrid, upon his return to England, after a six years' absence in Ireland. The date of this curious epistle is about A.D. 690, and the odiousness

⁶ The most celebrated schools in Ireland were the following. 1. Armagh, founded by St. Patrick, at which the number of students at one time is said to have exceeded seven thousand. 2. Clonard, founded in the sixth century by St. Finnian. 3. Ross, also of the sixth century, and founded by St. Fachnan. Besides these there were well-attended seminaries at Lismore, Clonfert, Bangor, Cashel, and Down. Vid. Introduction to Dublin University Calendar, 1833. This work, so creditable to the University of Dublin, was first published in the year 1833, under the direction of Dr. Todd, by whom the valuable Introduction referred to was composed.

⁷ We fear that the other characteristics of the Irish, mentioned by Bede, do not remain so unchanged as their hospitality—"Gentem innoxiam, et nationi *Anglorum* semper amicissimam."

of the Latinity is inconceivable, except by those who have been nausicated in its perusal. He bears unequivocal testimony to the fact, that troops of foreign students were in the habit of flocking to the schools of Ireland. His testimony is the more to be relied on, as he was certainly not prejudiced by any Hibernian predilections. He was evidently jealous that the palm of literary and theological attainment should be so unanimously accorded to Irish teachers; and hints that "Britain's fertile sod" was trodden by professors of sacred science as learned as their *Scottish* neighbours.

"Cur inquam," says the patriotic abbot, "Hibernia, quo catervatim istinc lectores classibus advecti confluunt, ineffabili quodam privilegio efferatur; ac si istic, fœcundo Britanniae in cespite, didascali Argivi Romanive Quirites repperiri minime queant, qui cœlestis tetrica enodantes bibliothecæ problemata sciolis reserare se sciscitantibus valeant? Quamvis enim prædictum Hiberniæ rus, discentium opulans vernansque, ut ita dixerim, pascuosa numerositate lectorum, quemadmodum poli cardines astriferi micantium ornentur vibraminibus siderum; ast"⁸—
κ. τ. λ.

Some years after the conversion of the West Saxons, there came amongst them a holy man named Agilbert, a Gaul by birth, who had been studying in the schools of Ireland. The king was pleased with him, and solicited him to continue as a bishop amongst them. He accepted the hospitable invitation, and remained until he was called to fill the bishopric of Paris.

"Legendarum gratia Scripturarum in Hiberniâ non parvo tempore demoratus est," are the words of Bede respecting him. Again, of CEDILWIN he says: "Hiberniam gratiâ legendi adiit, et benè instructus patriam rediit, atque Episcopus in provinciâ Lindissi factus, multo ecclesiam tempore nobilissimè rexit."

Nor was the academical instruction afforded by the Irish schools designed only for ecclesiastics. Early in the seventh century, as INETT⁹ informs us, great numbers of the Northumbrian nobility, including the sons of King Ethelfride, were receiving education in Ireland. And in the year 685, when the throne of Northumberland became vacant by the death of Egfrid, his brother and successor Alfred was a student in the *insula sanctorum*.

⁸ Usser. Sylloge Epistolarum Hibernicarum, vol. iv. p. 451. Edition now in course of publication under the supervision of Dr. Elrington, the excellent and learned Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Dublin.

⁹ Origines Anglicanæ, p. 47.

"*Scotorum*¹ qui tum versatus incola terris
 Cœlestem intento spirabat corde sophiam.
 Nam patriæ fines, et dulcia liquerat arva ;
 Sedulus ut Domini mysteria disceret exul."

Of those holy men by whom the northern parts of England were recovered from the Paganism re-introduced by the Saxons, the most celebrated were Irish missionaries. From Iona, the famous seminary founded by "Columb of the Churches," came the celebrated Aidan, who founded at Lindisfarne a school scarcely inferior to Iona, recovered Northumberland from Saxon idolatry, and manfully opposed the dictation of Rome respecting Easter and the tonsure. His successor was another Irishman, and not less famous, that Finan who baptized upon their conversion both Sigibert king of the East Saxons, and Penda king of the Mercians, and consecrated Cedda for the See of London. Upon the death of Finan, the See of Lindisfarne was a third time filled by an Irishman. In the Episcopate of Colman, was held (A.D. 664) the celebrated Council of Whitby. The dissension respecting the proper mode of keeping Easter raged fiercely even within the bosom of the royal family of Northumberland. King Oswy held to the ancient system of the Irish Church, the queen and his eldest son were advocates of the Romish computation. To decide the point a council was convened at the monastery of Streane-shalch, now Whitby, in Yorkshire.

"Time was given unto Colman in the first place, as it was fit, to deliver his reason in the audience of all. Who with an undaunted mind made his answer and said ; 'Our fathers and their predecessors, who were manifestly inspired by the Holy Ghost, as Columbkille was, did ordain that Easter should be celebrated on the Lord's Day that fell upon the fourteenth moon, following the example of John the Apostle and Evangelist, who leaned upon the breast of our Lord at his last supper, and was called the lover of the Lord?'"

The bishop was responded to by Wilfrid, who, as his biographer Stephen informs us, had learned from Boniface "the course of

¹ *Ireland*, we are told by Bede, was the proper country of the Scots. "Hæc propriè patria Scotorum est ; qui ab hâc egressi tertiam in Britanniâ Britonibus et Pictis gentem addiderunt." So also Claudian :—

"*Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Ierne.*"

And again,—

. . . . "Totam quum Scotus Iernen
 Movit, et infesto spumavit remige Tethys."

When the Scots emigrated to the northern part of Britain, they shared the name of Scots with the inhabitants. But the name Scotia remained appropriated exclusively to Ireland. Archbishop Usher asserts that no writer within a thousand years after Christ mentions *Scotland* who does not by *Scotia* mean Ireland. See also Stillingfleet's *Antiquities*, and Lloyd's *Historical Account*.

² Stephen's *Life of Wilfrid*. See Usher, *Works*, iv. 345.

Easter, which the schismatics of Britain and Ireland did not know."

"He objected," says Usher, "to Colman and his clerks of Ireland that they, with their complices the Piets and Britons, did with a foolish labour, fight against the whole world. He concluded by anathematising the Quartadecimans, a nickname for those who followed the Irish reckoning of Easter. The reply of Wilfrid told successfully upon the king. He decided for the Romish innovations. Colman was commanded to adopt them or resign his See. He chose the latter course. 'Taking with him,' says Bede, 'such as would not receive the Catholic (Romish) Easter, and the tonsure of the crown, he returned back into the Scots' country³.'"

Wilfrid was chosen in his room. He declined the office at first, on a ground which proves how largely the Anglo-Saxon Church was indebted to Ireland. He refused the episcopate, because he scrupled at receiving consecration from opposers of Rome like the "Scottish bishops, and such as Scots had ordained," and he could see no others. At length he accepted the nomination, having obtained permission "to go beyond the sea into the country of France, where many Catholic bishops are to be had." Thus pre-eminent were the Irish divines, not only in learning and missionary zeal, but in determined resistance to the domineering encroachments of the Papacy.

The schools of Ireland maintained their well-merited celebrity, until schools and scholars were swept away by the overwhelming tide of Ostman devastation. Early in the ninth century, Turgesius, son of Harold, king of Norway, landed with his barbaric hordes upon the northern shores of Ireland. In 838, he took the metropolis by storm, and assumed the supreme monarchy.

"Under the blighting influence of the usurper Turgesius," we quote from Mr. King's excellent Primer, "the Christian religion was discouraged and persecuted, and every means used if possible to efface the remains of it; while its professors were obliged often to seek concealment in woods and caves of the earth. Many churches and abbeys, monasteries, colleges and seminaries for the education of the Christian priesthood were destroyed; libraries, books, and ancient records were lost in the ruins which these sanguinary barbarians created. The monastery of Iona was several times pillaged and burned; and the family of the place (as the monks were called) massacred with fire and sword; Armagh suffered especially, its town, church, schools, and religious institutions being repeatedly invaded, plundered and burned, as in A.D. 831, three times in one month, also in 840, 848, 852, 869, 891, and 1015. It is recorded that on one occasion, a little before the coming of Turgesius, or soon after it, nine hundred monks belonging to the monastery of Bangor in Down were put to the sword; and similar

³ H. E. iii. 26.

calamities, with their dates and occasions, are recorded as having befallen Cork, Waterford, Limerick, Lismore, Ferns, Clonfert, Slane, Kildare, Clonmacnoise, Kells, Clonard, Glandelock, Swords; each in its turn being made at one time or another, and many of them several times in succession, the unhappy scene of Danish barbarity and outrage."—pp. 167, 168.

But a heavier blow even than the destruction of her literature was inflicted by the Danes upon the Church of Ireland. It was through Danish influence that the papal tyranny first gained a footing in the island. When Christianity had begun to spread its influence amongst these fierce barbarians, they naturally turned their eyes towards their Christianized countrymen across the Channel, and sought to connect their rising Church with the Church of England and the see of Canterbury. In the eleventh century, the Ostmen strangers were possessed of the three cities of Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick.

“‘These,’ says Archbishop Usher, ‘being a colony of the Norwegians and Livonians, and so countrymen to the Normans, when they had seen England subdued by the Conqueror, and Normans advanced to the chief bishopric there, would needs now assume to themselves the name of Normans also, and cause their bishops to receive their consecration from no other metropolitan but the Archbishop of Canterbury.’ The English Church was then subject to the Romish obedience. Communion with Canterbury was soon exchanged for subjection to Rome. Gilbert, the Ostman Bishop of Limerick, was armed about the year 1139 with legatine power over all Ireland. In 1152, the pall was for the first time received from Cardinal Paparo by the four archbishops at the synod of Kells. On the arrival of Henry at Waterford in 1171, a synod of archbishops, bishops, and abbots, received with acquiescence and even approbation the bulls of Adrian and Alexander, conferring upon the English monarch the dominion of Ireland. In the succeeding year the ecclesiastical independence of Ireland was sacrificed with like servile treachery. At the synod of Cashel, the assembled clergy submitted to the presidency of a papal legate, and enacted ‘that all offices of divine service shall for the future, in all parts of Ireland, be regulated after the model of Holy Church, according to the observances of the Church of England.’”

The literature of Ireland was buried in the grave of her ecclesiastical and civil independence. The offices of Church and State were henceforward filled by occupants devoted to the courts of Rome and London. To discountenance every thing Irish was the leading principle of political and religious government.

At length the want of some seminary of learning became so pressing, that application was made to the pontiff upon the subject. In the year 1311, John de Leeke, archbishop of Dublin, petitioned Clement V., and obtained a bull for the foun-

dation at Dublin of "a university of schools." The accomplishment of the design was prevented by the death of the archbishop. But the project was revived by his successor in the see of Dublin. In 1320, Alexander de Bignor procured from John XXII. an approval and confirmation of the bull of Clement. Letters patent were issued by Edward III., A.D. 1358, granting protection and safe conduct to all students resorting to this university. But notwithstanding this regal encouragement, the literary schemes of Bignor proved as abortive as those of Leeke. Learning refused to resume her ancient seat in dependent and degraded Ireland. In 1465, the seminary of Bignor seems not to have existed, for in that year the parliament assembled at Drogheda determined to establish a university, and commenced their legislation on the subject by declaring "*que pour ce que la terre d'Irlande a nulle université, ne l'estude générale.*" This academical project shared the fate of its predecessors. Ten years later, yet another attempt was made to provide education for Ireland under the auspices of Rome. In 1475, the mendicant orders obtained a bull from Sixtus IV., empowering them to found a university in Dublin. This instrument, which bears date 5 Kal. Maii 1475, declares "*quod in dicta insula nullum viget studium generale, in quo magistri et doctores legere, et scholares proficere possint.*" This university never advanced beyond an existence upon paper⁴.

Such was the last attempt, anterior to the Reformation, to revive the academical institutions of Ireland. Thus was failure written upon the front of every endeavour to re-animate Irish literature by an inspiration of the breath of Romanism.

It remained for Queen Elizabeth to undertake with success the establishment of a university in Ireland. The lord deputy of Ireland, Sir John Perrott, acting under her instructions, proposed A.D. 1584 to alienate the revenues of Saint Patrick's Cathedral, and employ them in the foundation of two universities. The facts that there was another cathedral in the Irish metropolis, and that St. Patrick's was "had in more superstitious veneration than the other" (Christ Church), were pleaded by the deputy in support of his plan of confiscation. But this design, like so many others, was abortive. Loftus, archbishop of Dublin, opposed it with success, but not without suspicion that his zeal resulted from personal cupidity rather than hostility to sacrilege.

At length, in the year 1591, the present college of the Holy Trinity was founded. Loftus, if he prevented a former effort, is entitled to the praise of having been chiefly instrumental in

⁴ For a fuller statement, of which the foregoing is but a rapid sketch, see an admirable article on the University of Dublin in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Journal*, October, 1844.

establishing the now flourishing university. He obtained from the mayor and citizens of Dublin as a site, the ground of the dissolved Augustinian monastery of All Saints, which had been bestowed on them by Henry VIII. On the 3rd of May, the charter was granted, enacting "that a college be erected in a place called All-hallowes, near Dublin, for the education, institution, and instruction of youths and students in arts and faculties, to endure for ever." Archbishop Loftus was appointed provost. Three fellows were nominated in the charter, and a like number of scholars. Amongst the former was Henry Usher, arch-deacon of Dublin. And all, fellows and scholars, were zealous professors of the Reformed religion.

From the foregoing account of the establishment of Trinity College will appear how utterly unreasonable are the complaints of the Romish party respecting the exclusiveness of that seminary. It was founded as an ecclesiastical academy, in close connexion with the Reformed Church. Its first provost was the Archbishop of Dublin, and the main object of its establishment was to train well-learned ministers for the Reformed Church. In the first charter there were certainly no enactments exclusive of Romanists. Such enactments, however, were unnecessary; for the Act of the Irish Parliament in 1560 was in force, which required "the Oath of Supremacy to be taken by all and every person or persons which shall be promoted or preferred to any degree of learning, in any universitie, that hereafter shall bee in this realm." Any exclusion additional to this was unnecessary. The statutes of Charles I., 1633, still more clearly prove the closeness of connexion in which the new university was united to the Church. The fellows' oath there prescribed contains a promise resolutely to withstand the opinions "*quas vel Pontificii, vel alii contra Sacræ Scripturæ veritatem tuentur.*" And all the students are required, under penalty, to attend the service in the college chapel. By a very great stretch of liberality in 1793, the Irish parliament permitted Roman Catholics to become students, and to proceed to degrees, still continuing their exclusion from the foundation. But we must utterly deny to the Romanist any *claim* of justice or reason to receive education in, much less to teach and govern, an institution founded by Queen Elizabeth, as an ecclesiastical seminary to instruct the Reformed in the doctrines of the Reformation.

The present circumstances of Ireland demand imperatively that Trinity College should remember the intentions of its great founder. Theology was the centre round which all its arts and sciences were designed to be gathered. Her fellows, with a very few exceptions, are required to take upon them the vows of the

priesthood, and to *swear* that Theology shall be the end of all their studies. Highly as we value the inductive sciences, and most desirable as we deem it for the honour of religion, that the seminaries of the Church should lead the march of intellectual progress, yet still we cannot forget that the genius of a priest-fellow of Trinity College *may be*, and *ought to be*, directed to far higher objects than mathematical and physical studies. The same amount of abilities which has justly raised the mathematics and natural philosophy of Trinity College to so high a European reputation, might, if employed more in accordance with the sacred engagements of those eminent scholars, have achieved the work of the reformation, and restored the ecclesiastical literature of Ireland to more than its pristine splendour.

A new era in the history of that university is now commencing. Heretofore it had no rival worthy of the title. Hitherto no defects in its system could be seen by comparison with any other academical institution. Now an energetic and well-endowed Romish college, fostered by the patronage of government, is to be permanently established by her side. All that can be done by wily Jesuitism, to train in the arts of controversy the choicest youths, selected from the millions of a population remarkable for intellectual endowments, all this will be done by re-endowed Maynooth to propagate the Papal schism. New collegiate establishments, wholly dissociated from the Church, admonish her from north, and south, and west, that the time is coming when she may find that scientific knowledge which has been in Ireland exclusively her own, equalled or surpassed by Pantheists or Atheists, and turned against that religion which she was founded to support.

Upon the training of the ministry of the Irish Church mainly depends her very existence. To meet the new exigencies of the times, new exertions must be made. It is wholly futile to pretend that the same amount of theological learning which enabled men in times of quiet to get decently through their routine duties, can fit them to compete with a priesthood trained to employ in controversy the scholasticism of the Middle Ages, and the metaphysics of the nineteenth century. If the controversy with Rome is to be carried on successfully, the weapons must be of different temper from those too commonly employed by Protestant champions. The day is approaching in Ireland when Rome will easily carry every position, but that from which the divines of the seventeenth century never can be dislodged, a position defended by the double rampart of Holy Scripture, and Catholic tradition.

The learned writer, whose name is still veiled from the public, but whose name would itself be a tower of strength, concludes

the second of his very striking pamphlets by a "proposal for the conciliation of the contending parties in Ireland." We must confess, that we are disappointed at this part of his performance. We fully sympathize with the deep-toned sorrow which he expresses at the mournful spectacle of Christ's body rent by schism as it is in Ireland, and we reciprocate all his tender and earnest aspirations for unity. We know that—

"In Holy Scripture the members of Christ's body are represented as bound together by ties of peace and love. They are members of one body, branches of one vine, sheep of the same fold. There is one faith, one Lord, one baptism. They are charged by an apostle 'to be of one accord;' 'to speak the same thing;' 'to be perfectly joined together in the same mind and in the same judgment;' and for the maintenance of this unity in the Church, her Divine Head has prayed." —Review, p. 135.

We heartily respond to this statement. We pray too, that in God's own good time unity may be the law of his militant as of his triumphant Church. But we cannot anticipate any advance towards this blessed consummation from the proposal of our author; namely, a "conference of chief men among the two contending parties." Few will question the truth of the statements quoted from Hooker, that councils of the Church are the "best means for the ending of strifes touching matters of Christian belief." "When there grew in the Church of Christ a question whether the Gentiles believing might be saved, although they were not circumcised after the manner of Moses, nor did observe the rest of those legal rites and ceremonies whereunto the Jews were bound; after great dissension and disputation about it, their conclusion in the end was to have it determined by sentence at Jerusalem; which was accordingly done in a council there assembled for the same purpose." That a controversy within the Church upon such a topic as the necessity of the Mosaic ritual should be easily concluded by the council of Jerusalem, is indeed not difficult to imagine. Such a mode of decision was the natural and obvious one, nor could either of the contending parties decline to stand by the decision of such a tribunal. But we ask, is there any parallel in the state of Ireland? Are the controversies which divide the Churches capable of such facile adjustment? Or can we even fancy by what tribunal they could be adjudicated? Are there in the whole range of possibility two events more inconceivable, than that the Church and the Romish schism could agree upon any arbiter, or than that any arbiter, if appointed, could satisfactorily arrange their differences?

ART. IV.—*A History of the Nonjurors; their controversies and writings; with Remarks on some of the Rubrics in the Book of Common Prayer.* By THOMAS LATHBURY, M.A., Author of “*A History of the Convocation*,” &c. London: Pickering, 1845. 8vo.

WITH the name of the nonjurors is associated much that must bespeak for them our respectful remembrance. Their endurance of losses and disabilities for conscience sake—endurance, which in the first leaders was rendered yet more striking by their previous sufferings at the hands of the sovereign to whom they felt themselves bound to maintain their allegiance; the holiness, the talents, the erudition, of some among them; the learned works with which they have enriched our literature, and yet more, perhaps, the manuals of devotion and holy living which they have bequeathed to us; their intimate connexion with the faithful Church of Scotland, in days when beyond her own limits she found no other communion or countenance; these and other such circumstances must commend them to the hearts of English churchmen who care but little either for the politics of Jacobites, or for the doctrinal and ritual peculiarities of “Usagers.”

In the favourable feelings thus grounded, we to a certain extent very cordially agree; but we must profess ourselves unable to share in that exclusive sympathy with the nonjurors, as distinguished from all their contemporaries, which appears to be not uncommon even among the class of churchmen to which we have alluded. It is, we conceive, unwarranted by the history as a whole; while it is evidently not easy to be reconciled with the one very important fact, that the Anglican churchmen of this day derive their spiritual descent, not from the nonjurors, but from that larger communion of which these refused to be members.

Mr. Lathbury's work is, we believe, the first attempt at a detailed history of the nonjurors. His opinions are in general sound, and they are stated without any offensive air of dogmatism. His narrative, whatever its imperfections may be, deserves, at least, to be commended as unambitious and unaffected. On his defects as a historian we are unwilling to dwell; he might justly complain of us if we should try him by a standard which he does not pretend to satisfy. We wish to

speak of him with the consideration due to a meritorious labourer, who has endeavoured to add to our knowledge of an obscure subject, and has used with considerable care and diligence such materials as were within his reach.

These, however, are far from sufficient. The history of the nonjurors formed but an under-plot in that of the English Church; they were obnoxious to the government; they were engaged in connexions hostile to it, and therefore secret; they were few; they were poor. Hence the acquaintance with their story, which is to be gained from publications of their own time, must necessarily be very inadequate; and to such sources Mr. Lathbury is indebted for almost all his materials; the only considerable exception that we remember, being the correspondence with the Eastern patriarchs, furnished to him by Mr. J. R. Hope, who procured it from Bishop Jolly's collections. As the nonjurors gradually dwindle away, the printed documents relating to them become rarer and rarer; for the time after 1720, the information hitherto collected is exceedingly scanty and meagre.

But is there nothing more to be discovered? We have no doubt that there is very much. The papers of the Brett family—of which two members were bishops among the nonjurors,—are known to be in the hands of a respected clergyman, whose forefathers belonged to their communion¹; there must be much yet preserved in Scotland, besides the Eastern correspondence, and perhaps the Spottiswoode Society may ere long favour us with a portion of it; we can hardly suppose that the crozier in the possession of a Lancashire gentleman², is the only remaining memorial of the line through which it passed; and in all reasonable likelihood, there must be MS. documents in other quarters which we cannot pretend to guess at. Nay, surely it is not yet too late to gather even oral recollections. Thirty years ago, a nonjuring clergyman was alive in the West of England; it is but forty years since a nonjuring bishop died in Ireland; and we are probably correct in identifying the clergyman who in 1799 attended the death-bed of the last English nonjuring bishop, with one of the same name who still appears in the Clergy List.

We make these observations by way of showing that the subject is not yet exhausted; and not with any intention of blaming Mr. Lathbury for having written such a book as it was

¹ See the Life of John Bowdler, Esq., p. 25, and Perceval on Apostolical Succession, p. 242. We may here notice that Mr. Lathbury has been unfortunate in using the first edition of the latter work, as the second is much improved in the part which relates to the nonjurors.

² Perceval, p. 249.

within his power to write. For what he has done we very sincerely thank him; and, while we cannot in honesty wish his work permanence, we wish it success until something better shall appear. Should it reach a second edition, as we trust it will, we advise him to discard from his pages whatever savours of the newspaper,—his indignation against the *Record* and Mr. Walter, his reflections on the Drummond schismatics, his continually recurring disclaimers of popery for himself and others, his no less frequent references to the slanderousness and other vices of dissenters; to substitute an index for his chapter on the rubric, and, in so far as an author's natural tenderness towards his own productions will allow, to endeavour to lessen his iteration.

In the year 1688, James the Second had provoked his subjects by a series of offensive acts. He had outraged their feelings by an ostentatious display of his zeal for the Romish communion. He had assumed a power of dispensing with statutes; a power which had, indeed, been exercised without question by earlier sovereigns of England, but which was strangely incongruous with what he found established as the constitution. He had removed from the bench of justice the judges whom he could not reckon on as instruments. He had invaded the rights of both the universities. He had filled some bishoprics with persons capable only of degrading the Church, and had kept the see of York vacant for two years, with the intention, it was supposed, of bestowing it on a Romish ecclesiastic whom he had admitted into his privy council. He had revived the ecclesiastical commission, formerly so obnoxious, and that in violation of a statute which the people, at least, regarded as valid. He had persisted in maintaining this body, although the primate, Sancroft, refused to become a member of it. By means of the commission, which was chiefly composed of very objectionable persons, he had interfered with the proper liberty of the pulpit, in the case of Dr. Sharp, and had suspended the Bishop of London for refusing to carry out his views against that divine in an arbitrary and irregular manner. He had set forth, in 1687, a declaration, by which the penal laws against nonconformity were suspended. On republishing it a year later, he had required the clergy to read it in their churches; a command with which only two hundred of the whole body complied. For petitioning against this measure, the primate and six other bishops had been imprisoned in the Tower; they had been tried, and had been acquitted, (upon merely technical grounds, indeed,) amidst an universal uproar of rejoicing.

In all these proceedings the king was rather miserably injudicious than intentionally criminal. With those who after-

wards refused their allegiance to the government established at the Revolution, it was a favourite belief that James was urged on to embroil himself with the Church by Sunderland and others, in order to work his ruin³. These faithless counsellors, it was said, encouraged him to suppose that English churchmen would hold themselves bound, by their principles, to endure any oppression without resistance; and from this confidence proceeded the outrages which, even at the time, filled the more discerning members of his own communion with apprehension for his interests, and those of their religion. On the other hand, he had, shortly before his accession, received a warning from one whose wisdom and experience might have pleaded for a better reception of it. Bishop Morley, on his death-bed, desired Lord Dartmouth to tell the Duke of York, that "if ever he depended on the doctrine of non-resistance, he would find himself deceived; for there were very few of that opinion, though there were not many of the Church of England that thought proper to contradict it in terms." Lord Dartmouth often reminded James of this, but in vain⁴.

On the 10th of June, 1688, two days after the committal of the bishops to the Tower, the Queen gave birth to a son. Hitherto men had reckoned on a Protestant successor to the throne in the person of one of the King's daughters; the new prospect of a popish dynasty was too much for the endurance; many persons of rank and influence requested the intervention of the Prince of Orange, who was married to the Princess Mary. We need not dwell on the circumstances of the history which follows;—the Prince's preparations; James' too late abandonment of his offensive measures; the desertion of his troops and friends; his flight from London, his return, and second disappearance; the debates in the convention as to the manner of settling the government; and the conclusion of them by William's intimating, that, unless he might reign in his own name, he would return to Holland. On the 13th of February, 1688-9, the Prince and Princess of Orange were declared king and queen.

Let us now look at the conduct, while these events were passing, of those bishops who were to be regarded as representing the cause of the Church.

In the autumn of 1687, the Princess of Orange wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury, expressing her sympathy with him and his brethren. He declared, in his reply, that their only earthly hope was in her highness and the prince; but that no

³ Life of Kettlewell, folio, pp. 63. 73. 76.

⁴ Note in Burnet, Own Time, ii. 440. Oxford: 1833.

amount of suffering could "in the least shake their steady loyalty to their sovereign and the royal family⁵." The bishops who presented to the king their petition against the order for reading his Declaration, endured his anger with a respectful firmness. "We are told," said Ken, Bishop of Bath and Wells, "to fear God and honour the king; we desire to do both; we shall honour you; we must fear God." In the midst of the ferment which followed on their acquittal, the archbishops and bishops issued directions to their clergy, enjoining on them to teach "loyalty and obedience to his majesty in all things lawful, and patient submission in the rest;" and at the same time, to maintain the doctrine of the Church, and guard their flocks against the practices of Romish emissaries. When James in his distress applied to them for counsel, they advised him to redress ecclesiastical grievances, and to abstain from questionable stretches of power; he thanked them, and conceded most of the points which they mentioned. At a later time, James questioned the bishops who were in London as to the Prince of Orange's declaration, that spiritual lords had been concerned in inviting him to England. The archbishop said, that "he owed his majesty a natural allegiance, as having been born in his kingdom, and that he had oftentimes confirmed this allegiance by taking voluntary oaths; that he could have at once but one king." The other prelates all denied the truth of the assertion as regarded themselves (which it is to be feared that Compton, Bishop of London, could not do with a good conscience); they professed a belief that their absent brethren were equally innocent. But when the king proceeded to require that they should publicly declare their abhorrence of William's designs, they deemed it expedient to refuse, saying, that it was enough for them if his majesty were himself convinced of their innocence.

After the first retirement of James, the primate joined in an address to the Prince of Orange, praying him to call a free parliament, but not offering him any authority in the state. He refused, however, to wait on the prince, and took no part in the subsequent proceedings, by which William was raised to the throne. In a paper discussing the circumstances of the crisis, he approves the scheme of a regency: had this been adopted, there is reason to believe that all the bishops who became non-jurors would have regarded it as not inconsistent with their oaths of allegiance to King James. Henry Wharton, who, as one of Sancroft's chaplains, had good opportunities of observation, gives it as his opinion, that the scruples which eventually determined

⁵ Doyly's *Life of Sancroft*, 2nd edit., p. 148.

the primate's course, were infused into him while things were doubtful, by the Bishops of Norwich, Chester, and Ely⁶.

On the 11th of April, 1689, the new king and queen were crowned by the Bishop of London, the primate still remaining in retirement at Lambeth. The great body of lords and commons swore allegiance to them in the month of March, and towards the end of April it was enacted, that all persons holding civil or military appointments should take the oath before the 1st of August, on pain of deprivation; while for ecclesiastical persons who should refuse it, the penalty was to be suspension on that day, and deprivation unless they should comply within a further period of six months. The suspension was incurred by eight prelates, of whom Lake, Bishop of Chichester, Thomas, of Worcester, and Cartwright, of Chester, died within the year: the remaining five,—Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, Ken, Bishop of Bath and Wells, Turner, of Ely, Frampton, of Gloucester, and White, of Peterborough,—and with them about four hundred of the inferior clergy,—endured the penalty of deprivation.

Mr. Lathbury takes great pains,—we must think very superfluously,—to convince the world that these nonjurors acted on pure and conscientious motives. We cannot understand why any one should question this; and our author is not disposed to argue that their sincerity was equalled by their judgment, which is the only point as to which the bitterest liberal could with any show of reason blame them. We, who make no profession of liberalism, are not inclined to blame them at all; but we feel ourselves called on to say a few words in behalf of those who complied with the new government: not against Mr. Lathbury, but against assertions and impressions which we believe to have become very rife within these last few years.

What, then, would have been the course of a right-minded churchman in the circumstances of 1688? We agree with the most exclusive admirers of the nonjurors, in holding, that it would have been wrong to originate, or to share in, any active measures against the king; and of this there is no reason to suspect any prelate except Compton, or any considerable number of the clergy. But a deliverance from James's arbitrary measures was to be desired by every one who loved the Church of England; the *passive* resistance of the bishops and clergy was warranted, and even exacted, by their sense of duty to God. And if, without active proceedings of their own, they had a prospect of relief through the intervention of a prince so legitimately interested in the affairs of Great Britain as William was, the

⁶ Doyly, 259.

conduct of Sancroft and his brethren proves to us, that in the opinion of men loyal to their sovereign, as well as to their Church, such intervention might have been regarded as a blessing. When, however, it appeared that deliverance from James was not to be had, except on condition of transferring allegiance, the question took a new aspect. Were churchmen to comply with this condition, or to endure the consequences of refusing?

It is very easy to condemn those who complied, as if it were a clear case of sin; but this we must take leave to question. We deny that the motives of the nonjurors were necessarily purer than those of others. Surely the penalty of deprivation was nothing so excessive for a Christian to bear. It had been borne by the great body of the clergy forty years before—Sancroft, and perhaps other aged confessors of 1689, having been among the number; it had been borne by the presbyterians at the restoration of Charles II. A hot and rash man might be ready to throw up his charge on any slight occasion. One of a more sober and peaceable spirit might desire to keep it, if it might be kept without shipwreck of conscience; not for the sake of the profits attached to it, nor from any self-important fancy that the world could not go on without him, as an individual; but from fearing even the appearance of schism; from a sense of the ties which bound him to his flock; from knowing that without the many, of whom he was one, there would be no church or ministry which could pretend to be adequate to the wants of the nation. And, doubtless, to a good man who retained his preferment, it would be a sore trial to bear the altered looks, the cold and slighting words, the estranged affections, of old friends, who had abandoned theirs; to know that he *must* suffer himself to be accounted as one who for gain and for the world's favour had chosen a questionable and selfish course. These, we conceive, are sacrifices not to be left out of the consideration, when we compare the nonjurors with the jurors⁷.

And in proportion as any one had before agreed more closely with those who eventually became nonjurors, the imputations on him would be the more severe if he complied with the new government. Extreme churchmen, and people of no churchmanship or belief at all, would join in contemptuous judgment of such persons. Yet, surely, among these there might have been found the

⁷ We may quote here a passage from a letter written by Ken in 1702. (Works, ed. Round, p. 61.) "Dr. Bull being in my way, I called upon him; which he took the more kindly, because he thought we had as much abandoned him as he seems to have abandoned us; and the respect, I perceive, surprised him, and the rather, because he never has taken any notice of our deprived brethren; but he has reason to value his old friends, for his new have little regarded him."

men who of all were most entitled to our respect and sympathy ; men who in what they felt to be a great difficulty, embraced the course which they honestly believed to be the best, and to whom that course was really one of far greater self-denial and endurance than the forsaking of their station could have been.

To a man of tender conscience there would, in the painful circumstances of that time, be nothing more likely to bias his judgment than a fear of acting on reasons of worldly interest ; a fear which would be felt the more strongly as the interest at stake was greater. And this is curiously exemplified in the actual history. Of the bishops, more than a fourth became nonjurors ; of the inferior clergy, perhaps not a twentieth. Bishop Frampton, who after his deprivation communicated with the national Church, and acted as catechist in the parish where he resided, might, probably, not have thought it his duty to refuse the oaths, if the preferment to be forfeited had been nothing more than a poorly-endowed benefice or curacy. Ken, in his latter years, advised nonjurors of less eminent station to join the established communion, and declared, that he himself held aloof from its congregations only because he was “ a public person.”

Some divines took the oaths of allegiance to King William, yet showed their disinterestedness by refusing promotion to sees vacant by the deprivation of living prelates. Tillotson's reluctance to intrude into the seat of Sancroft is well known ; Sharp would not accept the bishopric of Norwich ; Scott refused Chester, and other high preferments ; South refused a bishopric ; Kidder refused Peterborough, and it was not without a trick practised on him, that he was brought to accept of Bath and Wells, which had been already refused by Beveridge. The circumstances of this last case are remarkable. Evelyn, on calling at Lambeth, was told by Sancroft that Dr. Beveridge had just been taking his opinion on the question of accepting the bishopric. “ He told him,” writes Evelyn, “ that though he should give the advice, he believed he would not follow it. The doctor said he would. ‘ Why, then,’ replied the archbishop, ‘ when they come to ask, say *Nolo*, and say it from the heart ; nothing is easier than to resolve yourself what is to be done.’ ” Put into plain language, the archbishop's speech comes to this—“ There is but one course for an honest man ; but I do not believe that *you* have the virtue to take it.” We think that Beveridge did well in declining the bishopric ; but it is clear that he declined it out of deference to Sancroft's opinion, rather than from any scruples of his own ; and if he had accepted without consulting the deprived primate, is it to be said that his motives must have been impure ? Or if Ken had resumed his see in the reign of Queen Anne, (as he would have done but

for a scruple about the new oath of abjuration,) is it to be imagined that his acceptance would have been less pure than his refusal?

In these cases of preferments vacant by deprivation, we have unquestionable proofs of disinterestedness in the complying clergy; surely it is not charity, but the merest necessary justice, to suppose that the same principle actuated them in other things; that they took the oaths because they believed themselves justified in so doing; and if justified, then bound by duty to remain in their stations.

The oath, we have all along been supposing, was felt as a difficulty. In its terms it was simplified by the omission of such words as had implied a hereditary title in the sovereign. It was merely a promise of "true allegiance to their Majesties, King William and Queen Mary." But how was this to be reconciled with the earlier oath of allegiance to James as "rightful and lawful king?"

There were many theories and arguments, of which that advanced by Sherlock, master of the Temple, was the most noted on account of the author's conduct. This divine, who had been among the ablest champions of non-resistance, at first refused the oath, but between the suspension and the deprivation made up his mind to take it, and published a treatise in which it was argued from Bishop Overall's Convocation-Book⁸, that, according to the principles of the Anglican Church, settled possession of a government is a sufficient title to allegiance, independent of all questions as to legal right. We shall not enter into a discussion of this argument, or of others which were brought forward by various parties; but we must quote the contemporary whig historian's statement as to the intention of the oath. "The true meaning of the words," writes Bishop Burnet, whose concern in the affairs of the Revolution gives him a degree of authority in this case which he is not always entitled to claim, "and the express sense of the imposers, was, that whether men were satisfied or not with the putting the king and queen on the throne, yet, now they were on it, they would be true to them and defend them⁹;" and many of the clergy, on taking the oath, declared to those by

⁸ Kettlewell's biographer says that this work, which was first printed in the summer of 1689, was put forth for the purpose of producing on the clergy in general the effect which it had on Sherlock. Burnet, on the other hand, says that it was sent forth by Sancroft, as favouring the nonjuring cause, and that he overlooked the passages on which Sherlock's argument was afterwards founded. This appears to be the more probable story, since the MS. came out of the custody of Sancroft, to whom it had been given many years before by Bishop Cosin; and the licensing it for the press was one of the archbishop's last official acts before his deprivation.

⁹ Own Time, iii. 402.

whom it was administered, that in this sense they understood it, and consented to become bound by it. When this was allowed by the imposing power, surely it is not for us to blame those who submitted to the oaths. Kettlewell, indeed, composed a treatise against taking them "in a lower sense," arguing that the high and awful nature of an oath ought to forbid any thing like a tampering with the meaning of its words; and "some," writes his biographer, "refused it, not because they thought it absolutely in itself unlawful, but because they thought it unlawful to take it with a doubting conscience." We respect the scruples of these conscientious persons; but we think it not unreasonable to claim from those who would share their scruples a respect for others who considered themselves free to take the oaths, and who acted on that conviction. But it is an impertinence to argue against imputations of perjury on Bull and Patrick, Beveridge, and Wilson.

There followed, however, other difficulties. The nonjurors were deprived; and among them were the primate and four bishops. Now, we do not wish to be regarded as the apologists of the government in imposing the oath, in depriving the bishops, or in any other of its measures; but we must observe, that it is utterly unwarrantable to talk of these as if they were nothing better than the oppressions of an unchristian tyranny. Repeated overtures had been made to the bishops, for the purpose, if it were possible, of avoiding the extreme step of a deprivation. There was manifested in parliament a strong disposition to deal tenderly with such as had scruples of conscience about transferring their allegiance. There was a long delay before filling up the sees; thus, in the case of Canterbury, Tillotson was not consecrated until Whit-Sunday, 1691, and Sancroft retained possession of his palace until the end of June in that year. And whatever we may think of the ejection of the nonjurors, and of the appointment of other bishops in their room, there were divines of very high reputation to warrant these acts by an imposing array of arguments. The government had very strong reasons for avoiding such forcible measures. Whether they could have been avoided, we will not now consider; but it is only justice to say that they were not hastily or wantonly resolved on, nor were they executed with violence or insult. The sees were not filled up until after it had been discovered that Turner, Bishop of Ely, was implicated in a Jacobite plot¹.

¹ Mr. Lathbury reflects severely on the government in the matter of this plot. (p. 79.) He questions Turner's concern in it, without any good grounds, as appears to us; and argues, that as it was discovered in December, and some of the conspirators were executed in January, a charge which connected the nonjuring bishops

The questions which had now arisen called forth, says Bishop Burnet, "a great deal of angry reading on both sides." The display is indeed alarming. On turning over a few pages of any treatise of the time, we find a vast mass of authorities and precedents brought to bear on the subjects of allegiance, oaths, and deprivations. Divines, casuists, jurists, canonists, historians—Grotius, Puffendorf, De Marca, Sanderson, Overall, Bellarmine, Ridley, Lady Jane Grey, Henry VIII., Henry VII., York and Lancaster, Robert of Normandy, William the Conqueror, Sigebert, Egbert, Kenulph, Vortimer, emperors of East and West, popes, patriarchs, fathers, councils, Photius, Justinian, Theodosius, Jovian, Julian, Constantius, Chrysostom, Ambrose, Athanasius, Donatus, Novatus, Cyprian, Nero, Nebuchadnezzar, Jeroboam, Abiathar, Solomon, Filmer's "Patriarcha"—Was it to be expected, that every one to whom the oaths might be tendered, should thread his way through all this maze of learning, ecclesiastical and secular? The idea is, of course, absurd; the bulk could do nothing else than follow such leaders as they supposed to be trustworthy; and of these the great majority was on the side of compliance. The list of the original nonjurors appended to the life of Kettlewell (in which we may be sure that no one of any note is omitted) contains, besides the names of the bishops, hardly half a dozen which either possessed at the date of the Revolution, or afterwards acquired, any pretension whatever to celebrity in theological literature.

The four hundred ejected clergy were, as a body, by no means the flower of the Church. Most of them resorted to London; and it is very evident from the terms of Kettlewell's proposals for their relief, in 1695, that the conduct of too many was not such as to win the reverence of the world by any superiority to that of the complying clergy. It appears to have been a common practice among them to haunt the coffee-houses, by way of picking up a living from those who frequented them. When Ken was questioned by the privy council, as to the funds raised in furtherance of the charity, he was told that "the money had been abused, and given to very ill and immoral men, and particularly to one who goes in a gown one day, and in a blue silk waistcoat the next." Unfortunately this gentleman possessed the properties of the chameleon only in part. He and such as he would seem to have gone far towards justifying the somewhat startling opinion

with it was "the very thing to excite the public mind, and to deprive them of that sympathy" which might have been expected to attend them, when the act for their deprivation should be carried into effect on the 1st of February. The fact is, however, that they had been deprived in February, 1689-90,—the February *before* the plot of December, 1690,—as Mr. Lathbury rightly states at p. 45.

of Johnson, that "perhaps a nonjuror would have been less criminal in taking the oaths imposed by the ruling power, than in refusing them; because refusing them laid him under almost an irresistible temptation to be more criminal; for a man *must* live, and if he precludes himself from the support furnished by the establishment, will probably be reduced to very wicked shifts to maintain himself²."

Besides the disreputable doings of the lower clergy, a controversial spirit was soon manifested among the nonjurors, which could not fail to lessen the sympathy of Christian-minded men in general. One of them, named Grascome, poured forth pamphlet after pamphlet, written in a tone, and with a style of argument, which could have no other effect than to irritate and disgust. His violence, and that of others, which rages in the very titles of their productions, so as to destroy all wish for an acquaintance with the contents, drew hard usage from the ruling powers on the whole nonjuring body, while to the better-spirited of their own communion it was a source of grief and shame. The saintly Kettlewell and the meek Frampton lamented to each other over the "bitterness and heat of temper" which possessed their brethren. The former, on his death-bed, while he professed a confident belief that the refusal of the oaths was "a most righteous and rewardable cause of suffering," was yet disturbed by the thoughts of this evil spirit, which threatened to ruin all; "and," we are told, "he would often say that a Christian demeanour under sufferings was as necessary as a good cause to render them acceptable to God³."

In addition to all this, there were, even among the best men of the party, varieties of opinion as to the reasons of their cause, which, although at first all could agree in the main act of refusing the oaths, contained in them the seeds of difference and division, which could not fail ere long to be manifested in action.

Now that they were deprived, what were the nonjurors to do? How were they to regard their position? Were they and their children to be disaffected to all governments so long as James and his posterity should be excluded? Were they to pray and to intrigue for the restoration of a person, who, although some might be foolish enough to fancy him the ideal of a Christian sovereign, as soon as his reality ceased to be felt, was yet an alien from their belief and communion, and had in the day of his power done all that he could to oppress, corrupt, and degrade the Church? Were they to found and keep up a church of their own—declaring the rest of the clergy schismatical, while yet they

² Boswell, V. 259, ed. 1835.

³ Life, p. 175.

themselves could not, like the late seceders from the Scotch establishment, attempt to furnish for the whole country a system of rival ministrations? Were they to begin an enduring schism for the sake of worldly politics—of which politics they themselves could not, consistently with their religious principles, desire the success? Surely the wiser way would be, to look on their condition as one of merely *personal* disability; to communicate with the rest of the Church, unless the terms of communion were intolerable; to submit peaceably to the ruling powers, and to advise all to swear allegiance who were not, like themselves, precluded by previous engagements.

We do not see how, on any other understanding, the deprived bishops could defend much of their past conduct. They might be, and were, reminded, that they had withstood the banished king until his power was at an end; that they had shared in overtures to the Prince of Orange; that they had been willing to consent to the exclusion of James by the expedient of a regency; that they had granted commissions for the discharge of their functions in consecration, ordination, institution, and the like, to bishops and others who had conformed to the new order of things; that as lords of parliament, they had not protested against the measures of the Revolution, the oath of allegiance, and their own deprivation; that as pastors, they had not warned their flocks to avoid their intruded successors. How were these things, and others which might easily be mentioned, to be accounted for, on the supposition that the duty of Christians had been clear throughout, and that the communion of those who had transferred their allegiance was schismatical and apostate? The true explanation and apology is evidently this: that there had been great and very perplexing difficulties, in which Christian men might, without deserving the blame of their fellows, be divided in opinion; that they had acted for the best, but could not pretend to have been infallibly right in every point; that the question was, for the clergy, one not of politics, but of religion; that the deprivation was to be regarded as a personal disqualification, which should end with those who had been bound by oaths to James, and not as a ground for a permanent schism.

And such would seem to have been the view originally taken both by themselves and by others. Thus Sancroft, for a time, admitted the ministry of his chaplains who had taken the oaths, and even after his retirement into Suffolk, in August, 1691, received them kindly as visitors, and suffered them to share in the service before him. It was proposed in parliament that the king should be at liberty to refrain from tendering the oaths, with a view, doubtless, of exempting those whose scruples it was

not thought desirable to press on. The act which enforced the oaths contained a proviso, that the king might reserve to any twelve spiritual persons who should refuse them a portion of the income of their preferments. The deprived clergy did not refuse to admit jurors to partake of their administrations, as, for example, in the communion of the sick. Those of Cambridge, and others, continued with the Church in lay communion⁴.

The change of view was gradual. Sancroft, soured, as it would seem, by age and by a sense of ill-usage, and wrought on by men naturally less temperate than himself, came by degrees, in his retreat at Fresingfield, to speak of his nonjuring obedience as *the* Church of England, and of the established communion as apostate and rebellious. In February, 1691-2, he granted to Lloyd, deprived bishop of Norwich, a commission to execute "*Quicquid est muneris mei et pontificii.*" "*Quoscumque,*" it is said in this instrument, "*tu, frater, prout res et occasio tulerit, assumpseris et adjunxeris tibi, elegeris et approbaveris, confirmaveris et constitueris, ego quoque (quantum in me est, et jure possum) assumo pariter et adjungo, eligo et approbo, confirmo et constituo.*" About the same time, a list of the deprived clergy was sent to the exiled king. He nominated Hickes and Wagstaffe for advancement to the episcopate; and they were consecrated on St. Matthias' day, 1693-4, by Lloyd (who acted as the chief of the body after the death of Sancroft, in November, 1693), in conjunction with White and Turner.

Even this step, however, did not commit the nonjurors to that determined separateness from the Church which we read of at a later time. It was said to be taken by way of provision for the future, in order that the episcopal succession might be kept up, "if affairs should continue to stand in the same posture." The new bishops were not to exercise their powers until the failure of those who had been deprived; and, by way of guarding against a collision with bishops in possession, if circumstances should afterwards favour a reconciliation with the established communion, they were designated, not from any occupied sees, but from the towns of Thetford and Ipswich; places which had been named as seats of suffragans by the act of the 26th of Henry VIII., and both situated within the chief consecrator's late diocese. From the questionable position of suffragans, and from the secrecy of the consecration, (which was not formally made known even to the generality of the nonjurors until many years later, whereas it was alleged, that all consecrations of Catholic bishops ought to be immediately notified to the faithful,) objections were afterwards

⁴ Ken's Works, p. 49.

taken to the authority of Hickes and Wagstaffe, by those who were opposed to the continuance of the schism.

Ken and Frampton took no part in the consecration. The latter, as we have already mentioned, was living quietly in the country, attending the parish church, catechising the children publicly, and explaining, in the afternoon, the sermon which had been preached by the curate in the morning—a ministration which it might have been curious to witness. Ken found an honourable asylum under the roof of Lord Weymouth, at Long-leat. He earnestly opposed the measures for continuing the succession, believing them to have originated in a political influence, which could intend no good towards the Church⁵. He sighed after a reunion, and rejoiced in all approaches towards it. In the reign of Anne, he was almost persuaded to resume his see, from which Kidder was willing to remove; and on being told, after the sudden death of that prelate, that Hooper, bishop of St. Asaph, had on his account refused a translation to Bath and Wells, he himself requested this valued friend to accept the offer, and made over all his rights to him. "Receive the see," he said, "with as good a conscience as I have quitted it." And when blamed for this cession by the more political members of his party, we find him declaring, "It is not the first time I dissented from some of my brethren, and never saw cause to repent of it⁶."

The death of James in September, 1701, and the accession of Anne in the room of William a few months later, were circumstances favourable to the healing of the schism; but unhappily the French king, by recognizing the son of James, induced the English government to procure an act for the abjuration of this "pretender." This added little to the number of separatists, but it formed, doubtless, a bar to the return of many who would now have had no scruples about the oath of allegiance.

The learned and excellent Dodwell had not become a nonjuror until after the deprivation of the bishops, and had always maintained that the state prayers of the liturgy and occasional offices were no sufficient ground for separation from the public communion. In 1705, he published "*The Case in View*," a work devoted to a discussion of the question—What would be the duty of those who had adhered to the deprived bishops, when these should all have been removed by death? In 1707 appeared, "*A Further Prospect of the Case in View*;" and in 1710, the occasion arrived for acting on the principles which he had laid down in these publications. Bishop Lloyd died on the 1st of January⁷

⁵ Works, p. 51.

⁶ Works, p. 67.

⁷ So Mr. Lathbury rightly states at p. 203; but at p. 209 he gives Jan. 30 as the date.

in that year; and Ken, on being formally asked by Dodwell and Nelson whether he still claimed their obedience, replied that he made no such claim, and rejoiced in the prospect of seeing the schism ended. No one, it was argued by Dodwell, could now have a right to obedience, unless he could show a better title than that of the incumbent in possession, to some one particular altar; which no suffragan (if such there were) could pretend to do, since the authority of suffragans ought to terminate with the life of the bishop to whom they were assistant. Dodwell, Nelson, Brokesby, and others, therefore, rejoined the national Church. The writings of Kettlewell, who had long before been called to his rest, contain sufficient evidence that he too would have been with them. We need hardly say that they were despised and traduced by those who were not inclined to imitate their peaceableness and moderation.

Hickes was the leader of the remaining nonjurors; a man of great ability, of deep and very various learning, of unquestionable sincerity and piety; but "ill-tempered," according to Burnet, whose witness is confirmed by that of less prejudiced persons; somewhat fanciful moreover, and insatiably polemical. When deprived of the deanery of Worcester, he had especially provoked the government by posting upon the doors of the cathedral a protest against the intrusion of "one Mr. Talbot" in his room. In consequence of this proceeding, he was forced to abscond for a time, and we read of him as figuring in the dress of "a captain or major, like that ancient bishop of Nisibis in the Arian persecution⁸." Ken's letters contain many complaints of him, as zealous in fomenting division, while the good bishop was praying and labouring for reconciliation and peace.

Finding himself, after the death of Wagstaffe, in 1712, the only person of his communion who pretended to episcopal authority, Hickes was resolved to carry on the succession; and in order that the consecration might be performed by a canonical number of bishops, he called in assistance from Scotland.

In that country, where episcopacy had been altogether cast off by the state, the clergy had not been distracted, like their English brethren, between two rival lines of bishops; but a community of political attachments, and of suffering from the ascendant party, had drawn the Church of Scotland into a connexion with the English nonjurors, the effects of which we cannot regard as beneficial to either body.

Through an arrangement between the leaders of the two communions, Gadderar had been consecrated for Scotland in 1712, by Hickes, and the Scotch bishops Falconer and Campbell; and

⁸ Life of Kettlewell.

on the 24th of May, 1713, Hickes, in conjunction with Campbell and Gadderar, consecrated Collier, Spinckes, and Hawes.

Hickes died in 1715; and soon after his death appeared a collection of tracts by him, expressing opinions as to the established Church, which astonished and scandalized many of its members. Nathaniel Marshall, the translator of St. Cyprian, and author of the valuable treatise on Penitential Discipline, hereupon sent forth his "Defence of our Constitution in Church and State;" an able work, written in a tone of indignation natural to one, who, having lived on friendly terms with Hickes, now found his own communion posthumously denounced by the nonjuror as guilty of "heresy and schism, perjury⁹ and rebellion."

Other adversaries arose about the same time, in part provoked by the rebellion of 1715, and encouraged by its failure. Thus Hoadly published his "Preservative against the Principles and Practices of the Nonjurors,"—an antidote very much worse than the evil which it professed to counteract; Bennett argued that, on their own principles, they were guilty of schism; and it ought not to be omitted (although our author takes no notice of the circumstance), that Cibber earned a pension and the reversion of the laureateship, by producing *Tartuffe* on the English stage, under the title of "The Nonjuror."

Now, too, internal quarrels, more destructive than all attacks, whether of theologians or of farce-writers, began to distract the little communion; but before entering on the "Usage" controversy, we must notice a curious correspondence, for the first satisfactory account of which we are indebted to Mr. Lathbury's work.

Isolated as they were in Western Christendom, the minds of some nonjurors might naturally turn towards the Christians of the East, with a wish for fellowship and intercourse. The fact that Dr. Thomas Smith, the learned writer on the Greek Church, was one of their own body, may have shared in producing such a feeling; that it existed we may see, among other evidence, from an anonymous work of Spinckes¹, published in 1705; where a desire of communication with the Greek Church is strongly expressed, and the Eastern origin of the British Church is dwelt on as a reason for restoring it.

An opportunity appeared to be offered in 1716, when Arsenius, archbishop of Thebais, came to England for the purpose of

⁹ Misprinted *popery* in Mr. Lathbury's citation of the title, p. 270.

¹ "Observations on an Essay towards Catholic Communion," p. 202. The "Essay," an attempt to smooth over the difficulties of Romanism, has been brought into notice by recent circumstances.

collecting alms in aid of the Egyptian Christians. The nonjuring bishops were probably little able to forward the chief object of his visit; but they conferred with him, and drew up "A proposal for a concordat between the orthodox and Catholic remnant of the British Churches, and the Catholic and Apostolic Oriental Church," which was translated into Greek by Spinekes. In this document, it is proposed that the Church of Jerusalem shall be acknowledged as the mother of all Churches, and its bishops as having precedence over all bishops; that the other Eastern patriarchs shall be recognized in all their dignities, and that, in particular, the see of Constantinople shall be regarded as on an equality with that of Rome; that the "Catholic remnant of the British Churches" shall be acknowledged as being in communion with the Eastern Church; in return for which it will become bound to revive primitive discipline, and to establish "as near a conformity in worship as is consistent with the different circumstances and customs of nations, and with the rites [*qu. rights?*] of particular Churches." Some homilies of Eastern fathers are to be translated into English, and read in the congregations. There shall be mutual commemorations in the public services of the Churches, with other instances of communication.

These proposals are followed by a statement of certain points as to which the authors agree with the Eastern Church, and of others as to which they cannot fully agree. Among the latter are, the authority of ancient councils; the reverence to be paid to the blessed Virgin; invocation of saints; the manner of the eucharistic presence, and the veneration to be rendered to the consecrated elements; the use of images and pictures. And the paper concludes with a promise, that if a concordat can be settled, a Church, to be called *The Concordia*, shall be built in London, which shall be subject to the Alexandrian patriarch; and that if the suffering British Church should ever recover her just rights, a Greek bishop, resident in London, shall on certain days be permitted to celebrate in St. Paul's according to the Greek ritual!

Furnished with these seemingly so inviting proposals, Arsenius proceeded to Russia, where Czar Peter was found disposed to forward the scheme; and five years afterwards (for deliberation and travelling were then tardy), an answer from the East was received.

When the subject of intercourse with the Greeks was first brought forward at a meeting of nonjurors, Roger Laurence, the author of well-known works on Lay-baptism, who had had opportunities of observation during a commercial residence in the Levant, "drew me aside," says Brett, "and told me that the Greeks were more corrupt and more bigoted than the Romanists,

and therefore vehemently pressed me not to be concerned in the affair ;” the sequel proved that Laurence was not far wrong in his opinion and advice. The reply of the patriarchs is a very remarkable production. The graces of sentiment and composition appear to have flowed in on them from the East and from the West ; they remind us much of the pope, and yet more of the emperor of China. As a specimen, we quote a portion which relates to the former of these potentates.

“ Some time since, the pope of Rome, being deceived by the malice of the devil, and falling into strange novel doctrines, revolted from the unity of the holy Church, and was cut off ; and it is now like a shattered rag of a sail of the spiritual vessel of the Church, which formerly consisted and was made up of five parts, four of which [i. e. the Eastern patriarchates] continue in the same state of unity and agreement ; and by these we easily and calmly sail through the ocean of this life, and without difficulty pass through the waves of heresy, till we arrive within the haven of salvation. But he who is the fifth part, being separated from the entire sail, and remaining by himself in a small piece of the torn sheet, is unable to perform his voyage, and therefore we behold him at a distance, tossed with constant waves and tempest, till he return to our catholic, apostolic, oriental, immaculate faith, and be reinstated in the sail from whence he was broken off : for this will make him secure, and able to weather the spiritual storms and tempests that beset him.”—pp. 320, 321.

The rest is such as this might lead us to expect. The order of precedence among the patriarchs, proposed by the “ Catholic remnant,” proves highly unpalatable. The British bishops must be re-ordained by the patriarch of Alexandria, as belonging to his jurisdiction. The English liturgy, although (say the venerable Fathers) “ we are unacquainted with it, having never either seen or read it,” cannot well be otherwise than in itself vicious and heretical ; and there is but one true liturgy, namely, that of St. James, with the ancient modifications of St. Basil and St. Chrysostom. The proposal for revival of ancient discipline has no charms ; for it is supposed to relate to changing the order of the patriarchs. As to the points of disagreement, it is explained that in some the oriental doctrines had been misapprehended ; while in the rest, of course, the British are altogether wrong : the proposition on the subject of the eucharistic presence being especially stigmatized as “ blasphemous.” “ But this,” it is remarked, with a sublime compassion worthy of Pekin, “ is not to be wondered at ; for, being born and educated in the principles of the Lutheran Calvinists, and possessed with their prejudices, they tenaciously adhere to them, like ivy to a tree, and are hardly drawn off.”—p. 324.

Before the receipt of this communication, the nonjurors had

been rent asunder by the "Usage" controversy. The non-usagers took no further part in the affair, but a long and learned reply was returned in 1722 by Collier, (who signs himself *Jeremias. Primus Anglo-Britannicæ Episcopus*,) Campbell, Gadderar, and Brett². Several communications afterwards passed between Arsenius, then resident in Russia, and the nonjurors. Things looked more promising than could at first have been expected, when "the death of Czar Peter, and the indiscretion of the patriarch of Jerusalem in writing to Wake, then archbishop of Canterbury, and sending copies of the proposals to him, &c., quite knocked the scheme on the head." "Wake," adds the writer³ from whom this information is derived, "behaved with great prudence and discretion in the case, not exposing the papers, nor suffering them to be ridiculed." It is probable that the archbishop may have given his Eastern correspondent (whose application to him seems to us any thing rather than *indiscreet*) some very unexpected light as to the position of primate Jeremy and his associates⁴. The nonjurors were assuredly under no small obligations to him, for forbearing to admit the public to share in the amusement which he could hardly have failed to derive from the documents brought under his notice.

But indeed, although it must have been difficult to read these papers with unmoved gravity, the condition of nonjurorism was now such as no right-minded member of the English Church could deliberately regard with any feelings more unkindly than sorrow and pity.

When, at the era of the Revolution, a revision of the liturgy had been undertaken by the leaders of the complying clergy, with a view to a comprehension of dissenters, one chief reason for abandoning the scheme was a fear of furnishing the nonjurors with a pretext for representing themselves as alone attached to the formularies of the Church, and the jurors as ready to surrender all that was distinctive in them to the clamour of the

² The appearance of the Greek quotations and of the references in this paper forces us to observe, that our author's strength does not appear to lie in scholarship or in patristical reading.

³ Mr. Lathbury unaccountably supposes Brett, who collected the papers, and wrote the introductory account of them, to have been the author of the remarks at the end also. These are evidently by a later, and a Scotch, hand: probably the late venerable possessor, Bishop Jolly.

⁴ We observe that Mouravieff supposes "the British bishops," (*i. e.* those of the Church established in England, and of the Church in Scotland,) to have been the parties whose anxiety for admission into communion was defeated by the inflexible and infallible "Guardians of Eastern Orthodoxy."—(*Hist. of Russian Church*, Eng. Transl. p. 286.) It ought to be noted, that only two Scotch bishops were concerned in the affair, and that these formed a party by themselves, so that their Church was not committed by their proceedings.

sectaries. But within no long time the feelings of some non-jurors towards the Prayer-book began to alter. There was no state connexion to fetter them, if they wished for a change in their liturgy; there were no puritanical prejudices among their own body to be shocked by a return to the rites of earlier times. And thus it appears that Hickes was in the habit of administering according to the communion-office of Edward the Sixth's first book, which differed from that of the subsequent revisions in respect of (1) the mixture of water with the wine; (2) prayer for the faithful departed; (3) the express invocation of the Holy Ghost to sanctify the elements; and (4) the use of the oblatory prayer before consecration, whereas in our present form it is thrown into the post-communion.

It was not, however, until after the death of Hickes that these "Usages" began to be openly insisted on by any party. In July, 1717, a movement was made in favour of them; the communion-office of Edward's first book was reprinted for use; and at Easter, in the following year, a portion of the nonjurors began to employ a new form, which was somewhat altered from that book, for the sake of a closer accordance with the primitive liturgies. The leaders in this proceeding were Collier, Brett, and Campbell.

The first of these was a man of very remarkable character. His life was a series of controversies, political, literary, and theological. "We believe him," says one little given to commendation of loyalists or clergymen, "to have been as honest and courageous a man as ever lived⁵." Full of crotchets, he was willing to endure any amount of suffering for the sake of the most inconsiderable. He was once arrested for some writings against the Revolution; he was bailed by his friends; and then, on a scruple that the recognizance involved an acknowledgment of the usurping government, he surrendered himself, and was committed to the King's Bench, where he laid the foundation of a controversy, which ran to some length, by writing his "Case of giving Bail to a pretended authority." In 1696 he joined with two other nonjuring clergymen in absolving on the scaffold Sir William Perkins and Sir John Friend, who had been engaged in a plot to assassinate King William, and died without any demonstration of repentance. The act gave immense scandal, and was denounced in a public manifesto of the juring bishops. Collier, whose scruples about bail remained, found it necessary to abscond, and for the rest of his days was under outlawry in consequence. This Tyburn absolution gave rise to another contro-

⁵ *Edinburgh Review*, Jan. 1841, p. 519. Art. on "Comic Dramatists of the Restoration." (Since reprinted among Mr. Macaulay's Essays.)

versy, of which his share is said to have amounted to four pamphlets. In 1698 he commenced a ten years' war against "the immorality and profaneness of the stage." He fought single-handed, drew expressions of repentance from Dryden himself, triumphed over the other wits and the dunces of the theatre, and effected a lasting reform in the tone of dramatic composition. Amidst these incessant controversies, his indefatigable labour produced some volumes of Essays, which were much admired in their day; three huge folios of an encyclopedic dictionary, founded on that of Moreri; and, besides some minor publications, the great work by which he is now best known, the most valuable of our British Church-histories. This was completed in 1714; and having now little on his hands, except the fourth folio of his dictionary, and a controversy as to the merits of his history, he felt himself at leisure to engage all comers on the subject of the Usages.

Johnson has truly characterized Collier as "formed for a controvertist." He had great power and fertility of argument, plentiful learning, pertinacity which would always have the last word; and with these he united certain good qualities, which even in our own day are not universally found in controversial writings. In so far as we are acquainted with his works of this kind, his tone is throughout fair and honourable. He writes as one whose cause needs no questionable support. He is free from rant and insolence, from flippancy, bitterness, and cant. We believe that nonjurorism altogether was wrong at the time to which our narrative has brought us, and that the usagers were the more wrong of its parties; but we cannot speak of their principal champion without sincere respect.

For Brett we have less regard, and his controversial tone is less praiseworthy. His work on Liturgies, however, has, on account of its materials, a title to permanence beyond the other publications which were called forth by the Usage question. Brett was not old enough to have been entangled by the oath of allegiance to James II.; and at his ordination, in 1690, he had submitted to the tests which were then imposed. It was on the accession of George I. that he became a nonjuror; having, as he tells us⁶, before felt the insufficiency of the English communion-office, which he had endeavoured to remedy in his own administration, by approaching, as much as was possible under the circumstances, to the practice of Edward's first liturgy. He was consecrated a bishop in 1716.

Campbell, the third of the usagers who have been named, was

⁶ On Liturgies, p. 405, ed. 1838.

one of the great presbyterian house of Argyle,—a grandson of the Marquis who was executed in 1661. He began life with the politics of his family, and was concerned in Monmouth's rebellion; "afterwards," said Johnson to the Duchess of Argyle at Inverary, "he kept better company, and became a tory." He is described by this eminent authority, from personal knowledge, as "a man of letters, but injudicious; and very curious and inquisitive, but credulous⁷." Although a Scotch bishop, he generally resided in London; and his restless, scheming temper had ill effects on the nonjuring communions of both countries.

Spinckes, Hawes, and Gandy were the chief opponents of the usagers. They argued (in accordance with the opinion of the best informed later divines) that the serites, though primitive, are not necessary; that they are subject to that power which every particular Church has of ordering her own observances; that the existing English liturgy contains all that is essential for a valid consecration, and, although less distinctly expressed, all that is really important in the form of 1549; while, for the avoidance of scandal and superstition, the rest may rightly be dispensed with. To these considerations were added others drawn from the circumstances of the nonjurors; of which the foremost was, that on *them* their enemies might now cast, with apparent reason, the reproach of forsaking the principles of the Church of England.

The terms of peace offered by the usagers (who, from the character which they ascribed to their rites, were also styled *essentialists*.) were somewhat remarkable. They made a merit of not insisting that the new liturgy should be universally adopted; but they insisted that those who retained the established office should engraft the Usages on it; the only concession being, that they should be at liberty in their own minds to regard them as *not* essential! With a modest reasonableness suitable to such proposals, Brett, after stating them, proceeds to declare that the guilt of schism must rest on the majority, for continuing steadfast to what had been the common principles of all⁸.

The nonjurors could at this time ill afford a division. They were, it is confessed, already reduced to "a very inconsiderable number⁹." Some had joined the public communion; others had become Romanists; and there is no reason to suppose that the new doctrines of essentiality brought over (as Brett had hoped they might) any compensating amount of proselytes from the Church.

A schism took place, however; and the mischief extended to

⁷ Boswell, V. 100-2.

⁸ Discourse on Liturgies, p. 407.

⁹ Brett, p. 407.

Scotland, where the dispute was complicated by another, as to the manner of administering the episcopal government,—whether by diocesans, or by a college of bishops. About the period of this schism, as has been already stated, our information as to the history of the nonjurors becomes more scanty; and we take a leap to the year 1732, when a compromise was effected between the parties. It was settled that the eucharistic cup should be *privately* mixed,—(a practice, we believe, still observed by some of the Scotch clergy,)—and that certain prayers and rites should be understood in a particular sense.

A minor schism had in the mean time run its course. Ralph Taylor, a bishop consecrated by the nonusagers in 1720, took it upon himself,—we are not informed why,—to consecrate one Welton, in 1722. Welton was a rabid Jacobite, who had some years before been deprived of the living of Whitechapel, on account, among other things, of having decorated his altar with a picture of the Last Supper, in which the St. John was supposed to represent the heir of the Stuarts, while the Judas was undoubtedly meant for an eminent whig divine—Kennett, afterwards bishop of Peterborough. Taylor and Welton consecrated Talbot¹, who went with Welton to North America, where they attempted to exercise episcopal functions, but were dislodged by the influence of the bishop of London. Welton died in Portugal, in the year 1726; Talbot returned to England, and conformed to the Church.

The arrangement of 1732 was not universally satisfactory. One bishop, Blackburne, refused the Usages altogether. Campbell, on the other hand, was of opinion that too much had been conceded by the usagers; and, being always busy, and generally in mischief, he proceeded on this ground to consecrate Roger Laurence in 1733. The line thus uncanonically commenced outlasted that of the more regular nonjurors; its last bishop, Charles Boothe, having died in Ireland as late as 1805.

The most remarkable person of this section was Thomas Deacon, of Manchester, who was consecrated by Campbell and Laurence. Not content with a new communion-office, he published in 1734 a collection of Devotions, intended entirely to supersede the Book of Common Prayer. The liturgy of the Apostolical Constitutions is the chief source of this work, than which, if we may judge by our historian's description, it would be difficult to imagine a more unhappy specimen of what Milton terms *antiquitarianism*. There are prayers for catechumens, energumens, competents, and penitents; baptism with trine immersion, chrism, exorcism, white robes, consecrated milk and

¹ Talbot is twice called *Taylor* by Mr. Lathbury, p. 364.

honey; deaconesses officiating at the immersion of adult women; infant communion, manifold crossings, the kiss of peace; communion on reserved elements, to be administered by the sick man to himself; communion at funerals; and a form for admitting converts, with chrism and the sign of the cross.

This last office, we may presume, was little used. Nonjurorism was indeed well-nigh worn out, both politically and theologically. There were some rather fierce pamphlets in its latter days; the national Church was described as the society of Korah, as guilty of heresy, perjury, &c.; but such charges had lost their force. They had never been of power to convert; the time was now gone by when they could even provoke. The last nonjuring congregation in London was that under Lindsay, the translator and editor of Mason's works, who died in 1768, at the age of 82. Eleven years later died Robert Gordon,² the last bishop of the main body.

The Stuarts, too, were passing away. The "old Chevalier" died in 1765; and in 1788—exactly a century after the Revolution—he was followed by Charles Edward, whose last degraded years contrasted mournfully with that bright period of high and romantic adventure, which the mention of his name calls up in our memories. The only surviving issue of James, an ecclesiastic of the Roman Church, made, we believe, no pretensions to the throne of his ancestors, beyond striking a few impressions of a medal, on which he is styled *Henry the Ninth*.

Long before the death of Charles Edward, Jacobitism had been only a form and a name³. By that event, the bishops of Scotland felt themselves set at liberty to introduce the name of the reigning sovereign into their public service; and they forthwith proceeded to take steps towards being recognized as in com-

² Mr. Lathbury quotes (p. 410) an unfavourable character of Gordon from King's Anecdotes. His doubts of its correctness are borne out by the very opposite account in the Memoirs of Bowdler, p. 83.

³ We have said little of the connexion of the nonjurors with political movements, because there is as yet little information on the subject. The churchmen of Scotland were to a man staunch Jacobites, although the diocesan party allowed less than the "collegers" to the royal prerogative of the Chevalier. Those who in that country wished to worship according to the English Prayer-book, without involving themselves in the interest of the Stuarts, formed, as is well known, congregations separate from the Scotch bishops, under clergymen of English or Irish ordination. Mr. Lathbury is probably right in saying that the *English* nonjurors, as a body, had little to do with political intrigues. Their theological disputes may be regarded as a proof that politics held a very inferior place in their consideration, for nothing could have been more ruinous to any temporal cause. The line commenced by Campbell appears to have taken a more lively interest in the attempt of Charles Edward than the main body. Campbell himself had died in 1744; but a son of Deacon was executed on account of the rebellion. His head was fixed on one of the gates of Manchester, and his father was charged with offering adoration to it, because he once pulled off his hat as he passed it.

munion with the Anglican Church. It is related of Cartwright, the last English bishop of Campbell's line, that he "became a very loyal subject to King George," and that "on his death-bed, he declared his conformity to the Church of England, and received the communion according to the rites of that Church from the Rev. W. G. Rowland⁴."

It would be curious to know the numbers of the nonjuring clergy, and of the flocks under their care, at different periods of their history; but we fear there are no means of information on this point. One clergyman of the party is said to have been living in the West of England so lately as 1815—the survivor of all his fellows, like the one last old woman who could speak the Cornish language, or the one last British wolf, which remained to be shot by a Highland gentleman about the middle of the seventeenth century. It is not stated whether the old man remained a nonjuror to the end—keeping aloof from the National Church, ministering to a congregation of his own (if he could gather one), and owing allegiance to the Cardinal of York and the King of Sardinia; but probability is with charity, in leading us to suppose that, both as to politics and as to religion, he followed the example of Cartwright.

The history which we have been tracing is, as a whole, melancholy enough, and, as we cannot but think, far more admonitory than admirable. On the part of the nonjurors there was much excellence of various kinds. There was noble self-sacrifice, inflexible integrity, piety, talent, learning. Their orthodoxy as to fundamental points was, we believe, at no time liable to just impeachment, however they may have been blameable for pushing certain doctrines to the very verge of danger, or for magnifying unduly the importance of less weighty matters. But, with all that was good and great in them, their story is, as we have said, chiefly to be regarded as a warning.

And the great lesson which it teaches us is—at the hazard of every thing but good conscience and sound faith, to shun whatever

⁴ Hallam, *Const. Hist.* ii. 404, ed. 1842. Perceval's *Apost. Succession*, 249. The reader may perhaps remember the account given in "The Antiquary," (ch. v.) of Sir Arthur Wardour's purely unpractical Jacobitism. At last, indeed, Jacobitism would appear to have been professed merely as a matter of humour. Thus we have heard of an old Scotch gentleman, who, being charged by a presbyterian acquaintance with belonging to a disloyal communion, loudly denied the imputation. "Ye dinna' pray for King George," said his friend. "We do, though," was the answer. "We pray for all Christian kings, princes, and governors; and if he's no' among them, we have him amang all Jews, Turks, infidels, and heretics!" Another, after the adoption of the prayers for the reigning family, used, on the occurrence of such petitions in the service, to stand up, take snuff with the greatest possible amount of noise and action, and very sonorously blow his nose.

bears even the appearance of schism. We do not say that Sancroft and the rest ought to have sworn allegiance to William and Mary; it was a difficult question, as to which good men might be divided, and the side which involved the greater *apparent* sacrifice, would seem to unselfish minds the better warranted. We do not even say that *they* were altogether wrong in avoiding the public communion; but we undoubtingly think that their inability to take the oaths ought not to have been made the occasion of a separation which was meant to be permanent. For such persons as were under no previous engagement to King James—for those who should from that time desire to enter into the sacred ministry—surely the Christian course would be, to conform to the existing order of things, and, without troubling themselves about questions of this world's politics, which were extraneous to their duties and to those of private persons in general, to strive that they might edify themselves and their people in Christian faith and life.

Such was, as we have seen, the view which at first was actually taken, and which was maintained throughout by some of the best among the nonjurors. Well would it have been for them if the whole body had remained constant to it.

The separation continued, however, after its original grounds had been removed. In proportion as it became less justifiable, the tone of its members grew more intolerant and bitter; and in no long time we find some of them propounding opinions which the first leaders would have regarded with astonishment. If, as Brett and Campbell taught, the so-called Usages were *essential*—it is evident that the separation ought to have been made long before the Revolution; there ought to have been a rival Church of Usagers ever since the first Prayer-book of Edward VI. was done away with in 1552.

Hence arose schism upon schism, for very insufficient causes; very questionable doctrine, very unquestionably bad tempers. So long as their body was at unity with itself, the nonjurors might, like the Donatists of old, please themselves with the idea that they, though few, were the true Church; that the guilt of schism was with the mass—the rebellious communion of Dr. Tillotson. When, however, the “catholic remnant” itself was rent fourfold, what was to be said? Now that nonjurors were opposed to nonjurors, who was true, and who false? And further—were all these schisms but the accidental evils of the moment, or had there not rather been a schismatical leaven already long at work among their body? Were the divisions of usagers and nonusagers—were the uncanonical consecrations of Taylor and Campbell—any thing else than a manifestation, in the form of quarrels among themselves,

of the same spirit which had before led them to form a communion separate from the Established Church?

Nonjurorism was never calculated to have any hold on the nation at large. The clergy of the first separation were all forced to London, because there was nothing to be done in the scenes of their former labours. The generality of men had no inducement to join the party; for the oaths were not tendered to them, and they had no personal attachment to King James, but were heartily glad to be rid of his popery and violence. The doctrinal and ritual developments of a later time were fitted only to alienate. Sober people would have nothing to do with them; fanatically disposed people could find in them nothing to gratify *their* fashion of unsoberness. There were none of the baits which sectaries usually hold out to the multitude;—no prophecies, except a fancy that the Stuarts would be restored; no miracles, save the one instance of cure by the old Chevalier's touch, which drew ridicule on Carte's really valuable history. There were no ecstasies, no special assurances of salvation, no emancipation from the law of obedience, no popular preaching, no excitements of any kind. The crotchets successively put forth were continually more and more founded in and supported by a dry unattractive learning, and a fine-spun pertinacious argument—argument justifying Johnson's denial that any nonjuror except Leslie could argue;—since, whether right or wrong in other respects, it was always vitiated by the absence of a quality essential to arguments which are meant to have an effect on men—a consideration of the natures to which they are addressed. There was no pomp or especial solemnity of worship;—Deacon's paper ideal was probably little better realized in his Manchester meeting-house, than the battle of Agincourt in the “wooden O” of the Elizabethan theatre. There was not the appearance—we question whether there were the reality—of any extraordinary devotion or asceticism. To the world in general, the nonjuring clergy were known only in the secular callings by which they earned their maintenance—Wagstaffe, Deacon, and Cartwright, as medical practitioners, Collier as a labourer for the booksellers, Blackburne and Lindsay as correctors of Bowyer's press. With all their differences from their contemporaries of the Church, the nonjurors would probably have been little better able than these to satisfy certain modern requirements.

And this leads us to notice the idea, which is, we believe, entertained by a considerable number of persons, that to the exclusion of the nonjurors from the Church are to be ascribed the defects of our theology in the following century; that its defectiveness, consequently, is to be regarded as a judgment on

the proceedings of 1688. A very well-looking deduction may be traced; about as well-looking, perhaps, as the architectural theory on which Mr. Pugin some years ago founded an amusing volume of caricatures;—the theory that the decline and fall of Gothic art are to be ascribed to the evil influence of the Reformation. We believe, however, that the one is as insufficient as the other; which Mr. Pugin himself has been compelled to abandon, so that the second edition of his “*Contrasts*,” is in contrast with the first and with itself. Even in the case of the English Church, exceptions may be taken to both theories. If the Reformation did all the mischief to architecture, how is it that long before that event Gothic art had begun to decline among us? If it was the Revolution that brought in the ruin of our theology, how is it that before the Revolution there was a powerful latitudinarian school in the Church? How is it that English Romanists have been no better architects, or judges of architecture, than English Protestants? How is it that the writings of nonjurors are themselves wanting in spirituality? Other religious communities in these lands were in a state of quiescence during the same period. The older English sectaries were stagnating⁵; Dr. Candlish cannot find words to denounce with sufficient vehemence the lethargy of “moderatism” which oppressed the kirk. If we look beyond the seas, Mr. Pugin’s old theory must at once give way to facts; art became “paganized” in the Tridentine countries, as well as elsewhere; and so, in the matter of religion, we find the eighteenth century every where marked by appearances of torpor; although no kings had been dethroned, no bishops deprived, no distressing oaths tendered or refused. Romanism, Lutheranism⁶, Calvinism, are all affected at once; nor were the Greek Churches in any better condition. Nay, we should anticipate it as probable, that an enquiry into the state of the great religious systems beyond the bounds of Christendom, would discover a similar state of things in them also, during the same period.

We shall not now enter on an attempt to offer a truer and more widely applicable solution than that which has been mentioned; but we have thought it well to state some reasons why this appears to us unsatisfactory.

One thing more we shall venture to observe,—that the case of the nonjurors may be not unprofitably studied by those among us who are so exclusively sensible of the evil effects of state connexion on the Church, that they can see little or no compensatory

⁵ See the *Life of Lady Huntingdon*, i. 144, and elsewhere.

⁶ As to the state of Lutheranism, there is a very remarkable passage in Goethe’s *Autobiography*, book i. (*Works*, xxiv. 62, ed. 1829.)

good in it. If, as is continually urged by such persons, the history of our Church in the last century proves the banefulness of state-influence, what, it may be asked, does the history of the nonjurors prove in favour of freedom from such influence? When we review the high beginning, the altered tone and ground, the division and sub-division, the contentiousness, the unsteadfastness, the fancifulness, the dwindling, the insignificant ending—the thought, we own, comes very forcibly into our minds, that a few acts of parliament, of a nature to prevent a too ready execution of every idea which may enter the heads of speculative or antiquarian divines, may be not altogether an unwholesome restraint. Granting (whether we may rightly do so or not) all that we can be required to grant as to the defectiveness of the Anglican Church in the eighteenth century, granting that it fell grievously short of its professed system, still the system itself remained, to be the mark of later generations, who should better understand its excellences, and more earnestly endeavour to realize it. While the nonjurors were quarrelling and shifting; while the communion-office of the Restoration was superseded by that of king Edward's First Book; while this was next superseded by the new office of 1718, and that in its turn gave way, together with the whole Anglican Prayer-book, to Deacon's out-of-date chimera, the offices of the Church providentially remained unaltered. They were in danger in 1689, even from Sancroft and his associates, who were at that time disposed to make changes for the sake of conciliating nonconformists, after the late common resistance to Romanism; this danger was averted by the deprivation. Immediately after, they were in great danger from Burnet and his party, who were deterred from enforcing their very pernicious suggestions by a fear of arming the nonjurors with an argument against them; a fear which would not have been felt, if at that time the nonjurors had themselves been affected with the spirit of change which thirty years later rent their communion asunder. And when, after the manifestation of this spirit, a dread of nonjurors could no longer be a bar to change by divines of the Established Church—when, from the prevalent tone of opinion, any changes which might have been undertaken must necessarily have been very detrimental,—we owe the preservation of the book to that suspension of the convocation which is complained of as the most grievous of state-interferences, and to that spirit of quiescence among the clergy, in which a justification is supposed to be found for speaking of our forefathers of the last three or four generations in language which can hardly be becoming towards any who have professed the name of Christ.

With a system which has been thus guarded, we may trust

that there is of a truth a blessing from above. Our Prayer-book, while it has retained that which it would have been a most serious loss to give up,—while it has retained all that is essential, however imperfectly much of this may have been appreciated by some of those through whose hands we have received it,—has unquestionably served as a bond of union, where offices such as those of the nonjurors would have been productive of irreconcilable dissension. And those churchmen who would prefer the offices of the usagers to the forms which are authorized among us, may, we think, learn very sufficiently from the history of nonjurorism what is the only true and safe way of endeavouring after the realization of their wishes to any wholesome end. It is not to form or to cause a schism, by insisting on things which churchmen in general are not prepared to embrace; but to use in a spirit of patience and humility such as we already have; to strive, by wise and assiduous training, that men may be brought to enter into the understanding and the love of these, from which they are, for the most part, as yet sadly far remote; and in such efforts to place the hope of preparing them for something yet better, if it should be God's good pleasure hereafter to vouchsafe it.

ART. V.—*Egypt and the Books of Moses, or the Books of Moses illustrated by the Monuments of Egypt.* By DR. E. HENGSTENBERG, with additional notes by W. COOKE TAYLOR, LL.D. (*in the Biblical Cabinet*). Edinburgh: Clark. 8vo. 1845.

Two different arguments against the Divine authority of the Pentateuch have been drawn from what was known, or supposed to be known, of Egyptian affairs. It has been contended by one class of infidels, that the writings attributed to Moses, display such ignorance in respect to the laws and customs and even the climate of Egypt, that they could not have been the work of the person whose name they bear; but must needs have been the forgery of a stranger to the country, who lived at a far later period. Others, on the contrary, have seen so much that was, as they conceived, essentially Egyptian in the laws and institutions of the Israelites, that they have fancied that Moses could have derived them from no other source. They have, accordingly, admitted that the Pentateuch was the work of Moses, containing the account which he thought proper to give of the migration of his countrymen from Egypt to Canaan, and the laws which he laid down for their observance in their new country; but they have denied that he had any Divine authority for those laws, whether they related to civil or to religious matters; and they have explained away, as well as they could, every thing miraculous which was recorded in his history.

The first of these arguments has been lately urged with more than usual boldness by a writer named Von Bohlen; and it is in reply to him that the work of Hengstenberg, of which that before us is a translation, was published. It is, indeed, a triumphant refutation of his arguments. Our author considers in the first place the particular instances, which Von Bohlen had pointed out, of the ignorance of Egyptian affairs shown by the writer of the Pentateuch; and he shows from the pictorial representations on the walls of Egyptian tombs, and from the objects which have been found there, and in respect to the climate, from the testimony of modern travellers, that his supposed mistakes and inaccuracies were by no means really such. He then brings forward a number of other proofs of the knowledge of Egyptian manners and customs, which the author of the Pentateuch must

have possessed, derived either from his direct statements, or from his incidental allusions; and had he stopped here, his work would have been a truly valuable one. He has, however, thought proper to intermingle with the legitimate arguments for the genuineness of the Pentateuch, such as tend to show that it was, though genuine, uninspired. He has derived several of the institutions of Moses from Egyptian institutions, to which he supposes them to bear an analogy. He has attributed to his Egyptian learning as its source, the "geographical knowledge" shown by Moses in his account of the peopling of the world. And he has brought forward statements of travellers and historians, respecting what has happened in Egypt from natural causes, by way of accounting in some measure for the plagues which preceded the Exodus. Dr. Hengstenberg is not, indeed, a professed unbeliever in Divine revelation; he does not go the revolting length which many of his countrymen have gone; but his insidious statements are on that very account the more dangerous; and therefore, though his work contains much valuable matter, we can by no means recommend it for general perusal.

It is true, that when he decided on reprinting in Great Britain the present translation, (which was made by the "Abbot" of one of the American theological seminaries,) the publisher engaged the services of Dr. Cooke Taylor; who has given in the preface a caution against the insidious statements which the work contains, and has added some notes with a view to counteract them. It is true, also, that the Doctor's additions are in general very judicious; that he has refuted some very objectionable arguments of the author, and has given special cautions against some of his misstatements. But what then? Are we to recommend the swallowing of poison, because a sufficient antidote may be swallowed along with it? By no means. Even if the whole of the objectionable statements and arguments which the work contains had been pointed out and refuted, we should hesitate to recommend it to the general reader. But it is by no means the case that they are so. The long chapter on the signs and wonders in Egypt, in which the author endeavours to show that they resulted from natural causes, though they acquired a somewhat supernatural character from the time of their occurrence, as well as that of their ceasing, being fixed by Moses, is accompanied by only one short note, in which it is merely stated that the sacred writers give a different view of the matter. To the very objectionable section on the genealogy in Gen. x., and to some of those which treat on supposed Egyptian references in the religious institutions of the

Pentateuch, no notes whatever have been added. Here, then, we have much poison without any antidote. It may be said, that the present work is not more objectionable than many others which have appeared in the same Cabinet. This we believe to be the case; but it does not alter our view of the matter. We cannot welcome the appearance among us of German neology in any form; not even of the modified neology of Dr. Hengstenberg. We could have wished that Dr. Taylor, in place of editing this work, had issued an improved edition of his own work, "*Illustrations of the Bible from the Monuments of Egypt.*" It might have been enlarged, and in some places corrected, from the work before us; while the passages in the latter which are calculated to do harm might have been quietly passed over.

In this there would have been, as we conceive, nothing unfair. We are not advocating the propriety of making a *selection of facts*; publishing such as would favour our views, and suppressing the remainder. Far from it. We are persuaded that no facts which can be brought to light, will be inconsistent with Divine revelation, when properly understood; and we have, therefore, no dread of publishing whatever *facts* can be ascertained. But we see no necessity for mingling rash *speculations* with these facts, merely because the speculations have been made by the person who first published the facts. It appears to us that there is no difficulty in determining the limits, within which the testimony of the Egyptian monuments can be brought forward with propriety, to confirm or disprove the statements of an ancient author. If that author refers to the manners and customs of the ancient Egyptians, as being so and so; or if he states or implies that such and such were the productions of the soil of Egypt; or mentions the natural course of events in its climate; we may refer to monumental evidence, as well as to historical, as a test of his accuracy. Not so, however, when events are recorded as having occurred out of the course of nature, by special interposition of its great Author; or when institutions are ascribed to his immediate command. In such a case it is of no avail to appeal to history or monuments, in order to prove that something bearing a slight resemblance to the miracle has occurred in the course of nature; or that institutions, in some respects similar to those said to have been commanded by God, had previously existed in Egypt.

A few examples will illustrate the distinction that we have made. It is stated in p. 205 of this volume:—

"The law concerning unlawful intercourse, in Lev. xviii., in which marriage between near relations occupies the first place, is in verse 3

accompanied by the words: 'After the doings of the land of Egypt, wherein ye dwelt, shall ye not do.'"

Here is a plain intimation, that of the abominations described in this chapter, a portion at least was conformable to Egyptian usage. If the testimony of ancient authors who have written concerning Egypt, and the surer testimony of the remaining monuments of that country, was inconsistent with this intimation, a strong argument would lie against the authenticity, if not against the genuineness, of the writings ascribed to Moses. But what are the facts with respect to this testimony? Our author proceeds:—

"Truly, among no people of antiquity was the moral feeling with reference to marriage among relatives, so blunted as among the Egyptians. The marriage with the sister, so strongly forbidden by Moses, was considered among them as unconditionally allowable. *Diodorus*¹ says: 'It is, contrary to the common custom, lawful among the Egyptians to marry a sister, since such a union in the case of Isis was so fortunate in its consequences.' *Pausanias*² says of Philadelphus, who married his sister by birth: 'He in this did that which was by no means lawful among the Macedonians, but entirely in accordance with the law of the Egyptians, over whom he ruled.' *Philo*³ relates of the Egyptian law-giver, that he gave permission to all to marry their sisters, those who are sisters by birth, not less than step-sisters, those of like age and older, not less than the younger. 'By the sculptures in Upper and Lower Egypt,' remarks *Wilkinson*⁴, 'it is fully authenticated, that this law was in force in the earliest times.'"

¹ B. i. c. 27.

² Att. i. 7.

³ De Special. Legg. p. 780.

⁴ Vol. ii. p. 63.

It may be asked, with some appearance of reason, how the sculptures can prove any thing on the subject, one way or the other. In fact, it is not the sculptures themselves which prove it, but the hieroglyphical texts which accompany them. The names of the persons represented in family groups are always written beside them, generally accompanied by those of their mothers, and often by those of their fathers also. The husband and wife are thus proved to have the same parentage in a vast number of instances. The title, "his sister," which is frequently placed before the name of the wife, when following her husband, proves the same thing; or at least it proves that she was nearly connected with him by blood; for the term "sister" was sometimes applied to one, who appears from the parentage annexed, to have been the aunt or the niece.

In this instance we have the combined testimony of the monuments and of ancient writers, establishing a fact which, without

being expressly asserted, is clearly intimated by the author of the Pentateuch. Let us now take an instance in which the testimony of ancient writers has been adduced in opposition to that of Moses. In the dream of the chief butler (Gen. xl. 9—11), the existence of the vine in Egypt is clearly implied. Hence Von Bohlen argues for the late origin of this narrative; alleging that the cultivation of the vine in Egypt only commenced in the reign of Psammitichus:—

“The Egyptians,” he says, “used for drink a kind of beer, in speaking of which Herodotus explicitly adds, that no vines grow in the land. Among the orthodox Egyptians it is considered as the blood of Typhon. They did not drink it, says Plutarch, before the time of Psammitichus, and they also did not offer it in sacrifice.”

Such is the summary of the historical evidence which our Author quotes from Von Bohlen, p. 13; as being what the latter relied on as a proof, that the Pentateuch was composed in the time of Josiah. In reply to it, after noticing Michaelis’s solution of the difficulty, which he justly rejects as a petty evasion of it, he quotes the testimonies of other authors, in opposition to Herodotus and Plutarch. Herodotus himself is mentioned by him, as furnishing evidence in opposition to his statement above given. Dried grapes were, he says, placed in the body of the bullock that was offered to Isis; and Osiris was identified by him with Bacchus, the known inventor of wine. He adds, p. 15:—

“*Diodorus*, in like manner, not only asserts the identity of Osiris and Bacchus, but also expressly attributes to Osiris the discovery of the art of cultivating the vine. ‘But it is said that he first discovered the vine near Nysa, and after having acquired skill in the management of its fruit, first made use of wine himself, and taught other men the planting of the vine-stock, the gathering of the grapes, the drinking of wine, and its preservation.’ But the authority of *Diodorus* is of itself sufficient to outweigh that of *Plutarch*. Further, according to *Hellenicus*, in *Athenæus*, the cultivation of the vine was first discovered in the Egyptian city Plinthinus. But these passages of ancient authors have no longer much interest for us, since we have upon the monuments a testimony for the origin of the culture of the vine in Egypt far more sure and sufficient in itself. . . . According to *Champollion*, there are found in the grottos of Benihassan, ‘representations of the culture of the vine, the vintage, the bearing away and the stripping off of the grapes, two kinds of presses, the one moved merely by the strength of the arms, the other by mechanical power, the putting up of the wine in bottles or jars, the transportation into the cellar, the preparation of boiled wine, &c.’”

More to the same effect is quoted from Rosellini and Wilkin-

son;—enough, we should think, to convince the most sceptical, that the vine was well known in Egypt in very early times, and that its fermented juice was a favourite drink. The grottos of Benihassan, where, among other places, these sculptures have been found, were executed in the time of the twelfth dynasty of Manetho; 1600 years before Christ, according to the lowest system of chronology with which we are acquainted, and much earlier according to the generality of writers.

But though the testimony of the pictorial representations in Egyptian tombs is, in this instance, sufficient to establish the main fact in question—the early cultivation of the vine in Egypt, it is but a small part of the monumental evidence which we have bearing on the subject. The ancient Egyptian name of *wine* is known to us with the highest degree of certainty. The word *ἐρπις* is mentioned by Lycophron (579), as its expression in Greek; and the almost identical word *Ἑρπ*, the termination which Lycophron added being omitted, has the same meaning in Coptic. Now there is a group of three letters, which occurs very frequently on Egyptian monuments, preceding a pair of wine bottles, such as are represented in the sculptures above mentioned. These are the third, the eighth, and the fifth characters in that group of nine, which represents *Κλειοπάτρα* on the walls of the pronaos of Edfu. It can scarcely be doubted by the most sceptical, that these three characters, composing the word *ἐρπ*, signify *wine*. Now this group is found in instances without number on mummy cases, steles, and the doors and walls of tombs, as well as in funeral manuscripts; wherever the luxuries are mentioned, which the Egyptians supposed that their deceased friends would enjoy through the gift of the gods. Among other places, it occurs on the ancient tomb in the British Museum, which is of the age of the pyramid builders, and therefore, *demonstratively*, earlier than the sculptures at Benihassan¹.

Again, on the obelisk of Rameses the Great, which was sculptured long before the time of Psammitichus, and on those of Thothmos III. at Alexandria, which are more ancient still, the kings are represented offering *wine* to the deities whom they respectively worshipped; the name of the liquor being placed over the vessels which contained it.

¹ In the principal of these grottos the name of Cheops (or Shufu, as some have called him) is mentioned as that of a king, who must have preceded the four successive sovereigns who patronized the family of feudal chiefs for whom the tomb was made. The district where they lived was called “Khufu-monat,” or “the nurse of Khufu.” How long he was anterior to the first of these kings is another question, on which we will not now enter. We abstain for the present from all discussion of Egyptian chronology, hoping that the long promised work of Chevalier de Bunsen will shortly give us an opportunity of stating our views in respect to it.

These facts are conclusive against the statement of Plutarch; which, like several others which he makes respecting Egyptian matters, is without foundation. The assertion of Herodotus may, however, be defended, as not inconsistent either with Scripture or with monumental evidence. The monuments do not represent wine as *abundantly* produced in Egypt, or as in *general* use among the inhabitants. It seems to have been a luxury, to which only the higher classes could aspire during their lives, though after death it was expected by all. For the poorer classes, the beer of Herodotus was its cheap substitute. The existence of this liquor, and its use as a common drink by the living, are clearly recognized by the hieroglyphic texts; though of course it is never named among the articles prayed for on behalf of the dead. In the great Ritual, or Book of the Dead, as it has been called, the deceased person is directed to say (Leps. 52, 5, 102, 3,) that "his food has been loaves of white flour; his drink has been of red barley of the Nile." Such passages strongly confirm the truth of what Herodotus says respecting the use of beer; and his statement that the vine was not cultivated in Egypt, may have been true after the Persian conquest, though wine was certainly produced there under the ancient monarchy. The errors of Herodotus respecting Egypt arose from misapprehensions of what the Egyptian priests told him, and in some cases, we cannot doubt, from their wilful falsehoods; but it is not likely that he should have stated what was not the fact, on a subject relating to his own times, and within the reach of his own observation. The disuse of the cultivation of the vine in Egypt may have arisen from the importation of wine from abroad. We know that it was imported for the royal table so early as the reign of Menephthah III.; and it probably was so long previously. In a curious MS. in the British Museum, (Anastasi, No. 4,) written in the reign of that king (1100 B.C. according to the lowest estimate; Rosellini says 1496), the countries are mentioned from which articles were brought to be used in the palace. The wine is said to come from the region which Champollion called Shari, and which some of his followers have supposed to be Syria; but is not the name rather Khalavo²? If so, we must recognize in it the חלבון of Ezekiel xxvii. 18, which is said to have supplied Tyre with its wines; and the Χαλυβών of Strabo, which, he says (p. 1068), furnished the

² The first letter is initial in Khshiarsha, Xerxes; the last, the *lion*, certainly represented L or R in Greek and Roman proper names; but in ancient times it is probable that it sometimes represented the whole of the Egyptian word for lion, and not its first letter only. That word was LAVO, etymologically connected with a variety of words, which we need not specify, in both the Semitic and the Indo-germanic languages.

only wine of which the kings of Persia would drink. Of this ancient name the "Aleppo" of modern geography is a corruption.

In these instances we see the legitimate use of the Egyptian monuments, as tests of the correctness of facts stated by ancient writers. When facts respecting Egypt are stated, or implied by writers, we may look to the monuments for evidence, whether these facts have been correctly stated or implied; but we cannot infer any thing from facts which are established by the monuments, with respect to the truth or falsehood of different facts recorded by historians. The connexion of these different facts with each other is matter of supposition, not of knowledge. Whether the supposition may appear to any individual writer well or ill-founded, he has no right to mingle it with what is not merely supposed, but absolutely known; and if any writer has committed such an error as this, no other that follows him should be blamed for making a distinction which his predecessor neglected to make.

Returning to these *facts*, we will remark that of all which our author has noticed, whether mentioned by Von Bohlen or not, there appears to us to be only one, on which he has not written what was *satisfactory*. In several instances, as in those which we have mentioned, of the incestuous marriages and of the wine, he has not put his arguments so strongly as he might have done, had he been able to appeal to the Egyptian writings as well as to their pictures; but he has in every instance but one said enough, we think, to satisfy any candid enquirer.

The one difficulty, of which it appears to us that he has not given a satisfactory explanation, is that of the non-appearance on the monuments of the *camel*; if camels were so much used in Egypt in the time of Abraham, as is implied by the circumstance recorded in Gen. xii. 16, of their being among the gifts of Pharaoh to that patriarch. The true solution of this difficulty appears to us to depend on the nature of Egyptian writing. If it were, as was commonly supposed till the time of Champollion, and as many of our learned men still appear to think;—if it were essentially ideagraphic, so that the absence of a representation of the form of an animal implied the absence of all mention of the animal, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to admit the existence of the camel in the country; seeing that it has never been found represented on the monuments, and that these monuments are so numerous, and relate to so many different subjects, that every animal and every thing which existed in the country must be presumed to be found there mentioned. The truth is, however, that an animal or any thing else may be

mentioned on the monuments, without there being any *representation* of it to arrest the attention. A large number of the hieroglyphical characters were phonetic, representing sounds and not ideas; and by a combination of these any Egyptian word might be expressed, without the assistance of an ideographic character. In most instances, indeed, characters which were non-phonetic were added to those which expressed the sound of the word; partly to indicate its termination, and partly to distinguish it from other words, which the same combination of phonographs might express. The former of these was the more necessary, from the Egyptians leaving no void spaces between their words; and the latter from their omitting for the most part the vowels; thus reducing their words to consonantal skeletons, which might be filled up very variously. The additional characters thus attached to words, to which the name of *determinative signs* was given by Champollion, were sometimes representations of the objects signified by the words, but they were by no means necessarily so; on the contrary, the instances in which they were so bear a very small proportion to those in which they were not. The figure of a horse for instance, is on particular occasions placed after the word *Hatere*, *a horse*, or *Sos-mût*, *a mare*; as in the great historic sculptures at Medinet Habou, or in the MS. giving an account of the campaign of Rameses the Great against the Scythians, when the horse on which the king rode is mentioned; but in the great majority of instances in which these words occur, they are determined by a character, which is called "the generic determinative of quadrupeds," and which may be placed indifferently after the names of all quadrupeds. This being the case, we say that there is no reason to expect that the figure of a camel should appear on the monuments. If that animal were to be mentioned, its name would be expressed in regular course by a combination of phonetic characters expressing its sound, followed by the generic determinative of quadrupeds. And we say further, that there is not the slightest reason to doubt that it is so expressed; for there are a great number of Egyptian words which, from having this determinative attached to them, must represent quadrupeds; but which have not yet been identified as the names of any particular quadrupeds. In all probability some one of these names signified the camel. We shall certainly take the liberty of being of that opinion, until they have all been clearly appropriated to other animals.

As to the non-appearance of the camel in the pictorial representations of the Egyptians, we think no stress should be laid on it. They are not very graceful animals; nor were they connected

with any of the fantastic notions respecting a future state, like the ass or the pig. There is then no reason why they should be represented in pictures, or in the bas-reliefs on the temples. Many other animals and objects are mentioned in the hieroglyphic texts, which are not pictorially represented. To take an instance to which we alluded a while ago; we believe no one ever saw a man riding on horseback pictorially represented; and yet Rameses the Great is distinctly spoken of in the Sallier MS., No. 3, as making his campaign against the Scythians *on horseback*. The name of "the great horse which was under his majesty" is recorded by the historian; and it is one, by the way, "Victories in Upper Egypt"—which suggests the idea that horse-racing as well as horse-riding was practised by the Egyptians.

The object of Dr. Hengstenberg's illustrations was exclusively to establish the *genuineness* of the writings ascribed to Moses; but there is another kind of illustration of the Bible, to which indeed the name *illustration* appears more appropriate, and of which the Egyptian monuments furnish several valuable instances. We speak of cases in which the meaning of a passage of Scripture is explained by help of the objects found in Egyptian tombs, or the pictorial representations on the monuments. There are some important illustrations of this class to be found in Dr. Cooke Taylor's former work; we need not refer to them, as it has been long before the public; but we wish to draw attention to the fact, that illustrations of this kind are not to be sought for in the pictorial part of the monuments only, but will also be found in the part analogous to our writing. We will give a few instances of this, by way of specimens of what may be expected, when Egyptian literature shall have assumed the place which is due to it among the studies connected with the past.

The first instance we will give is of a scriptural *word*, the meaning of which has been to a certain degree mistaken by all Hebrew lexicographers; but of which the true signification has been lately ascertained by the combined aid of the Egyptian language, and of the objects represented on the monuments and found in the tombs. The word we allude to is נֶבֶל, *nével*, which is clearly applied to some sort of musical instrument, and also to some kind of vessel, in which wine or other liquors might be carried. The musical instrument has been admitted by the best lexicographers to be the same with the *nablium* of Ovid and the *νάβλα* or *ναύλα* of the Greeks; but as to what the nature of this instrument was, there has been no unanimity. Some have fancied it to be a wind instrument, but the majority have given

it strings. The best ancient authorities thought that it was of a triangular form; and the moderns have given no sound reason for differing from them. A like uncertainty attached to the word in its other signification of a bottle, or vessel for wine. Though clearly spoken of as *earthen* in Lam. iv. 2. Is. xxx. 14. and some other texts, it has been imagined that the proper meaning was *a bottle of skin*, the word being supposed to be connected with נבלה *n'éla*, a *carcase*; and the meaning *a pitcher* or *bottle* has been considered a secondary one. It is now known, however, that this was an Egyptian word; and as such it could have no connexion with the Hebrew word for *carcase*. The figure of the Egyptian *nevé*, or *nevér*, (for in different districts of Egypt the same word was sounded with L and with R,) occurs very frequently on the monuments. It is a stringed instrument resembling the guitar. The value *good* was assigned to it by Dr. Young; and the reason why it had this value is now known to be, that the Egyptian word for *good*, *nevér*, was sounded exactly, or almost exactly, as that of the name of the instrument. It is, however, not by this character *alone*, that the Egyptian word *good* is for the most part represented, but by that character followed by the ordinary characters representing the letters V and R; the *nevé* representing either the entire word which composed its name, or the initial letter of that word alone³. This instrument not only occurs frequently in the hieroglyphical texts, but is also seen in pictures; and specimens of it, which have been found in tombs, are to be seen, we believe, in many of the European museums. Specimens are also to be found of earthen bottles of various sizes, resembling this instrument; and these were doubtless the bottles mentioned in the books of Samuel. The notion that these were sewed up skins must now be abandoned.

We have here a word occurring in Scripture, the true meaning of which is now for the first time ascertained, through the aid of the hieroglyphic texts. We will proceed to give an instance of an idiom, of which there are some examples in the Old Testament, and which has not been properly attended to by either grammarians, lexicographers, or translators. It is in truth an *Ægyptiacism*. Nothing is more common than to meet with a sentence consisting of a single Egyptian noun, with a pronominal affix attached to it. The substantive verb is in such cases understood, connecting the noun and affix in the sense of possession. Thus, in the legends on the sarcophagus of Menaphthah I. in Sir J. Soane's museum, it is said of a party of the minor deities,

³ Attention to this fact, which is one of a numerous class, enables us to determine the pronunciation of the word, so far, at least, as the consonants are concerned. The vowels are given by the compound name Νεφερ-χερής, preserved by Manetho.

who are represented; "They have rows of loaves, they have bottles of liquors, they have vases of water." Literally, it is "*their* loaves, *their* bottles, *their* vases;" and so in the funeral texts, "I have a mouth for words; I have feet for walking; I have hands to overthrow my enemies." It is literally, "my mouth, my feet, my hands." Now there are several instances in Scripture in which this construction occurs; but grammarians do not seem to have acknowledged it; in only one instance, we believe, have the translators of our authorized version admitted such an ellipsis as we have mentioned above. We allude to Ps. cxv. 7, יָדֵיהֶם "they have hands;" רַגְלֵיהֶם, "feet have they." Here they were in a manner constrained by the authority of all the old versions, and by the exigency of the passage to translate the affix *they have*; but in other instances, they have preferred having recourse to a supposed nominative absolute. Thus in Gen. xxii. 24, the construction is plainly, according to the Egyptian idiom just explained, וּפִלְגֶשֶׁת "And he had a concubine, whose name was Reumah; and she also bare Tebah, &c.;" the received translation is awkward, and it leaves the third without an equivalent. "And his concubine, whose name was Reumah, she also bare Tebah, &c." So again in Numb. xiv. 31, וְטַפְכֶּם is "But ye have little ones."

It is not, however, from the language itself, which is used in the Egyptian texts, that we may expect illustrations of Scripture, so much as from the literature that exists in it, and in particular from the poetical part of it. The idea of Egyptian poetry being in existence will be startling to many. It is, nevertheless, the fact that we possess great abundance of it. In addition to a pretty long elegiac poem, which has been found in a tomb at Benihasan, and to a poetical prayer for the deceased, which occurs on many ancient *steles*, there is in the British Museum a long manuscript, of which a fac-simile has been published⁴,

⁴ Sallier, No. 2. This manuscript was written in or about the reign of Menephthah III.; but the poems purport to have been written, and we see no reason to doubt that they were actually written, many centuries earlier, at and before the commencement of the 12th dynasty, and when the Emû, the Emims of Gen. xiv. 5, and Deut. ii. 10, were an existing people, beyond the desert to the north-east of Egypt. In monuments of a later date, as in the tomb of Menephthah I., opened by Belzoni, and on the coffin of the queen of Amasis the Saite, the Emû are mentioned as one of the four great races of men; being classed with the Letû, or *people*, i.e. the Egyptians themselves, the Nahasû, or negroes, and the Temahû, the people of the East—we suspect, Arabians. On these monuments they appear as the type of the northern barbarians, as they might easily have been long after they ceased to exist. We are particular in mentioning this, because the most plausible argument in favour of the chronological system which makes the Exodus subsequent to the reign of Rameses the Great, is that the Emims are mentioned in the tomb of his father, and that they were extinct before the Exodus. This argument would have great force, if it were not nullified by the fact, that they are mentioned in a precisely similar manner on a monument of the age of Amasis.

which is all poetical. It contains three distinct poems, comprising together some fifty stanzas, each of which, on an average, consists of ten lines. In the longest of the three poems, the first line of each stanza is distinguished by being written in red ink; and in all of them, the last character of each line has a red point over it. All these poems are characterized by that peculiar style of parallelism, which has been called Hebrew, merely because no other poems of the same antiquity with the Hebrew were hitherto known to exist.

It is natural to suppose that among the many other manuscripts in the European museums, not to speak of those which yet remain undisturbed in Egyptian tombs, there are many similar to this. But admitting that all the poetical remains of the Egyptians have been already enumerated, there is surely an ample supply to enable a person to investigate the several kinds of parallelism, and the laws by which it was regulated. And it is scarcely possible that such an investigation should be successfully prosecuted without throwing light on the poetry of the Hebrews, as well as of the Egyptians. Some time hence,—it may be but a few years, but the apathy and prejudices of the present age will probably defer it for another generation,—some time hence, when a tolerable knowledge of the Egyptian language may be attained in a short time, and with comparative ease, by the *vivâ voce* teaching of a professor, instead of being the result of tedious, toilsome, and solitary labour;—some time hence, a man who has been thus instructed, and who feels interested in the subject, will be able to produce a work on ancient poetry, compared with which that of Lowth will be but as a schoolboy's exercise.

Another subject, of great importance from its probable bearing on the study of the sacred Scriptures, will, it is to be hoped, find some one to investigate it, when the period of which we have been speaking shall arrive: we mean the Egyptian mythology. The origin of idolatry in that country, and the primitive traditions connected with it, are probably capable of being discovered; but as yet all that has been ascertained is of a negative character. The works of Bryant and Faber are superseded, so far as they relate to Egypt; what they assumed as data having been in great measure disproved: and yet there are many reasons for believing that the Ophite and Arkite traditions were current in Egypt, and mingled with the religious belief of the inhabitants. It is a subject of great interest, but one of which it would be premature to say any thing at present. It should not be investigated until the language is more thoroughly known than it is now; and it would require the undivided attention of the person who investigates it.

The ritual and other funeral writings relate to a distinct sub-

ject, and there are no grounds for postponing an examination of them. They seem well calculated to illustrate the language, and a few select chapters would probably be the best introduction to its study. They also clearly show the views which the Egyptians took of a future state. Along with various fantastic fictions, they held the great truths of the existence of a soul distinct from the body; of its separation from the body by death; of its future reunion to it; and of the dependance of its happiness or misery in the separate state, on the conduct of the deceased person during his continuance on earth, in reference to a defined rule of duty.

To what we have said on these various ways, in which the study of the Egyptian language may illustrate the Scriptures, which are, as we take it, so many various reasons why this study ought to be encouraged, we will add something as to the importance of studying the language *for its own sake*, as a branch of comparative philology.

If, indeed, the ancient Egyptian language was, as Champollion and Rosellini imagined, almost pure Coptic, and if the Coptic language was, according to the notion of Schlegel, Bopp, and other philologists, altogether unconnected with the Indo-Germanic and Semitic languages, it must be confessed that there would be little inducement for studying the old Egyptian language, except for the sake of the literature that may exist in it. It appears, however, that neither of the above suppositions is well-founded. The Egyptian language preserved on the monuments and papyri is not Coptic, any more than the Mæso-Gothic or the Anglo-Saxon is English. There are, it is true, a number of Coptic words which are the same as, or slightly modified from, words of the ancient language; but the corresponding words are by no means so numerous as Champollion supposed, nor are the words which actually correspond so identical as to their letters as he made them to be. It is now clearly ascertained that Champollion assigned false meanings to many words, and false powers to many letters, in order to identify them with what he found in Coptic lexicons; and that the parts of his grammar which treat of the pronouns and inflexions of verbs are by no means to be depended on, so much was he led astray by mistaken Coptic analogies.

The other supposition of the German philologists, which we have mentioned above, has still less foundation in truth. The two distinct families of languages, the differences between which they have presented in such exaggerated terms, that a person would suppose that they could have nothing in common, are found to be connected with each other and with the Coptic, through the ancient Egyptian. The triliteral roots of the Hebrew gram-

marians, whether they belong to the defective classes or not, appear to have been in many instances formed on Egyptian biliteral roots, some of which are also Indo-Germanic.

We will give a few instances in illustration of what we mean, in the hope of turning the attention of philologists to this most ancient language, which should be studied by all who pretend to trace etymologies. The נתן of the Hebrews would appear at first sight to have nothing in common with the DO or DA of the Latins and Greeks, the Lithuanians, the Persians, and the Indians; but let them both be compared with the old Egyptian word Tâ, תע, and their affinity will begin to be seen. In fact, the resemblance of this word to its acknowledged descendant, the Coptic Ti, is scarcely as strong as to the other forms. We have only to keep in mind that the final letter of this Egyptian word, pronounced, it would appear, as our NG, generally corresponded to 𐀀 and 𐀁 at the end of Hebrew words; and that in respect to initial mutes, the Egyptian bore the same relation to the Latin and Greek as the Gothic did. It would therefore have an initial T, where the Greek or Latin would have D. The passing of the final y into a vowel, is what we meet with in other instances, and it explains some apparent anomalies in the Greek language. The preterite of the Greek verb which corresponded to the Egyptian כע, was, we know, equally γε-γον-a and γε-γα-a.

One of the most remarkable roots, occurring in the ancient Egyptian, the Greek and Latin, and the Hebrew languages, is Mel. The primary meaning appears to be, *to be a care*, or *a charge*, to any one, as μέλω in Greek, or *to take care of*, as μέλομαι. In Egyptian Mel is applied to the owner of any thing, and also, but much less frequently, to the person who has it in charge⁵.

It is particularly applied to the chief owner, to him who has every thing in charge, that is, the king; and was from a very early period distinctively applied to the king of Lower Egypt, while the word Sûten was applied to the king of Upper Egypt. The compound title, Sût-Melit, "the king of Upper and Lower Egypt," was the favourite title of the Pharaohs; in use from the earliest period to which the monuments extend, but by no means implying that the person who bore it *really* possessed this extended sovereignty. It is demonstrable that there were, at cer-

⁵ Great mistakes have been made in regard to this word by Champollion and his followers, who could find nothing nearer to it in Coptic than MOUR, cingere, *to surround*, or ligare, *to bind*. They translated this *attached to*; and accordingly gave official titles to all the Egyptian gentlemen, whose monuments have descended to us; making them "attached to the palace," or "attached to the signet," when their friends merely wished to state respecting them, that they were "house-owners," or "owners of a great house;" or "owners of a signet;" that is, as we should say, "entitled to bear arms."

tain times, at least two contemporary sovereigns, each of whom bore this imposing title. Now with this title Melit, we desire our readers to compare the Hebrew מֶלֶךְ. To us it appears plain that we have here the same root as in Egyptian and Greek, (and, by the way, one of the derivatives of the Greek μέλω is used to signify a king,) and that the third letter is not really radical any more than the first in מֶלֶךְ. It is an ancient affirmative, evidently the same which appears in the last syllables of the Latin Sen-ex and of the German kön-ig⁶.

But we have more to say of this root; in the word signifying *an owner* sometimes, and in the word signifying *a king* always, the syllable Mel is expressed by the figure of a *bee*. And it appears that the name of this insect, as well as that of its produce, *honey*, were expressed in the ancient Egyptian language, as well as in Greek, by derivatives of this root. In one of the ancient poems already alluded to, (Sall. ii. 5, l. 4,) we have this distich:—

His conquests are his arms for filling his stomach,
As the bees (Melû) eat of their labours.

And in a monument of Thothmos III., now in the Louvre, containing a sort of annals of his reign, honey is mentioned with the other booty that he brought home. On one occasion, mention is made of “four hundred and seventy measures (Mna) of honey (Melit).” Here, then, we have an etymological relation, which we believe has hitherto not been suspected, between μέλω and μέλιτα. If we looked to the Greek language alone, such a relation could not be thought of, because in that language the word for *honey* is the primitive, from which that for *bee* is derived; and it is the animal, not its produce, the connexion of the name of which with the word expressing *care* would alone be probable. It appears, however, if we look from Greek to Egyptian, that the primitive in the former language is taken from the latter (μέλι-τ, the original form, which appears in the genitive, being identical with the Egyptian word); and that in this latter language, the name of the insect is the primitive; and, moreover, that it, and the word signifying *to care*, are occasionally expressed by the same hieroglyphical sign—a circumstance which, though not conclusive, certainly affords a strong presumption that they were regarded as connected in signification.

We hope that these instances will suffice for the purpose for which we have adduced them. We wished to show the philolo-

⁶ It is well worthy of notice, that in the Phœnician name of the principal deity of Tyre, מל קרת Malqereth, *the king of the city*, this affirmative is wanting.

gist how imperfect his researches into the relationship of languages must be, if he keeps out of sight this most ancient language, with which all others seem to be connected.

In relation to this subject, it is a question of some interest, whether any living language of the present day can claim to be directly descended from the Egyptian. It was pointed out many years ago, that a word used for "half" in certain deeds of sale of the Ptolemaic age, namely *Fagat*, existed, slightly modified, in the two principal Nubian dialects of the present day. From this, it was natural to expect that other Egyptian words might be found in these dialects; but the expectation has proved altogether unfounded; and when we take into account, that the full alphabetic style, in which this word "*fagat*" is written in the Enochial character of these deeds of sale, is almost peculiar to *foreign words*, we are now disposed to infer that it was not a genuine Egyptian word, but belonged to the old Nubian language, from which it passed to the dialects now spoken in that country.

There is, however, another African language, the Berber, from the little which is known concerning which, it appears evident that it is in part derived from the ancient Egyptian. Mr. Newmann, whose memoir on this language, in the Appendix to the fourth volume of Dr. Prichard's *History of Man*, is our latest and best authority on the subject, was of opinion that the Berber was "a Hebræo-African tongue, like the Ghÿz and Amharic;" but the greater part of the resemblances between it and the Hebrew, on which he founded this opinion, relate to points, in which the Hebrew and the Ancient Egyptian agreed; while the few others may have found their way into the Berber, either through the Punic in ancient, or the Arabic in modern times. On the other hand, the use of S for the pronominal affix of the third person singular, and of Sen for the plural, and the forming of the causative conjugation by prefixing the syllable *Is*, can be traced to no other than an Egyptian source. This being the case, it is highly desirable that both the Grammar and the Vocabulary of this language should be examined with more attention than they have been; and if a proper sense of the importance of every thing tending to throw light in any degree on the ancient Egyptian language was entertained in influential quarters, this and many other things having the same tendency would be speedily done.

Our hopes, however, that any thing of this nature will be done are not sanguine. Our experience of the past forbids us to expect much for the future. It is pretty generally known that the University of Cambridge possesses the cover of the royal sarco-

phagus which formerly contained the body of that great conqueror, whose exploits are represented at Medinet Habou;—whether he should be called the Third or the Fourth Rameses is yet a controverted point among the students of Egyptian history. It was announced in the summer of 1826, that two copies of an ancient ground-plan of the tomb of this monarch had been discovered among the Egyptian MSS. at Turin; that in the several chambers were written their respective lengths, breadths and heights, in Egyptian cubits, palms and digits; and also the date of their completion; and that in the principal chamber the royal sarcophagus was represented, with the same figures rudely sketched on it as are to be now seen at Cambridge. One would have expected that twelve months would not have elapsed from the date of this discovery before *fac-similes* of these two plans would be published, accompanied with an accurate plan, sections and measurements, made by a competent modern artist⁷. Nineteen years have, however, elapsed, *and nothing has been done*, or at least nothing has been communicated to the public; we take it for granted, that the Prussian expedition under Dr. Lepsius has not been inattentive to the subject; and when its results shall be made known, we shall at the same time be put in possession of the required *data*, and of the conclusions which should be drawn from them. We shall learn what dependance is to be placed on Egyptian measurements, and between what limits we may safely estimate the value of the Egyptian cubit, and consequently of the ancient Israelitish cubit, which was probably identical with the common, or six-palm, cubit of the Egyptians; as the “great cubit,” mentioned by Ezekiel (xl. 5, xli. 8, xliii. 13), was identical with the royal, or seven-palm, cubit used in these measurements. All this information will, there is no doubt, be published in course of time. In a few years more, we suppose, it will be given to the public.

But, perhaps, we should not complain of a single instance of neglect, seeing that in every influential quarter in this country there seems the same deadness to the importance of Egyptian literature, and the same determination to discourage the study of it. Some profess not to believe in the reality of this branch of knowledge; they have satisfied themselves, by some plausible *à priori* arguments, that it is quite impossible that any such discoveries as are alleged to have been made *could have been made*; and they accordingly refuse to examine the plain practical question, whether the knowledge said to result from these discoveries

⁷ There were measurements made in this tomb by the French expedition in 1799; but they appear to have been coarsely and carelessly made, and no reliance should be placed upon them.

is not possessed. Many think it quite sufficient if they can point out a few inconsistencies and absurdities in the writings of Champollion; they then denounce him as a charlatan, and think themselves justified in regarding his whole system as an imposture. There is no doubt that Champollion was very much of a quack. He pretended to know a great deal more than he actually did; he used unworthy artifices to conceal his ignorance; he advanced his latest conjecture, perhaps that of the moment, with the same apparent confidence as his best-established conclusions; and when he discovered his errors he would never fairly acknowledge and retract them. But notwithstanding all this, Champollion was enabled before his death to establish on the surest grounds the principles of hieroglyphic interpretation: and we think that no one can read his *Grammaire Egyptienne* (the *only* work of his, which contains his *latest* views⁸), without feeling satisfied that he possesses in it an account of the language, which is *in the main* correct; and without regretting that its author was prevented by an untimely death from developing his views at greater length, and from correcting the errors, which in so doing he could not have failed to observe.

There are few, however, who will give themselves the trouble to examine into such a matter; and where an unwillingness to believe in the reality of an alleged discovery exists in any mind, it is but too easy to condemn without examination. Now, for such an unwillingness we can see many causes; some do not like to have the old sources of knowledge with respect to Egypt and its affairs broken in upon. They have, perhaps, studied all that Herodotus, Diodorus, and Plutarch have said on the subject; and they have felt quite satisfied with what they have collected from these and similar sources. How then can they help being unwilling to admit that all this is, after all, of little or no value; and that more abundant, as well as surer sources of information have been discovered elsewhere? Others are influenced by a less unworthy motive. An undefined dread exists in their minds, that the study of Egyptian literature will be attended with danger to the authority of the sacred Scriptures; and they, therefore, think it their duty to give it no encouragement. Such persons should, however, consider that to prevent the historic documents of Egypt, which are now placed within our reach by the deciphering

⁸ The Egyptian Dictionary announced as Champollion's, is a catchpenny work. So far as it is really the work of the author whose name it bears, it was executed many years before his death, and when his views were very different from what they afterwards became. With this, however, is incorporated a sort of index to the grammar, the work of an incompetent hand, and abounding in absurdities. Nothing is more common than to meet with two totally different interpretations of the same hieroglyphic character or group in juxtaposition, or nearly so.

of the language in which they are written, from being studied, and reasoned upon, is absolutely impossible. All that can be expected from the best organized system of passive resistance, is to throw the study of them into the hands of the continental literati, to the exclusion of those of our own country. And apart from all consideration of national glory, we should deeply regret such a result, on account of the disposition to treat the Scriptures with disrespect, which prevails on the continent to so much greater a degree than it does in this country. Why, however, should it be assumed that the study of these historical documents will be of disservice to the cause of revelation? We maintain the direct contrary; we look for verifications of scriptural statements to be found in Egyptian documents, such as will put the infidel to silence; and what we most regret in connexion with this matter is, that these verifications are likely to be so long delayed. We do not allude to the want of documents; we believe that these exist in sufficient numbers; and from the varied and important contents of the few that have been examined, we cannot doubt that there is an abundant store of historical information to be yet brought to light. But it is of the want of labourers in this field of literature that we complain. Were the number of persons acquainted with the mode of reading Egyptian documents multiplied tenfold, there would not be more than are required for the work that is to be done. As it is, and as it is likely to be for some time to come, the task of thoroughly exploring the recovered treasures of Egypt is almost a hopeless one. There is only one country in Europe, where any encouragement that deserves the name is given to those who are engaged in this task. The King of Prussia, the Chevalier de Bunsen, and Doctor Lepsius, have all done their several parts well, and in the forthcoming historical work of the Chevalier, we may look for important and valuable results; though these results will, of course, require to be modified from time to time, as we become acquainted with the vast mass of documentary evidence which has not yet been examined. Other countries should imitate the example of Prussia. The like encouragement in France would probably provide a successor to Champollion, who might follow up his discoveries with equal sagacity and with superior judgment. And if England takes any pride in the recollection that one of her sons had, even before Champollion, made a beginning in correctly interpreting hieroglyphics, she should insist on having a full share in the great work which is in progress. A professor in one of her universities, with a class of labourers, encouraged to devote themselves to the pursuit by the institution of Egyptian scholarships or fellowships; and a

popular class for those who, without going deeply into the matter, may wish to be able to understand and to appreciate the labours of others. Such are the fair claims of Egyptian literature upon England; and the sooner they are satisfied, the better it will be for England and for the world.

According to M. L'Hôte, the royal tomb, of which the two ancient plans are in the museum at Turin, is that of Rameses V. or VI., who was a son of the king, the cover of whose sarcophagus is at Cambridge. M. Sayfforth, who affirmed that it was the tomb of that monarch himself, was probably mistaken. If so, the literati at Cambridge are chargeable with no *special* neglect in this matter; and we consider it due to them to make this acknowledgment.

- ART. VI.—1. *Past and Present Policy of England towards Ireland.* London: Moxon.
2. *The Ministerial Policy in Ireland; its Effects on the Church and State.* By J. C. COLQUHOUN, Esq., M.P. for Newcastle-under-Lyme. London: Rivingtons.
3. *Church Principles and Church Measures: A Letter to Lord John Manners, M.P., with remarks on a work entitled "Past and Present Policy of England towards Ireland."* By the Author of "*Maynooth, the Crown, and the Country.*" London: Rivingtons.
4. *Letter on the Payment of the Roman Catholic Clergy, to Sir Robert H. Inglis, Bart., M.P.* From HENRY DRUMMOND, Esq. London: Murray.

IT must, we think, be obvious now, even to the most cursory observer, that we are on the eve of some great and momentous changes affecting the fundamental principles on which the English constitution has hitherto rested. The Maynooth Grant shrinks into insignificance when compared with the principles on which it has been advocated, and the views which it has disclosed. There is in the conduct of public men at this crisis, and we must add, throughout the whole of the higher classes, that sort of unsettlement of principle on the most vital points, that vacillation of purpose, that indifference to public opinion, which are the unfailing precursors of revolution. The aristocracy and the higher classes in England have, we fear, before them, many a stern and awful retribution. The Demon of revolution which they are unchaining at the bidding of a Ministry which has a second time falsified all its principles, and insanely flung to the winds the prayers of the people of England, will avenge that cause which they are betraying to its enemies. When the people feel themselves deserted by their natural leaders, when they have lost confidence in their principles and their integrity, the time for convulsions in the State is at hand.

We would address ourselves at present to the more immediate danger impending over our Established Institutions. The Church is always amongst the earliest objects of attack from the spirit of democratical innovation; and its spoliation is but the first step to the overthrow of aristocracy, monarchy, and the rights of

property. In the United Kingdom the Church is especially liable to such attacks in consequence of the number of dissenters from her communion; and in Ireland, where they largely exceed the numbers of Churchmen, and are combined by a formidable political organization, including amongst its principal objects the spoliation of the Church, it is of course to be expected that the first attacks on Church property will always be made.

We have mentioned at the head of this article some of the publications which are calculated to throw light on the present state of the public mind as regards the Church of Ireland. It seems to be the opinion of short-sighted persons like the author of the "Past and Present Policy," &c., that the Church of Ireland is the only obstacle to the pacification of that country, and they are quite willing to sacrifice it accordingly. Mr. Drummond would give up the Church as a temporary sop to a ravenous wild beast, which he hopes will spare *us*, and with which our successors must deal as they can. The pamphlet by the learned and excellent author of "Maynooth, the Crown, and the Country," throws light on the fearful unsettlement of view amongst men who have, till now, been considered friends of the Church. Of Mr. Colquhoun's pamphlet we can only say at present, that it gives evidence of principles and abilities which seem to us calculated to do honour to any position in the State which he may be called on to fill; and we hope that the time may not be far distant when he will have the power of carrying out into practice the sound and enlightened policy which is here recommended.

It is in the memory of our readers that little more than ten years ago the Church of Ireland was so nearly on the verge of absolute ruin, that those who contemplate its present existence, in increased numbers and efficiency, can scarcely fail to see the immediate interference of Divine Providence. Let us survey the circumstances to which we refer.

The opposition which had been offered for a long series of years to the claims of Papists for increased political powers, arose from the apprehension that the concession of those claims would have the effect of *diminishing the security of the Established Church*. It was on this principle that King George III. had firmly and consistently resisted those claims, and on which Sir Robert Peel and the other leaders of the Tories had invariably rested their opposition. The *danger of the Church* was distinctly admitted by all except by those who were in favour of "Emancipation." Nor was this danger *denied* by Sir Robert Peel and his colleagues, when in 1829 they introduced the measure against which they had so long contended. It was, on the contrary, *avowedly* under the influence of necessity, and

with reluctance, that the ministry gave way on that occasion. Sir Robert Peel stated, that his views as to the evils likely to result from that measure were *unchanged*, but that it had become necessary to “do something” in order to obviate still greater evils. Thus, in fact, the Church had before her the assurance, that some power existed which was capable of carrying measures admitted to be most dangerous to herself—of forcing even her avowed *friends* to relinquish her defence.

We are not now about to pronounce any judgment on the conduct of Sir Robert Peel and his friends on that memorable occasion. It is needless for our present purpose to do so, and we are not desirous of introducing any topics which might have the effect of withdrawing our attention from the main object of our remarks.

That the objections which had been raised to the measure of “Emancipation” were not groundless, appeared in the course of a year or two. This measure, which we were assured by its advocates, was to pacify Ireland, and to add to the strength of the Church by conciliating its opponents, was found by experience only to have lent a powerful stimulant to the agitation for the destruction of that Church. The Romish population of Ireland *en masse* refused any longer to pay tithes to the clergy, who were at once reduced to a state of beggary. Many of the most excellent men were either murdered in cold blood, or put in imminent peril of their lives. For *several years* their incomes were entirely withheld by their Romish parishioners; and this system of combination proved so general and so determined, that the whole power of the law was insufficient to overcome it. It was in vain that “writs of rebellion” were executed by military force: the Church was at length compelled to accept from the hands of the ministry, a measure by which *one-fourth part of her revenues* was struck off at a blow, as the only means for preserving the remainder. The Romish population thus succeeded in transferring the payment of tithes from their own shoulders to the landlords, who were generally in communion with the Church, and they also exonerated themselves from debts legally due. The clergy in the mean time had been supported by *public subscription*, and by an eleemosynary grant of money from parliament.

Nor was this the whole extent of the evil which came on the Church of Ireland. While the clergy were thus impoverished and persecuted, the ministry of the day introduced their “Church Temporalities Act,” which under that specious denomination, interfered with the *spiritualities* of the Church in the very tenderest points. *Ten Bishoprics* and *two Metropolitan Jurisdictions* were extinguished without scruple or remorse. It was a

mere chance, as it appeared, that the number of sees extinguished had not been *eighteen* instead of *ten*! We believe that the government were with difficulty prevailed on to *limit* themselves to the latter number. By the same bill, *the church-rates of Ireland* were suppressed without any equivalent being given. The ostensible object in destroying so great a number of bishoprics was to provide funds to meet the deficiency caused by this extinction of church-rates. In addition to this, a tax was imposed on all benefices above a certain value, and *all parishes* in which Divine service had not been performed for a certain time were prospectively *suppressed*. In this Act then, several very important and novel principles were established—first, the right of the parliament to diminish largely the amount of episcopal superintendence; secondly, its right to abolish payments made to the Church, and to throw the burden thus caused on the Church itself; thirdly, its right to suppress *parishes* which it does not deem advisable to continue in existence; fourthly, its right to make these alterations without consulting the Church, and in opposition to the wishes of her heads.

For the establishment of these comprehensive principles, and for their results on the Irish branch of our Church, we are indebted to LORD STANLEY, who introduced the measure into the House of Commons; to SIR JAMES GRAHAM, who, as one of the ministry, lent it his support, and who has recently referred to it with approbation; and to SIR ROBERT PEEL, who as leader of the opposition, gave his consent to all its most dangerous enactments. As Lord Stanley and Sir Robert Peel professed to be influenced by intentions friendly to the Church, we have only here again to remark on the extremely perilous condition in which the Church felt herself placed, when even her professed friends were ready to give way to measures so injurious to her in every way. It is needless of course to say, that it was a very serious blow to the Church of Ireland to lose one-fourth of her revenue—the church-rates; ten of her bishops; and a number of her parishes. Lord Melbourne justly admitted, that it could not be regarded in any other point of view than as “a heavy blow and great discouragement” to the Church of Ireland.

In addition to this, the Church of Ireland has been deprived of the direction of National Education. For a considerable time after the Union the *Association for Discountenancing Vice*, which combined the offices fulfilled by the “Christian Knowledge” and the “National” Societies in this country, was supported by grants of money from parliament. In the schools established by this excellent society (which was under the direction of the prelates of Ireland) the catechism of the Church was regularly taught;

and the numbers of children of different denominations attending these schools was continually increasing, when, some years before "Emancipation," a government disposed to conciliate Romanists at the expense of the Church, deprived the Association of its customary grant, and transferred it to the "Kildare Place Society," which adopted as the basis of its religious instruction, the *Bible without note or comment*. Proselytism was anxiously disclaimed by the friends of this society, and it was expected that Romanists would be propitiated by such disclaimer, and by the exclusion of the Church catechism. But this expectation was doomed to disappointment: for the Romish priesthood denounced the Kildare Place Society for the very principle which formed its basis. They objected to the perusal of the Bible without note or comment. They were not very favourable to the perusal of the Bible under any circumstances; and to read it in the English version, and without the comments of their own Church, they deemed a mortal sin.

The "Kildare Place" Society then became a party-question between Romanism and Protestantism in Ireland, and in the general crash which followed the "Emancipation" bill of 1829 this society shared the common fate. The support of Government was transferred from it to the system of National Education, established by Lord Stanley as secretary for Ireland, and which still subsists. It is needless to add, that by this system the Church is virtually *excluded* from all share in the Government grants for education, inasmuch as they are not extended to schools in which her principles are inculcated. The large funds applied to education in Ireland have fallen entirely into the hands of the Romish priesthood, and of the Presbyterians, who have entered into a compact with Government on this subject, and have in consequence received from it a large augmentation to the *Regium donum*, a fund applied to the support of their ministers.

The Romish party in Ireland also succeeded in compelling the Government to withdraw its support from all institutions in which education was communicated on the principles of the Church. The Foundling Hospital—the Charter Schools were suppressed. "Liberal" measures of all kinds followed. It was no longer sufficient to provide jails with their ordinary Chaplains. *Romish* Chaplains also were established, and *salaried* by Government.

Romish *Bishops* had for the first time been received and recognised by King George IV. in their official capacity, and in their official costume, on occasion of his visit to Ireland in 1821, when the policy of *conciliation* was announced. From this time they were admitted to court, and placed on a footing of equality with

the legitimate bishops of Ireland. They were consulted and favoured by Government, and after the "Emancipation" act they were gratified by seeing one of their number placed amongst the directors of the Government education system. It is true that the "Emancipation" act had prevented them from assuming the episcopal titles to which they laid claim, but it did not prevent them from *receiving* those titles from others, and it was well understood that this clause was never likely to be very strictly enforced. But whatever dissatisfaction may have been felt at such a limitation, must have been compensated for by the increasing disposition of the Government to acknowledge them on all occasions as "Catholic" bishops; a concession which was peculiarly valuable to them, as implying an admission of the truth of their religion, and of the schism or heresy of the Church.

Little as concessions of this kind could be approved by churchmen, still had they tended in any degree to diminish the hostility which was felt to the Church, there would have been at least something to reconcile her to these evils. But the Church of Ireland has found herself for the last five-and-twenty years gradually stripped of her rights, possessions, and powers, by the indefatigable enmity of Romanism, which seems to derive new strength from every successful aggression, and avowedly receives it only as an instalment and a means of that final vengeance which it meditates. She has seen ministry after ministry, whether professedly amicable or no, yielding to the demands of her implacable adversaries, and at their demand sacrificing her rights and her property. There has been a long-continued series of triumphant aggression on one part, and of alarm and affliction on the other. Under these circumstances the suffering party cannot be expected to experience exactly the same kind of feelings in reference to their Romish fellow-subjects, as they would have done if they had been met in a different spirit. The persecutions to which they have been subjected, and the marked partiality which has been for so many years shown by the Government to their opponents, have certainly had the effect, in some instances, of embittering their feelings towards Romanists as such. They have felt themselves neglected, or in disgrace. They have felt that their interests, as being the *weaker* party in Ireland, have been wholly set aside; and that the interests of their enemies are studiously promoted on all occasions. They have felt that ungenerous advantage has been taken of their well-known and tried loyalty to the British crown and to the connexion with England, to sacrifice them to the will of the more powerful party in Ireland; and yet, with all their deep and just sense of wrong and of ingratitude, they have refrained from joining in the call for repeal

of the Union: they have steadily and repeatedly refused the proffered amity of O'Connell: they have not entered into any alliance with the enemies of England. How far they have promoted their own interests by acting thus may indeed be questioned. The forbearance which they have shown certainly does not seem to have added strength to their cause; and recent events, more particularly the tone now adopted by the ministerial and the opposition parties in Parliament, must, we think, have led many of the Protestants of Ireland to inquire whether they would be in any worse or more perilous condition by uniting themselves to the cause of repeal, and entering into a treaty with O'Connell for that purpose, rather than in continuing their support of an English connexion, which is leading to the destruction of their Church and the exaltation of Romanism on its ruins. These are questions which will be asked before long, and which ought, we think, to be maturely considered by the Protestants of Ireland.

The history of the Irish rebellions, little known in this country, still dwells in the recollection of the Irish Protestants. They cannot forget that two centuries ago their ancestors were subjected to a massacre, the frightful barbarity and cruelty of which exceeded the horrors even of the French revolution. They cannot forget that a century and a half ago the Romish party in Ireland, in its temporary ascendancy under James II., deprived the Church of its revenues and its sacred edifices, repealed the Act of Settlement, and attainted thousands of its members. They remember that in the last frightful rebellion of 1798 their brethren were shot and piked by hundreds at Scullabogue and at Wexford bridge; that the most fearful instances of treachery on the part of Roman Catholic servants, and others who had been loaded with benefits by the persons whom they betrayed to murder, were common. They cannot forget, for it is a matter of ordinary occurrence, that converts from Romanism are persecuted with a savage and blood-thirsty ferocity, which deters multitudes of people from following the dictates of their consciences. Wherever the blame may justly rest of having caused this state of things, whether with the English Government, the Protestants, or the Papists, still such is actually the condition in which the members of the Church in Ireland find themselves; and therefore we say, that it would be most unjust and most absurd to expect from them the same tranquil and moderate feelings and conduct in reference to Romanism and Romanists which are so generally prevalent in England.

That the Irish papists were for a considerable time subjected to penal laws of great severity is undoubtedly true, but we must

most strongly protest against the inference that these penal laws were indicative of any cruelty or harshness on the part of those who enacted them. Let it be remembered that before those penal laws were enacted, the papists had suddenly broken into insurrection and massacred a hundred thousand Protestants; that they had subsequently proved that they were incapable of tolerating the Church; and that they were *vastly more numerous than their opponents*. Under these circumstances the Protestants of Ireland had no alternative but that of *keeping down* by force and intimidation their antagonists. Self-preservation demanded this firm and even *threatening* attitude: had it not been assumed, they would have been torn in pieces by the wild and ravenous foe by whom they were confronted. We hold that the penal laws were strictly and absolutely necessary to the existence of the Protestants when they were enacted; and there cannot be the slightest doubt that they were intended rather for intimidation than for any other purpose, and in point of fact they were very seldom put in force.

If the papists could have been content to live at peace with those of a different creed, there would have been no necessity for penal laws, and no measures of severity would ever have been adopted against them; but when they had proved themselves incapable of being restrained by any laws of humanity, or reason, or loyalty, it became necessary to treat them in a very different manner. We do not say this with a view to excite enmity against the Romanists of the present day: we refer to these facts chiefly for the exculpation of the shamefully oppressed and ill-used Protestants of Ireland; and we refer to them also to show that there is no ground whatever for that argument for the conciliation of Romanists by abandoning to them the Church of Ireland, which is founded on the assumed *injustice* and *cruelty* of the laws so long in force against them. We cannot think that there was any more injustice or cruelty in those laws, than there would be in subjecting a lunatic to the discipline of a strait-waistcoat, or a tiger to the wholesome restraint of a cage. We apprehend that the man who, actuated by feelings of humanity, should quietly wait till he was throttled by the one, or devoured by the other, would scarcely gain credit for sanity.

These penal laws have been removed, and we do not wish to see them re-enacted. We are only desirous of seeing the Church of Ireland, and the Protestants of Ireland, protected in their rights and liberties, and treated with the same favour which is extended to the larger and more powerful party. We do not wish to see the reign of Protestant ascendancy revived, or to prevent Romanists from receiving a fair proportion of the patronage and

favour of government. All we do object to is, the encouragement of an agitation directed to the subversion of the Church of Ireland and all institutions connected with it. We think it most unreasonable, that because Romanists are to be favoured, they should be favoured *to the injury of Protestants*. We cannot conceive greater folly and injustice than is exhibited in the conduct of Lord John Russell and the Whigs, who would *despoil the Church* with a view to gratify the Irish Romanists. It would really seem as if these gentlemen were perfectly indifferent to the feelings of the Protestants of Ireland; as if they were ready to gratify the one party by irritating the other. We cannot but think this a most signal act of political folly; because the Protestants of Ireland have an existence which cannot be put an end to by the whigs and the repealers combined. They amount to nearly *two millions* of people; and it surely cannot be for the interest of England, that this large body of subjects, whose loyalty has been so much tried, and whose attachment to the English connexion has hitherto been indisputable; that such a portion of the Irish community should be treated in any way calculated to strengthen its sense of wrong and injustice, already more than sufficiently strong; to keep alive and foment those feelings of estrangement which already separate them from the remainder of their fellow-subjects; or to drive them in despair into alliance with the enemies of England.

We repeat it,—that the recent conduct of Lord John Russell and the Whigs in supporting propositions for the transfer of Church property to the support of Maynooth, is calculated to irritate and alarm the Protestants to the last degree, and to give a party triumph to Romanists; and therefore that it is wholly inconsistent with a wish to reconcile the religious dissensions of Ireland, or to prevent that kind of *political* union of the two contending parties, which, if it were once accomplished, would, we believe, be fully competent to assert the national independence of Ireland.

Mr. Colquhoun, in the masterly and admirable pamphlet, which we have mentioned at the head of this article, points out another consequence which is likely to flow from any measures calculated to disgust the Protestants of Ireland, and which would have weight with any conservative statesman possessed of a particle of common sense.

“ I make another remark. What would be the political consequences of abandoning the Irish Church? We have now above sixty liberal to near forty conservative members from Ireland. The discouragement and indignation of Protestants, if their Church is destroyed, will induce them in despair to abandon a struggle with their political opponents.

In that event it is a moderate estimate to assume that fifteen seats would pass into the hands of repealers, and the repeal phalanx would muster in Parliament from sixty or seventy votes. Would that have no bearing on the state of parties? Ask the events of 1835. But what strength would it add to the attacks on the Church of England? When these are resumed, who shall say what added force they will receive from one phalanx augmented, and the other depressed and disbanded?

"But more than this, what results might ensue in England, from the sympathy of a large class among us for the Church of Ireland, and from resentment that it had been betrayed? Are there not among us two parties, united but distrustful? Might not wrong kindle wrath, and wrath provoke retaliation? If a struggle begun, who shall say where it would end? In such a conflict it is too much to be feared that the wise reserve of our Church might perish, and two hostile Churches would arise."—p. 30, 31.

We are fully convinced of the justice of these apprehensions. The same measure which should reduce the Protestants of Ireland into the active or passive coadjutors of repeal, would, if sanctioned by any body of men within the English Church, produce convulsions in that Church which would shake her to her very centre. If the State repeats the sacrilege of 1833 in any shape, *i. e.* if she interferes with the *spiritualities* of the Church by suppressing sees and parishes, it will be the signal for a struggle for the dissolution of the Union of Church and State on the part of the Church itself, to which all our existing divisions would seem insignificant. Lord Stanley's Bill, in 1833, produced the theological movement at Oxford. There are stronger elements of disturbance now, which a repetition of that measure would call into formidable activity.

The argument which has been so frequently heard of late in Parliament, and which urges the obligation of contributing to the support of Roman Catholic establishments, on the ground of *restitution* of the property formerly taken from *their* Church, is one which is calculated to create the most serious alarm and apprehension in the minds of the Protestants of Ireland, and is therefore the very last argument which should have been used if there were any disposition to appease the religious dissensions of that country. According to this view the property of the Church of Ireland has been plundered from the Roman Catholic Church, and if the principle of *restitution* is once established, the result must be that the whole Church property of Ireland ought to be transferred from the Church to its opponents. Now, putting aside for the present the truth or falsehood of the assumption on which this argument is placed, can any man in his senses imagine that the religious dissensions of Ireland are to be calmed by telling the

Protestants that they have “plundered” the property of the Church; that they ought as thieves to be made “to disgorge the possessions which they unjustly hold;” and that their clergy ought in justice to be deprived of every particle of their professional incomes? Surely nothing can be well conceived more offensive to the feelings of the whole Protestant population of Ireland and of England too, and more justly alarming to them, than such a line of argument. Supposing even that the case were really as it is alleged to be,—supposing that the Roman Catholic Church *had* been at the Reformation deprived of its property, and that this property had been transferred to the bishops and clergy of the Established Church, still it would be a very great and apparent hardship to deprive the Established Church of that property after a possession of almost 300 years; and any attempt at such a transfer must be in the highest degree repugnant to the wishes, feelings, and principles of the Protestants of Ireland. Of course it would be easy to understand such a line of argument if it were meant to *crush*, and to deal in a spirit of *hostility* with that part of the Irish community; but if it be meant to deal in a spirit of *impartiality and good-will with all parties in Ireland*, and we are persuaded that such a mode of dealing is practicable, it should be the first object to avoid what is calculated to offend and alarm either one party or the other.

We may remark also that the principle in question has a material bearing on the Church of *England*, and the Presbyterian establishment in *Scotland*. If the Irish Church is unjustly possessed of her property, and if it ought to be restored to the Roman Catholics, it follows as a matter of course that the same restitution *ought* to take place in England and in Scotland. The question of *numbers* has nothing to do with the question of *right*. The Reformation in England and in Ireland was conducted in the same manner. There is no material difference between the cases. If there was plunder in one case there was also in the other. Indeed, there is *primâ facie* evidence that in Ireland the Reformation was more regularly established than even in England. At the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign the ecclesiastical supremacy and the Book of Common Prayer were established in both countries by act of Parliament; but in the English Parliament they were *opposed* by all the bishops in the possession of sees; in Ireland *seventeen* bishops out of *nineteen* voted for them. In England the convocation of the clergy was opposed to the Reformation; in Ireland the convocation was either favourable, or at least took no steps in opposition. In England, *fourteen bishops out of fifteen were deprived*; in Ireland, *only two out of nineteen*. Therefore the case of the Reformation of the Church of Ireland

is in fact less encumbered with difficulties than that of the English Church. It was more peaceably accomplished. The hierarchy remained in their sees; the parochial clergy in their benefices; the Church was *reformed*, but its property was not handed over to any other sect or denomination. The only mode of reversing what was then done in reference to Church property would be to repeal the laws establishing the regal supremacy, and the Book of Common Prayer in the Irish Church. But to despoil the Church of property which she has possessed for FOURTEEN HUNDRED years, *because she has acquiesced in the laws which the legislature enacted for her Reformation*; and to hand over that property to those *who separated from her in consequence of her submission to those very laws, and whose religious existence arose from defiance to those laws*, would be indeed an act of almost unparalleled injustice and perfidy. It would be such an act as would in our opinion dissolve all ties between the Protestants of Ireland and the Imperial Parliament, and would justify the former in adopting any course which they might deem conducive to the welfare of Ireland exclusively.

We would not be misunderstood. We seek for no ascendancy of Protestantism in Ireland. We ask for no monopoly of favours, or privileges, in any way. Much as every Catholic Churchman must deprecate the direct aid or endowment of Romanism or of Sectarianism of any kind, because he can never approve of any positive sanction or encouragement being given to what is in itself *wrong*—still he is not called upon to maintain, under existing circumstances, that the State should exclude from its service, or from its favour, all those who may entertain sentiments different from those of the Church. He has, however, a right to expect from the State full *protection* for the *religious liberties*, the *rights*, the *endowments* of the Church. And if this be fairly and honestly given, we at least would not ask for any thing further. Let Romanists, and Presbyterians, and Dissenters enjoy, if they will, the favour and protection of Government; let their endowments be protected, and their religious liberties and privileges secured; but let the Church have the same measure extended to her. Let her endowments also be respected; her spiritual privileges remain intact; the number of her bishops and her priests remain undiminished; her educational institutions untampered with; her means of usefulness unimpaired.

Another argument for the endowment of the Romish priesthood with the property of the Irish Church, is founded on the alleged poverty of that priesthood, and the deficiency of funds for the support of the Romish worship. The author of the "Past and Present Policy of England," &c., is quite pathetic on this subject,

although after his description of "ministers steeped in poverty, places of worship, wretched dilapidated cabins," &c., he is obliged to confess in a note (p. 291,) that "the grievance and hardship, of which examples have been quoted, is now almost entirely remedied. The zeal and the increased wealth of the Catholics have been employed not only in building and repairing chapels generally, but in constructing some very magnificent churches in some of the towns." With reference to the poverty of the Romish priesthood, and the alleged wealth of the clergy of Ireland, Mr. Colquhoun has the following valuable remarks:—

"We talk of paying the Irish priests, and buying them by a stipend. Have we ever calculated the cost? Do we know what the Irish priesthood now exact from the most impoverished peasantry in Europe? Dr. Doyle (Lords' Committee on Tithes, 1832,) states the average stipend of his diocese to be 300*l.* per annum. From the dues that the priests are authorized to exact, (see the statutes to be observed through the Province of Dublin, July 4th, 1831, authorized by Dr. Murray, &c., &c.) which are ten, varying from 15*s.* 6*d.* to 1*l.*, the most moderate calculation yields an income to each beyond the amount stated by Dr. Doyle. There are 3000 priests and curates; their joint income cannot be placed lower than 600,000*l.* per annum. I suspect it reaches 800,000*l.* or 900,000*l.* *In other words, the Protestant clergyman has an average income of 150*l.*; the Romish priest of 300*l.*; and you must give nearly double the revenues of the Irish Church in order to place the priests in the same condition of wealth in which they now are.*"—pp. 34, 35.

It is to a priesthood thus amply provided for, that our "Liberal" politicians are ready and willing to transfer the property of the impoverished and persecuted Church of Ireland. Most assuredly there never was a more iniquitous proposal, in whatever point of view it be regarded. That such a proposition should be tolerated for an instant—that it should not be at once met by an unanimous burst of indignation,—is in itself a disgrace to the age in which we live.

We have felt it our duty to press this point in the strongest manner—a duty, from the discharge of which no considerations shall at any time induce us to swerve; because the conviction is more and more forcibly impressed on us from all that is and has been passing around us—that the Church of Ireland is in a position of the most fearful and unexampled peril. Pressed by the indefatigable enmity of Irish Romanists and English "Liberals"—betrayed by nominal "Conservatives;" and, we deeply grieve to say, too frequently regarded with jealousy or dislike by the advocates of Church principles in England; without political power, in a manner deserted by all the world; that afflicted and perse-

cuted Church will ere long (according to all human probabilities) become a sacrifice to its inveterate enemies. We perfectly agree with Mr. Drummond (as far as the existence of the Church of Ireland is dependent on the views of the political leaders of the Conservatives and the Whigs), that "it is impossible to understand the nature of that man's reasoning powers who can conceive, after the declarations which have been made in Parliament, by every one who, by talents or position, can ever become a Minister of the Crown, that the Church of England as established in Ireland can maintain its present position¹." We are firmly convinced, that the Church of Ireland is *without friends* amongst the Statesmen of the day, of all parties; and that if she is to be preserved, it will only be by the resolute and determined will of the Church and the people of England. Thank God! there is still hope in that quarter. The great mass of the parochial clergy are friendly to the Church of Ireland, and will act on their convictions of right and wrong, without reference to the supposed interests of political parties. We fear that the same unanimity cannot be looked for elsewhere. We would merely refer to this one significant fact, that *several bishops* voted for the Church Temporalities Act of 1833, which suppressed *ten* Irish bishoprics; and we can feel no certainty, that if *ten more* were proposed to be suppressed next year, the influence of political connexions might not produce a repetition of the same course. We again say, the only hope (humanly speaking) of the preservation of the Church of Ireland rests in the will of the English *people*, and the parochial clergy. If that hope fails, the Irish Church is doomed to destruction.

We speak of "destruction," because we think that process of gradual exhaustion which would take place under the legislative enactments of the Whigs and "Conservatives," would utterly and finally destroy the Church. We should care comparatively little, if the Church were merely plundered of her possessions, if the "robbery" which is so falsely and wickedly imputed to her, were perpetrated by the British legislature; and she were then left at liberty to develop her own resources free from the interference of the State; if the right of electing her bishops were restored to her; if the liberty of holding synods, enacting canons, and founding or restoring bishoprics were again in full exercise. Severe as would be the blow, and extreme as would be the wickedness and the injustice of that legislature which could inflict it, still it would be in our opinion preferable in every way to what

¹ Letter on Payment of Roman Catholic Clergy, by Henry Drummond, Esq., p. 36.

is probably before us—we mean, ANOTHER CHURCH TEMPORALITIES ACT FOR IRELAND, the suppression of most of the remaining sees, the extinction of all parishes in which a sufficient Protestant congregation (according to some parliamentary standard) does not at present exist, and the transfer of their endowments to the Romish hierarchy, in fine, the confiscation of all Church property, and the payment of the “*episcopalian* clergy,” as well as of the presbyterian, and the “*Catholic*” out of the public revenue. We see before us a series of acts tending to this consummation, by which the Church is to be made the instrument of her own destruction. The interests of *existing* incumbents being carefully preserved, they, it is hoped, will remain passive. The existing members of the hierarchy, retaining their revenues and jurisdiction, are to be made instruments for carrying into effect the suppression of sees, by consecrating new pastors for dioceses to which suppressed bishoprics are annexed, under the penalties of prebendary. It was thus that Lord Stanley’s former “Church Temporalities Act” was forced upon the persecuted Church of Ireland: it is thus that the next will be carried into effect; and we shall find amongst the advocates of such a measure, those who, like Mr. Gladstone, can find no principle of the *constitution* on which they can rest their opposition to such measures, and who consequently consent to *support* and *advocate* what they have always held to be wrong; and those who like Lord John Manners are anxious to consult the wishes and promote the interests of the *Romish hierarchy* in preference to those of the Church.

We are no alarmists, but we cannot close our ears to such intimations as the last two sessions of parliament have afforded. We cannot forget that Mr. Ward has again commenced his agitation for the *confiscation* of Irish Church property, and that in this proposal he has been supported by the whole Whig and Radical force in parliament. All the leaders of the opposition have expressed themselves favourable to such measures, and in a tone of greater hostility and contempt towards the Irish Church than we ever remember to have observed. We need not cite the language of Mr. Macaulay, or of other well-known opponents of the Church, but we would merely refer to the calm and carefully weighed remarks of Lord John Russell.

“I am to judge of the effect which this measure will produce. I will not take it as if it were the last of a series, and were the crowning act of a long course of justice to the people of Ireland. No, sir; I shall maintain, as I have hitherto maintained, that with regard to the civil and political privileges of the people of that country you have yet

much to do; that those measures to which the Right Honourable Baronet the Home Secretary alluded last night, fell considerably short of that which the people of Ireland have a right to require of you, to put them on an equality with the people of England. *I think that with respect to their ecclesiastical state, that that great anomaly of a large endowed Church for a small minority of the people is an evil which, without entering into the ways in which it might be remedied, parliament must consider."*

The author of the "Past and Present Policy of England," &c., discloses the views and intentions of his friends very plainly. O'Connell could hardly have spoken with more candour, a quality in which, to do him justice, he is by no means deficient.

"We have abandoned," he says, "the principles and opinions of our ancestors; we no longer deny, with Lord Clare, the right of any man who dissents from the religion connected with the State, to demand admission into the State. On the contrary, we have admitted the Catholic into the State; but with an inconsistency which appears the more glaring the more it is examined, *we continue to maintain a religious establishment not less hateful to him than the civil disabilities he has shaken off*; and for the sake of so doing we are content to bear the incalculable evils and dangers of his resentment and his disaffection.

"But as many persons imagine, because they hear a great deal more of the repeal of the Union than of the Church question, that the evils of the latter are exaggerated, or that the Irish people are comparatively insensible to them, it will be well to look at their sentiments upon the Church question, as recorded in a document of remarkable vigour and precision, which was drawn up by Mr. O'Connell himself in 1840, and published as a 'Report of the National Association' of Ireland, upon the chief grievance of Ireland,—that which relates to the ecclesiastical revenues.

"Your committee beg leave to report, that they are unanimously of opinion, that *the most afflicting, beyond comparison, of all grievances which the people of Ireland sustain, is to be found in the misappropriation of the ecclesiastical revenues of Ireland.* it is perfectly clear that *the ecclesiastical state revenues of Ireland ought to be applied to the Church of the majority of the Irish people.* the people of Ireland are compelled to endure, that the ecclesiastical state revenues of Ireland should be appropriated to the Church of a very small minority of the Irish people.

"Your committee emphatically assert, that this is the *master grievance*—the *most insulting injustice* which Ireland sustains under the so-called Union. The people of Ireland demand the redress of this grievance in the first instance, and before any other. It is a grievance in which they will no longer acquiesce in silence; it is a declaration of the inferiority of the Irish people, to which they will no longer submit

without remonstrance ; it is a gross and odious insult, superinduced upon a glaring and palpable injustice ; it is, in short, a giant evil, not to be longer tolerated without taking all legal and peaceable and constitutional means to procure legislative redress. There are two points on which your committee desire emphatically to be understood, they are these,—

“ ‘First.—They do *not* claim that the ecclesiastical state revenues of Ireland should be applied to support the Church of the majority of the Irish people ; although, on principle, they *might* be entitled to make such claim, they totally repudiate it ; they totally disclaim any such appropriation.

“ ‘Secondly.—Your committee claim that the ecclesiastical state revenues should (as the existing vested interests dropped off) be applied for the general benefit of the community ; that is, for the support of the poor, for the promotion of education, and in works of charity, equally and without distinction to all sects and persuasions.’ ”

This manifesto of the Romish party in Ireland sufficiently shows that nothing less than confiscation of the whole of the Church property in Ireland will satisfy them. And in their call for the confiscation of ecclesiastical property, they are aided by a powerful and increasing party in this country. The author of the “Past and Present Policy of England towards Ireland,” who is supposed to have put forward the views now entertained by Government on this subject, is of opinion that on all equitable principles, the whole of the ecclesiastical endowments of Ireland ought to be put at the disposal of the Romish priesthood, and that the Church ought to be left to be supported by the voluntary contributions of its members. We extract the following passages in illustration of the view of an extensive class of politicians, amongst pseudo Conservatives as well as Whigs.

“To maintain permanently such a system (the Church of Ireland) is a task as full of danger as of difficulty. But it is proper to examine the reasons which have been put forward for persisting in the attempt. Passing over all the polemical eloquence of Exeter Hall, the charges of idolatry, papal pretensions, and obsolete theology—the bull *unam sanctam*, and the bull *unigenitus*—let us look at such arguments as the most distinguished statesmen have offered in defence of the policy they maintain. In the debates on Lord John Russell’s motion in February last, the objections were generally put upon different grounds. Most of the speakers on one side treated an endowment of the Catholics as necessarily involving the *total destruction* of the Protestant Church ; and so mixed up in convenient confusion the arguments against both propositions, gratuitous and inaccurate, of assuming that they were identical and inseparable. The argument of Sir Robert Peel, as it was the most important, so it was also the most elaborate. The greater part of it was directed against a *total destruction* of the Irish Church, the security and the integrity of which rested upon *compacts*,

made first by the Act of Union, and secondly by the Emancipation Bill. . . . He quoted a host of authorities for maintaining the Church; and contended that as far as compact and authority went, they had the greatest possible weight in its favour. *He was not, however, prepared to say that compact and authority were conclusive, and that if the social welfare of Ireland required the alteration of the law, the compact must be maintained in spite of conviction; he took no such narrow ground, but believed it was not for the interest of Ireland, or of any part of Ireland, that the Protestant Church should be destroyed, for which he would assign his reasons—these reasons it is proper to give in his own words. ‘I am not now to determine what is the best condition in respect to a new state of society, in which more than seven millions profess a religion different from the Protestant Church, and not more than two millions profess its faith. I am not considering what is the best constitution for that society; I am to deal with a country in which these compacts and guarantees exist, and with respect to which there is a prescription of 250 years; where the landed proprietors, the great mass of them being Protestants, are identified in feeling with the Established Church. I am now to consider what, under all the circumstances of the case, is the best arrangement to make.’* He then contended for the necessity of an establishment. ‘One of my reasons for maintaining an establishment in Ireland is, because I think it important for Ireland. . . . I look at the question first as it affects Ireland; and next (of this I am certain) if you establish the precedent of no establishment in Ireland, little time will elapse before it is referred to as a precedent in England.’—pp. 291—295.

The author proceeds to answer Sir Robert Peel’s arguments, but we can only notice one or two points. In reply to the argument from the compact entered into at the Union, he remarks that,—

“If this compact really be so binding on the united legislature, it affords the most powerful of all possible motives to the Catholics to require and struggle for repeal of the Union.”—p. 298.

“The contracting parties to the Irish Union were, England on one side, on the other a Protestant minority, in the dependence and under the influence of England; and it is a mockery to talk of such a compact being irrevocably binding upon the present and all future generations, no matter what may be its fruits, or what may be the wishes and the interests of Ireland in regard to it.”—p. 299.

In the latter of these extracts, the writer, in his zeal to invalidate the compact entered into at the Union for the preservation of the Church of Ireland, actually *invalidates the Union itself*. The whole course of his argument in the context goes to prove that the Irish Parliament *did not represent the Irish nation*, and the inference must be of course, that *the Irish nation is not bound by the Act of Union*.

After arguing that the Imperial Government would not commit a breach of faith in sweeping away the Church of Ireland, he adds that,—

“No such extensive changes are in fact contemplated. Moderate and practical statesmen *propose nothing more than an extension of the principle of reform, which has been already sanctioned by Lord Stanley’s Act*; that principle was, that the establishment should be apportioned to the spiritual wants of those who belonged to it, and the pay of the clergy to the actual amount of the services needed and performed. *If the principle on which the Irish bishoprics were reduced, were to be extended to the other parts of the establishment, and worked out in such details as the circumstances of the case require*, the odium and the scandal which now lie heavy on the Church might be removed without impairing its efficiency, or giving the Protestants any cause to complain of being deprived of those spiritual consolations and aids which they have been accustomed to enjoy.”—p. 301.

The author is of opinion, that it would be right and proper to transfer the Church property to the Romanists, and to leave the Church to the support of its members.

“While the voluntary system produces such pernicious effects among a people, whose vast numbers, excessive poverty, and excitable dispositions, render them especially unfitted for it, *there is no religious community* for which it would be better adapted than that of the Irish episcopalians, who now monopolize the whole revenue of the Church. They are, comparatively speaking, few in numbers, being not above one-tenth of the population of Ireland; while they possess the greatest part of the landed property, *and are generally so affluent, that the burden of supporting their own religious establishment would fall very lightly upon them*. As a matter of equity and justice, no arrangement could be more reasonable; for (as shall presently be more particularly shown) they have taken every opportunity of seizing or appropriating the spoils of the Church; and if all its present revenues were now transferred to the Catholics, and voted to secular purposes, the Protestants might abundantly supply their own religious wants with the property they have taken from the Church, at different times and in different forms. However, no such measure of *strict justice* is here contemplated. Nothing more is recommended than the adoption of a system of concurrent endowment.”—pp. 310, 311.

“In dealing with the Protestant Establishment of the Irish Church, difficulties more formidable undoubtedly present themselves; nor can the question be mooted at all, without raising a host of sectarian and political passions. That Church and its history present a melancholy subject of contemplation. *Founded in proscription and violence, it has not only imperfectly fulfilled the duties and accomplished the objects of a Christian Church, but it has been, from first to last, the source of an incalculable amount of moral and political evil*. . . . There can be no

doubt that the character of the Church is greatly altered for the better, but the sins of the fathers have been visited upon their children unto the third and fourth generation, *and it is difficult to reconcile the present race of Catholics to the existence of a Church*, which is not only identified in their minds with innumerable injuries and mortifications, but has been a constant obstacle to their attainment of the most important objects. On the other hand, it is clear that the Protestants of both countries would abhor a proposal to sweep away the Irish Protestant Establishment, and it would be *impolitic* in framing a measure of justice and conciliation, to excite resentments and heart-burnings not less violent than those it is our object to allay. Nor have the Catholics reason on their side, *when they disclaim any wish to possess the endowments of the Church themselves*, but insist that the Protestants shall no longer enjoy them. *If they were to urge a better title to the Ecclesiastical revenues than that of the Protestants, it might be difficult to controvert such a claim*; but to demand the exclusive appropriation of these funds to secular uses, for which they never were intended, is a pretension unfounded in either justice or expediency, and which the pride and the religious feeling of England will most assuredly resist.

“*However morally defective the original title of the Irish Protestant Church to its revenues*, such a revolution as would utterly destroy it would be impossible if it were attempted, and would be unwise if it were possible. But it is desirable, *for the sake of peace and union, that the Establishment should be reduced to a level with the real and reasonable wants of the Protestant community*. . . . One of the great difficulties which invariably presents itself to every plan, is the objection to the principle of secular appropriation. Though this is so sensitively put forward, the history of the Irish Church presents a continual series of such appropriations. The systematic and determined course of secular spoliation, for about a century and a half, has already been shown. In 1735, the tithe of Agistment, to which the Clergy were entitled both by common law and the statute, was virtually taken from them by a vote of the Irish House of Commons. . . . Since 1830, the reforms that have taken place, although not in the whole injurious to the Church, have been extremely advantageous to the laity. The tithe commutation gave the landlords twenty-five per cent of the whole amount of tithe. The abolition of Church-cess was indirectly beneficial to them; and the power of converting their ecclesiastical leases into fee-simples, has turned out so good a bargain for the lessees, that it has been calculated to be worth generally not less than fifty per cent., or to have doubled the value of their property. . . . It would be unfair and untrue to call these acts of spoliation; but they undoubtedly indicate any thing rather than a pious horror of secular appropriation.

“During the debates on the Tithe Commutation Acts, the sinecures in the Church were exposed, and proposals made to get rid of them, which were always resisted. It was shown that there were 151 parishes in which there were no Protestants at all; 194 in which there are less than 10; 198 less than 20; 133 less than 30; 107 less than 40; and 77

less than 50—the aggregate incomes of these livings being 58,000*l.* a year; and there were 723 parishes having no churches or glebe-houses, and where, of course, no clergyman could reside, nor any service be performed. At one end of this vast anomaly is found an unnecessary number of bishops, with sees still more unnecessarily rich; and at the other end, an ill-paid body of working curates.

“When the two Churches shall be inclined to assist one another in their common office of comforting, instructing, and consoling mankind, when the Protestant Church shall relax *its selfish and unchristian determination to retain all its riches within the limits of its own religious pale, and evince a willingness that its superfluity should be freely imparted to its Catholic sister*, we may hope to see an approximation to harmony and concord. If, for example, there should be any Protestant funds unemployed while Catholic Churches are wanted for the people, the Protestant Clergy ought not merely ungrudgingly to consent, but to desire that to such wants aid should be given, and to rejoice in an appropriation that would be so fertile in sentiments of mutual confidence and regard.

“I am conscious that the logical inference from the foregoing argument is, *not only that the Catholic Church ought to be endowed, but that the ecclesiastical endowments in Ireland ought to be transferred to it*, and that there is an apparent inconsistency in stopping short of this double consummation; but in dealing with the affairs of mankind, we must be content with pursuing the possible, and accepting the balance of attainable good; and this is one of the cases in which it is imperative to endeavour to effect some compromise between those antagonist interests and passions, to neither of which it would be wise to give even the semblance of a signal triumph over the other. To transfer the religious ascendancy from the Protestants to the Catholics, would be to leave the animosity of the rival sects unabated, and merely to change their relative positions,—nor do the Catholics themselves desire such an issue of the great contest.”—pp. 345, 346.

In further illustration of the principles and views which are now becoming current amongst the higher orders, we must make some extracts from Mr. Drummond’s pamphlet, remarking that the author professes himself to have been *Tory* in principle, and addresses himself to Sir Robert Inglis. It is clear from many passages in his pamphlet, that he maintains ultra high Church doctrines, tinged occasionally with the views of Messrs. Ward and Oakeley. On the whole he may be considered no inadequate specimen of a class of Churchmen who have distinguished themselves both in and out of Parliament, by their advocacy of the interests of the Church of Rome:—

“No Roman Catholic can ever submit to any thing which shall directly or indirectly, to himself or others, put upon him the stigma of inferiority. He is perfectly and thoroughly convinced that he professes

a creed superior to that of the Protestant. The degree of conscious superiority with which he looks down upon the Protestant varies immensely in degrees, but there is no difference amongst them as to the thing itself. *They contend, and contend truly, that the whole of the ecclesiastical revenues in Ireland which are now in the hands of the bishops and clergy of the Church of England have been wrested forcibly from them; they maintain that they have been plundered and robbed; that in equity and before God they have a right to all the ecclesiastical property in the empire, and especially in Ireland, where the people have never been Protestants. This grant to Maynooth has been hailed by them, and admitted by some members of the House of Commons, to be a partial restitution, valuable only as the earnest of more.*”—p. 16.

“It is useless to attempt to deny or shut your eyes to the fact, that 7,000,000 of rebels is too large a body to be suffered to remain, without measures being taken either of appeasing or of conquering. The Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel told them plainly that they gave them Emancipation because they feared civil war; you now fear civil war; these rebels have set the laws at defiance, and they have been supported in their rebellion by a large body in both houses of Parliament. What will you do? It is idle to object to the only course which is in accordance with the principles which the legislature has sanctioned, *and not give to those 7,000,000 the ecclesiastical property of which they have been robbed.*”—p. 25.

In the recent debates on Mr. Ward's motion to supply the endowment of Maynooth from the revenues of the Church, and in the Maynooth debates, numerous speakers on both sides advocated the suppression of the Church in a large number of parishes in Ireland, in which it is alleged that few or no Protestants are to be found, and the transfer of these endowments to Romanism. In fact, it is quite evident, that the existing Parliament would most willingly make such a transfer, if the state of public feeling in England would permit it. We are at present in the same condition as we were in previously to the passing of “Emancipation.” Statesmen and Parliament are opposed to the national feeling.

From the statements of the author of the “Past and Present Policy of England towards Ireland,” it is evident that for a long series of years before the passing of that fatal measure, a great majority of English statesmen had been always in opposition to the national sentiment. Thus in reference to the measures in favour of Romanism recommended by Mr. Pitt immediately after the Union with Ireland, it is remarked that,—

“George III. himself, in a state bordering on insanity, invoked to his aid all the prejudices of the country, and successfully resisted the policy which was recommended by Mr. Pitt, *and sanctioned and sup-*

ported by every man, Whig or Tory, who deserved to be called a statesman."—p. 107.

And again, on the dissolution of the Whig ministry in 1807,—

"A no-popery government was instantly formed, of which the Duke of Portland become nominally, and Mr. Perceval really, the head. Lord Sidmouth very truly described the character of this great political transaction :—'There was,' he said, 'a decisive obstacle in the declared opinion of Parliament, and in the prevailing and understood sentiments and feelings of the people.' It was, in fact, this *predominating public sentiment*, in entire concurrence with his own, which enabled the king to force every minister, however able or powerful, to abandon or postpone the Catholic cause."—p. 118.

It appears that in 1813, when the claims of the Romanists were taken into consideration by Parliament, the "question raged violently out of doors: the no-popery cry was loud in the land, and it was soon seen that it had not been raised without effect. As soon as Parliament met in 1813, the tables of both the houses were loaded with petitions, principally *against* the [Roman] Catholic claims," (p. 132,) while the great mass of statesmen in Parliament were *favourable* to these claims.—p. 135.

We think the following extracts eminently deserving of attention as illustrative of the course which has been pursued by Sir Robert Peel, and as consequently affording a warning for the future. In allusion to the fatal measure of 1829, it is remarked that the Duke of Wellington and Mr. Peel

"Were now convinced that only two alternatives remained; either to put down the [Roman] Catholics by force, or to emancipate them; and they resolved that it was better to do the latter, than incur the danger of a civil war. But the king, the Tory party, and a majority of the people of England, were still confirmed in their pertinacious resistance to the Romanists, when the ministers, under the sense of imperative necessity, were about to advise the adoption of the very measures they had so long inveighed against and opposed. The first thing to be done was to impart their designs to the king, and having obtained his consent, to conceal them from the rest of the world. The king was in the highest degree disgusted at the intimation: but he declared that he would only give his consent upon the condition of their *all* remaining in office, and *themselves* carrying the measure through Parliament; and to this, therefore, they made up their minds to submit. He also required that the matter should be revealed to no human being out of the cabinet, well knowing the personal annoyance to which he should be exposed if it once got wind. The ministers also were aware that it was essential to prevent a no-popery agitation being got up in England, and they were therefore fully agreed with his Majesty on this point. In the course of the autumn Mr. Peel was entertained at

several dinners and breakfasts in various great manufacturing towns in Lancashire, but on all these occasions he carefully abstained from uttering a word from which it was possible to draw any inference as to the views or intentions of government. Such were the difficulties and the personal differences which this long course of mystification unhappily produced, and which continued up to the eve of the meeting of Parliament. A very short time, however, elapsed after the ministerial plan was unveiled to the world, before circumstances occurred, fully proving the wisdom and even necessity of the secrecy and reserve which had been so rigorously maintained.

“In the midst of great agitation, of many hopes and many fears, Parliament met on the 6th of February, 1829, when all doubts and speculations were resolved by the speech from the throne, recommending a final, equitable, and satisfactory adjustment of the Catholic claims. The announcement of this intelligence was received with unbounded joy and exultation by the Catholics and their friends in this country, and with sullen indignation and resentment by their opponents of every description and denomination. The desperate attempts that the anti-catholics soon begun making to defeat the measure, proved how wise and necessary was the secrecy in which the intentions of government had been shrouded ; *it was now too late to raise a no-papery cry throughout the country, even if such an experiment could ever have been attempted with a prospect of success.*”—pp. 196—199.

The great body of English statesmen had, in short, become converts to the cause of Roman Catholic Emancipation, while the nation at large firmly retained its repugnance to that measure ; and the only prospect of success lay in cheating and circumventing the English people ; and, if possible, stifling the expression of their opinions. We must be prepared for a similar mode of proceeding under existing circumstances.

The feeling of Parliament and of all the leading statesmen of the day is again in one direction : the feeling of the people of England is in another. Our legislators have thrown aside all those principles and attachments which bind the country at large to the maintenance of the reformed Church, and to resistance to popery. The object of our leading men is now to subvert these national principles, and to conceal their intended measures of innovation until they can be precipitated through Parliament at such a railroad pace as to leave no opportunity for resistance or protest. With the same view, we are to be absolutely inundated at the same moment with a flood of objectionable and dangerous measures, in the hope that while public attention is fixed on the more prominent and repulsive, those which are of less apparent importance may pass without much opposition. Hence we have acts for securing endowments of the Romish hierarchy and priesthood, of Romish charities of all kinds, of foundations for masses,

&c.; the recognition of the titles of "archbishop" and "bishop" in the Roman communion; the repeal of every shred and vestige of the penal laws formerly in force against Romanists (though the existence of these laws in the statute book was in itself an assertion of the *principle* of an Established Church—a recognition of the duty of the State to support that Church in preference to any other); the permanent endowment of Maynooth, on the admitted principle that it is to lead to the payment of the Romish priesthood; the foundation of colleges without any provision for religious instruction, and with the prospect of throwing open the endowments of the University of Dublin to Romanists; the removal of disabilities from the Jews, &c. Besides these measures, we have proposals *by Romanists* for suppressing the incomes of the clergy in large towns in Ireland, graciously received and taken into consideration by the Government. We have large augmentations of the grant to the national system of education in Ireland, from which the Church is *excluded*. So great is the throng and press of pernicious and wicked measures, that we are almost bewildered, and know not which way to turn.

It is thus that our present legislators are dealing with the principles and the wishes of the people of Great Britain. Their object is to bear down, to confound, to deceive the nation which has reposed its confidence in them. And in this object they are not unlikely to be successful to a certain extent, though their success will be in the end fatal to themselves. They may evoke the spirit of revolution. They *have* evoked it before now: but will they be able to arrest its career at the point which they may deem advisable or necessary? They may force upon the people of England measures for the patronage and endowment of the Romish priesthood in Ireland, or they may perhaps with less difficulty plunder the Church of Ireland of her endowments, and hand them over to her rivals. They may, if they please, extinguish her bishoprics, and her parishes. They may succeed in their object of making Ireland a Roman Catholic country. They may trample down the loyalty, and the intelligence, and the property of the one party, and they may establish the ascendancy of a party which ever has been, and ever will be, hostile to England; a party which sprung from democratical agitation, will ever be insatiable in its demands. But, will they be able to arrest the tide of innovation at this point? What security will there be for the preservation of Ireland, when the whole of its population is united in one common feeling of intense enmity to England; when the Protestants have been irreparably alienated and disgusted? And, to look to England itself; are there no slumbering elements of convulsion amongst us? Our legislature may

outrage the feelings and the principles of the people of Great Britain. They may introduce measures inconsistent with the fundamental laws of the land, established at the Reformation, and at the Revolution of 1688. We do not dispute their power to do all this. They may shake, if they will, the pillars of the monarchy to their foundation. But, when the flood-gates of innovation are thus set open, are they quite certain that they can resist the rushing tide of REVOLUTION? Have they forgotten the REFORM BILL, and the state in which it placed this country? Have the aristocracy so soon learnt to forget the narrow escape which they had at that time? They would fain endeavour to persuade us that the Church of Ireland may be safely given up to destruction by her sister Church of England. They would give us every possible assurance of their resolution to maintain the latter while they destroy the former. But we do not believe their assurances, and we are certain that they would not have the power to adhere to them. Were the Church of England to desert the cause of her sister Church, she would deserve to perish herself; and she would infallibly receive ere long the reward of her heartless, selfish, and unchristian apathy.

Let the Church of Ireland be despoiled of her rights, and the Church of England will not be long able to withstand her opponents. If the principle of confiscation be applied to the one, it will speedily be extended to the other. If the coronation oath is violated in the one case it will be in the other. If the Irish Church property is to be confiscated, on pretext of its having been unjustly taken from the Roman Catholics, English and Scotch Church property must also be confiscated. Dissenters and Jews have consciences as well as Romanists; and if it is *just* to relieve the latter from payments to the Established Church, it is not less just to relieve the former. If ministers' money, church-rates, and tithes are *grievances* to Romanists in Ireland, they are grievances to them and to Dissenters, and unbelievers in England and in Scotland. If the *principle* be conceded in one country, it cannot be resisted in another. And the application of these principles even in England may be nearer at hand than is supposed. Another session probably will not pass without movements on the part of the English Dissenters to obtain relief from Church-rates, admission to the universities, and other claims by which the point of the wedge is to be introduced. We know that the voluntaries are on the alert, and that they are full of hopes from the present state of affairs. The Dissenters in general have been called out of the apathy of despair, and invested with all their old activities, by the conduct of Sir Robert Peel's ministry. The "Education Bill" of last year, however questionable it

might be in many respects, and however conceived in an unworthy spirit of concession to the opponents of the Church, still recognized in some degree the right of that Church to superintend national education. This was sufficient to rouse Dissent in all its grades from its torpor. Baptists and Independents, Romanists and Quakers, Muggletonians and Methodists, rushed instinctively to the rescue. And to this united clamour the ministry succumbed, with a weakness and want of principle which deeply disgusted all friends of the Church. But the Dissenters came out of this contest with an organization and a confidence in their own power, which has materially altered their position for the better. The Church has this year received the support of the dissenting body in the Maynooth question. The Anti-Maynooth committee has brought out the whole strength of dissent in opposition to the endowment of popery; and we rejoice that it has done so: we rejoice that dissent has not on this occasion, as it has so often done, made common cause with popery against the Church. We shall at all times be most happy to receive the proffered aid of Dissenters to the right cause, where the acceptance of such aid does not involve the concession of those principles which Anglo-Catholics are bound inviolably to retain. But we are fully aware that the opposition to the Maynooth Bill, amongst the Dissenters, has arisen very commonly from their repugnance to the principle of endowments for religious purposes, and that the very men who have petitioned against Maynooth, will with perfect consistency soon petition for the abolition of the Church Establishment in England.

We shall, before long, see a renewed attack on "Church-rates" as a preliminary movement. Mr. Sheil has promised the assistance of the Romanists in Parliament to the Dissenters, when they apply for the abolition of Church-rates. He was quite safe in making such a promise. All "liberal" members of Parliament will advocate the measure, as they have done before, on such broad principles as apply equally to *tithes*, and all payments for religious purposes as to Church-rates. Would Sir Robert Peel or his friends offer any firm opposition to the abolition of Church-rates? We should think, that the whole question would turn on the amount of opposition manifested to those rates. As to any *principle* in a question of this kind, we should not of course be so silly as to expect it from the "Right Honourable Baronet," or his ministry. In fact, Sir Robert Peel was willing, some years ago, to replace the Church-rates by a Parliamentary payment. Let a sufficient agitation be got up, and there can be little doubt that Her Majesty's ministers will come down with some such proposal for settling the question, which will be pushed forward

without regard to the opposition of the Church. We should have "honourable gentlemen" regretting the opposition made to Church-rates, and yet voting for their abolition. We should be gravely assured that the security of the Church would be promoted by this concession to Dissenting agitation, and that we were absolutely prevented from opposing the measure on principle, because the Parliament has already abolished Church-rates in Ireland.

That the attempts to throw open the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge to the Dissenters, and on the same principle to Jews and infidels, will be vigorously supported in Parliament, there cannot be the slightest doubt. The agitation on this subject has recommenced, and it will from henceforth be steadily persisted in. Other proposals will soon make their appearance, as prospects of success begin to brighten. The expulsion of the bishops from the House of Lords—the extension of the elective franchise, and of the power of the democracy in Ireland and England—the destruction of landed property by sweeping concessions to the Anti-Corn Law League—the abolition of the hereditary peerage and the law of primogeniture—and in fine the subversion of the monarchy, and a division of the property of the higher orders—such are the objects which multitudes of people will be induced to place before themselves and to struggle for, when the first blow shall have been struck at the Church of Ireland. The fate of all the privileged classes is involved in the fortunes of that Church. The Irish Church is but the outwork of the English: if it be relinquished, the attack will be directed at once against the English Establishment. If the Church is relinquished, or in proportion as its interests are neglected, the aristocracy, and even the monarchy, are left open to their assailants. The spirit of revolution which has a *second time* been called forth by Sir Robert Peel and his friends, is, if possible, more greedy for the destruction of the aristocracy than of the Church. That aristocracy in lending its aid to such a spirit in its movements of hostility against the Church, is signing its own death-warrant. If men will, in their blindness and their godlessness, sacrifice their *own Church* to its implacable foes, Divine vengeance will exact from them a retribution which shall make the ears of every one who hears it tingle. If, on the other hand, the Church of Ireland is strenuously supported, the evils before us will be averted. What, we would ask, was the course which during the Reform mania began to turn the tide; and which, being persevered in, restored public confidence, re-united the broken and shattered Conservative party, gained the affections of the clergy and people of England; and in fine, crushed, apparently for ever,

the demon of revolution? It was, RESISTANCE TO THE APPROPRIATION CLAUSE. On that principle alone, the Conservatives rose to power. Men felt that there was then something worth contending for. They felt that here was the turning point of the destinies of this empire—that the question was not merely whether the Church of Ireland should remain in possession of its rights, but whether the cause of all established institutions should be defended or no, whether the National Church, the aristocracy, the throne itself, should be defended or given up. At present, there is no security whatever for adherence to the principle of opposition to the Appropriation Clause. The tergiversation of such men as Sir James Graham and Mr. Gladstone², Sir Robert Peel and Mr. Goulburn; Lord John Manners, Mr. Acland, Mr. Milnes, Mr. Estcourt³, and others who were formerly Conservatives and friends of the Church; the general disposition on the part of the Ministerial Conservatives to truckle to Romanism, and to throw aside every other consideration, all lead to the strongest apprehension, that the “Appropriation Clause,” *i.e.* the confiscation of the property of the Irish Church, will soon be adopted by the ministry. There is absolutely no security whatever against it. It is true that Mr. Ward’s motion has been opposed at present; but is there any security that such a measure will not be *adopted* next year? The ministry have cautiously refrained from advocating the cause of the Irish Church in such a manner, and on such principles as would settle the question of their intentions. They have taken care not to embarrass themselves by any pledges which might incommode them hereafter, if they should judge it advisable to follow the advice of Lord John Russell and of Mr. O’Connell. They have sat by while the most ferocious and desperate attacks have been making on the Church of Ireland, and by their coolness and evident apathy they have encouraged the assailants of the Church.

² We have no doubt that these right honourable gentlemen, as well as the whole of the *ci-devant* Conservatives who voted with them, are ready to assert that they have acted in perfect consistency with their principles. We must confess our inability to comprehend the consistency of maintaining the duty of the State to support only one Church, and then *advocating* the support of a rival sect. We wish to speak with respect of the abilities and the private character of Mr. Gladstone, but we confess that we have lost all confidence in him as a statesman. We consider his defection as the most severe blow which the Church has experienced.

³ We earnestly hope that the University of Oxford will on the first occasion show that the principles on which she rejected Sir Robert Peel from the representation in 1829 are still predominant within her; and that her disapprobation of popery will be manifested by the expulsion of Mr. Estcourt, who has voted for its endowment. Surely, too, Mr. Goulburn will no longer be permitted to represent the University of Cambridge. We conceive that the Universities are especially bound to manifest their reprobation of such political apostasies.

The ministry are, we fear, too deeply committed now to "liberal" principles to take any step in the right direction. The mingled pride and shame which have induced them so obstinately to persevere in forcing the Maynooth Bill through Parliament, will operate to prevent their return to Conservative measures. They have cast themselves on the support of "Liberals" of all grades, and it cannot be expected that they will again resume an honest and consistent course. The ministry must, we fear, henceforward be regarded as one which is, to all intents and purposes, "Liberal," and invested too with greater powers of *mischief* than any other combination of statesmen could possess. We cannot agree with those who would assure us, that the institutions of the country would be more endangered if Lord John Russell were restored to power than if Sir Robert Peel continued to hold office. Strongly as we disapprove of the principles of the Whigs, we think that there cannot be any reasonable doubt that they would not have been *able* to carry Emancipation in 1829, or the Maynooth Bill in 1845. If they were in office again, men would more distinctly understand their principles and position. There would then be *some* prospect of finding Sir Robert Peel and his friends amongst the supporters of established institutions, and endeavouring to deserve the approbation of that English public, which prosperity has taught them to insult and to contemn. The divisions of the late Conservative party may bring about the return of the Whigs to power sooner than is anticipated; and though these divisions may, very probably, give a preponderance at the next elections to the "Liberal party," we suppose that those Conservatives who have on principle condemned the apostasy of the present ministry and of their political friends, will not permit themselves to be deluded by any arguments whatever, to lend their *support* to the hollow and unprincipled and treacherous policy, by which their most cherished principles and institutions have been again and again sacrificed and betrayed. We trust that in a case of such delinquency, no considerations of the mere interests of party, or even of self-interest in general, will be permitted to interfere with the chastisement which is due to political depravity.

We cannot now, if we would, forget that Sir Robert Peel and the Duke of Wellington betrayed the cause of the Church in 1829. We cannot forget that they lent their aid to the measures for suppressing parishes, extinguishing ten bishoprics in Ireland, and removing the Church-rates, in 1833. We cannot forget that they have been parties to the policy which has withdrawn education in Ireland from the hands of the Church, while it has voluntarily continued grants to Romish education; and has now, in defiance of the national feeling, endowed and perpetuated

the Romish seminary of Maynooth. Amongst the ministry we see Lord Stanley, who was instrumental, in 1833, in establishing principles which tend to the ruin of the Church—Lord Stanley, the steady supporter of Romanism and sectarianism in the colonies; the enemy of the Church of Ireland and of Wales; the determined opponent of any measure for an increase of episcopacy in England; the author of the unprincipled and unholy education system in Ireland; the man who had dared to threaten the prelates of England with the loss of their seats in Parliament, if any addition is made to the number of episcopal sees. The Church, as well as the agriculturist interest, has been sacrificed by the present ministry: neither can suffer by the substitution of another ministry in its place. We have nothing to hope from Sir Robert Peel, from the Duke of Wellington, and Lord Stanley: any change of ministry must, we think, be an improvement. What has Sir R. Peel done for the Church of England? Has he founded one additional see? Has he given one farthing of the public money to the cause of Church extension, at a time when no less than SIX MILLIONS of our people are destitute of the ministrations of the Church? What, then, *has* he done? He has borrowed *from the Church* a sum, which, when applied to Church extension, *will not even meet the annual increase of population*, while it leaves the existing destitution WHOLLY UNPROVIDED FOR. In this way Sir R. Peel has succeeded in *extinguishing the call for Church extension*. And this, forsooth, is a measure for which we are to be grateful! The Duke of Wellington, while reading a lecture to the clergy on the duty of submission to the law of the land, condescends to leave them at liberty to oppose the enactment of objectionable laws. We presume that, on the same principle, they will not be precluded from uniting with the laity for the overthrow of an unprincipled and a hostile ministry.

We regard Sir Robert Peel's ministry from this moment as essentially hostile to the Church. He has thrown himself on the support of parties to whom the Church has ever been obnoxious, and he will be compelled to give way to their wishes. He has cast from him such noble and true-hearted men as WINCHILSEA, NEWCASTLE, INGLIS, ASHLEY, and COLQUHOUN, who have retained their virtuous consistency amidst the general prostration of political character; and he will therefore be uncontrolled by their influence. The leaven of Whiggery which his Cabinet comprised, has now pervaded and changed the whole mass; and his ministry is from henceforth, to all intents and purposes, a Whig-Radical ministry. We think that every fair-minded man must feel, under these circumstances, that Sir Robert Peel ought, in justice and honesty, to make way for the party whose

measures and views he has appropriated. We cannot see the fairness of turning out the Whigs merely for the purpose of adopting the very measures which had been made a pretext for displacing them. Honour and generosity, at least, would seem to call on the Premier to restore the reins of Government to those who must appear to have been fraudulently deprived of them. We certainly did not expect to see the day in which Lord John Russell's and Mr. O'Connell's character as politicians would stand at a higher level than Sir Robert Peel's; but we are obliged in shame and sorrow to say, that as regards the first characteristic of a public man—*political honour and integrity*—Mr. O'Connell stands immeasurably above the minister who has betrayed every party and interest which has ever confided in him. Our politics are diametrically opposed to those of Lord John Russell and of Mr. O'Connell; but if we were called on to decide between a friend of Sir Robert Peel's and one of Mr. O'Connell's, we should without hesitation vote for the latter, in order to mark our reprobation of political apostasy.

We have spoken thus, on the supposition that the views and measures of the ministry are to continue in the same fatal direction which they have assumed. If we could see any thing like repentance, our views would of course be modified. If we heard from the ministry and their friends, firm and explicit declarations of their determination, *under all circumstances, to maintain the rights of the Church*; if, when Maynooth and the Romish priesthood are to be endowed, we at the same time received such tangible proofs of good-will towards the Church, as would be afforded by grants to the Church Education Society in Ireland, grants for Church-building in England, the preservation of the Welsh bishoprics, endowment of additional bishoprics in England, and the restoration of the suppressed sees in Ireland—if we received such tangible evidences of a resolution to protect and to befriend the Church, the case would, we admit, be widely different from what it is. Objectionable in point of principle as are all endowments and patronage of schisms, heresies, or other false religions by the State; and bound as we are to protest against any such acts, we should yet feel comparatively little, if the interests of the Church were not so deeply compromised as they are in the present case; and could we be assured by *practical* evidences of sincerity on the part of the ministry, that they are resolved to act in a spirit of fidelity to the Church, we should only record our solemn protest against measures such as we have alluded to. But in the absence of any such evidences, and with the moral certainty, that the object of all statesmen is to sacrifice the Church to her enemies, while Romanism is exalted on her ruins, we can only recommend the friends of the Church

and of the Constitution to offer in every legitimate way their steady resistance to the present Administration, or to any other which may be constructed on its principles. We do not pretend to say, that the *distribution* of the revenues of the Church of Ireland might not be materially improved. The revenues of the existing bishoprics are decidedly too large, and they ought to be applied to the *restoration of the suppressed sees*. Many other arrangements would, we doubt not, be recommended by the authorities of the Church of Ireland, if they were empowered to deliberate on the question. It may be very possible that they would sanction the application of a part of the revenues of the Church to the endowment of new parishes, the erection of additional Churches, and the supply of schools where they are wanted. It may be, that they would apply the means of the Church to the more immediate use of the population connected with it. But we should hold it indispensable to any arrangements of this kind, that they should take place *with the full sanction and concurrence of the Church itself*. We have the strongest reason to deprecate any further interference of the State, except as confirming the decisions of Ecclesiastical authority. We can have no expectation that any alterations which may be made by *Statesmen alone* will be in any friendly spirit, or that the rights of the Church will be respected by them. We shall have from them only a repetition of sacrilege and spoliation. The temporal power will again infringe on the most sacred rights and privileges of the Church. And in such an event it will be seen, whether the Church will prefer to become the instrument of her own destruction by submission; or to suffer persecution, and, perhaps, internal division by resistance. We can, indeed, see what the course of the Church should be in case of any further interference with her *spiritualities* by the suppression of sees—we hold that in such a case the Church of Ireland should, in national synod (which they have the power of holding without consent of the Temporal power), denounce any such invasion of their rights, and declare any spiritual person accepting promotion to sees united by Act of Parliament, *ipso facto* deposed and degraded; and all aiders and abettors of any such attempt excommunicated. The prelates of Ireland, and of England too, should unanimously refuse to consecrate bishops for united sees; the clergy should refuse to communicate with intruders into such sees; and in this course they should firmly and resolutely persevere, permitting the State if it would, to despoil them of their temporal possessions, but never giving way to its unhallowed invasion of spiritual rights. Had the Prelates of Ireland manifested more of this resolution in 1833, the Church of Ireland would be at this moment stronger than it is.

ART. VII.—1. *The Minor Theological Works of John Pearson, D.D., Bishop of Chester, and sometime Master of Trinity College, Cambridge. Now first collected, with a Memoir of the Author, Notes, and Index. By EDWARD CHURTON, M.A., Canon of York, and Rector of Crayke, in the County of Durham.* 2 vols. 8vo. Oxford: 1844.

2. *Joannis Pearsoni olim Episcopi Cestriensis Adversaria Hesychiana.* 2 vols. 8vo. Oxonii: 1844.

IN the present day there are many so morbidly sensitive to the acknowledged evils of our condition, both social and religious, as to be unwilling to allow any expression of congratulation on behalf of efforts towards amendment, however zealous and sincere. In such a feeling we might join, could we put out of the question the Providence of God, ever watchful for His Church. But when we see plain marks of His interposition, in directing the studies of English scholars and divines, at the very crisis when the revival of deep and sober learning is most needed, we should be wanting alike in gratitude and faith to Him, were we to overlook symptoms so full of hope. Nor should we be less wanting in charity towards those whom He has made the instruments of good, did we withhold from them words of hearty encouragement, words not a little needed by men who labour in the spirit of the editors of the two works now under review. For in the course which they pursue, they are struggling against the stream of popular feeling, and are manfully reasserting this ancient but neglected principle, that towards the maintenance of sound doctrine there is needed the essential union of a laborious scholarship with a learned and recondite theology.

We, therefore, unhesitatingly congratulate the Church upon the timely appearance of the minor works of one, in whom these two qualifications were so eminently combined. And we are sure that every mind really liberal and generous must join us in the feeling of satisfaction, that so distinguished an ornament of the University of Cambridge has, in the present instance, met with due honour from her sister of Oxford, and that the present members of his own illustrious college have so cordially aided Mr. Churton in his share of the undertaking.

Our readers will heartily respond to the sentiment of the latter, extending it to every college within our three renowned seats of learning.

“Vigeat, floreat, opto, Collegium, cui Pearsonus olim præfuit, cui viri etiamnum invigilant memores Pearsoni; floreant studia Academicarum, atque sacrarum literarum amor: et mihi, Lector benevole, fausta precare, quod Veritati semper periclitanti, nunquam tamen defensoribus egenti, tutamen ex Pearsoni nomine parare, et Theologiæ κειμήλιον proprium ex oblivione exemtum, faventibus literarum Academicarum patronis, instaurare contigerit.”—vol. i. cxliv.

The publication, for the first time, of Pearson's Notes on Hesychius, by the present Dean of Christ Church in Oxford, is a most valuable accession to the scholarship of Europe. Upon this work we shall offer presently some remarks in detail; but meanwhile, we must observe, that the learned editor undertook his task under a full recognition of the principle just now asserted, namely, that sound scholarship is the necessary foundation of sound theology. But we must give his sentiments in his own nervous and significant language.

“Neque frustra, etsi paullo quam par erat tardius, hæc in lucem edita quis existimet: nam indignum erat ut tantus labor totque vigiliarum fructus incassum perirent, deinde memorabili exemplo ostendendum erat quantopere in scriptis veterum auctorum legendis pensitandisque elaborandum sit, si quis theologiæ studiosus idem honoris culmen, in quod sudando evasit Pearsonus, attingere velit.”—tom. i. p. xii.

The editorship of those theological works of the Bishop, which on account of their size, not of their intrinsic value, are styled *minor*, has been appropriately undertaken by one who has made good an hereditary claim on our respect. In the Memoir prefixed, we are reminded of the venerable biographer of Nowell and of Townson; and in that, as well as in the other departments of his editorial labours, there is evidence of a transmitted spirit of adherence to the ancient paths. There is that familiar acquaintance with, and due estimate of, English history and theology, which are the best strengtheners of principles really catholic, of the principles which Pearson himself was the foremost to maintain.

The age in which Pearson lived was eminently one of stirring interest and activity. And were the records of that time as meagre as those which remain of the Roman republic, we might find in his life and writings no obscure impress of its peculiar character, at least so far as the theology and learning of the age

are concerned. But happily for us, so full are the records which remain, that the works of Pearson but corroborate our already acquired notion of the strength and elasticity of the Church of England during the two consecutive periods of her suffering and her restoration. It is devoutly to be wished, that an enlarged and philosophical study of our Church's *providential history* may before long become a prominent object of thought among our younger divines of promise. If they will have but the patience and self-restraint to speculate less upon illusive theories, and attend more to pregnant and instructive facts, to study the lives and writings of our churchmen, both lay and clerical, who flourished during the times of the first and second Charles, they will find a corrective for many crude and uneasy fancies, which now cause so much distraction and misgiving: and they may learn that the foundations of our English theology were deeply and firmly laid, and that in its superstructure and gradual advancement there was a plain interposition from above.

That our Church underwent, during the time of the usurpation, the ordeal of suffering, is an argument in her favour too obvious to require enlargement. But perhaps we are not sufficiently alive to one eminent characteristic of her genuine sons, namely, a thorough fixedness of purpose and principle. Not only were they constant, and honest, and patient, but they were fully persuaded of the firmness of the ground on which they stood. Their deep and various learning, so far from dissipating their minds, raising doubts, and creating hesitancy, tended to concentrate their powers, both moral and intellectual, towards the focus of an orthodoxy really Catholic, but alike removed from Geneva and from Rome. Their practical experience, versed as it was in the deceitfulness and corruption of the human heart, confirmed their persuasion, that the means of grace within our communion, though neglected or abused by the mass of mankind, though considered as insufficient by fanatics, and superfluous by the worldly, are really the gifts of a Providence who is at once bountiful and economical. Undismayed by the adverse tide of public opinion, they held to the fundamental axiom of sound doctrine and polity, knowing that in the most troubled waters the Church of Christ will be an ark of safety to the faithful, however few these may be, and that when the flood shall have subsided, his spiritual progeny will cover the face of the earth.

It would far exceed our limits to investigate duly the causes of this peculiar intellectual and moral strength: and heartily desiring that the inquiry may be taken up by some philosophic divine, competent to a task so important, we can but cursorily advert to

a few of those causes, in all of which we may trace the Providence of God. In the first place may be remarked that domestic character which the Church of England had assumed during the early part of the seventeenth century. The effects of the foreign exile in the reign of Mary had now almost ceased to influence the Church. There were no longer those doubtful and deferential glances cast towards Frankfort and Geneva which had, from the time of Edward to that of Elizabeth, so often put our ritual and doctrine in jeopardy. The slight changes made in the Liturgy between the last-mentioned reign and the final revision in 1661 were in the right direction, and uninfluenced by foreign dictation: the studies of our divines were guided by men, who, like Bishop Andrewes, combined devotional unction with the soundest erudition; and the independence of our National Church was shown, not in the arbitrary creation of a novel system of doctrine and Church government, but in the investigation, with true English honesty and strength of mind, of those documents which are the common heritage of all Christendom, the attestations to primitive doctrine and practice contained in the writings of the ecclesiastical historians and fathers of antiquity. Uncontrolled by the partial and uncatholic peculiarities of either Romanists or foreign Protestants, she had reverence to the more enlarged sphere of primitive belief; and thus, from the very circumstances of her insular position, her training, though apparently more narrow, was, in fact, more comprehensive and profound.

The next cause may be found in that spirit of hereditary piety which marked many of the worthies of this age. Abroad, indeed, the instances were not few of the possession of kindred talents and learning by members of the same family, as by the Stephensens, the Scaligers, and the Casaubons: while in England there can be no doubt that our Church received much of her strength from the transmission from father to son, by the influence both of precept and example, of that attachment to her, which grew up with the dearest associations of home and kindred. Of this sound training we have an example in our author, and, to mention no others, in the family of the illustrious Clarendon, who inherited from his father, and bequeathed to his son (as appears from the memoirs and correspondence of the latter), a veneration for the daily service and ordinances of the English Church, and a sound spirit of practical religion, which was shown in their well-ordered, exemplary lives.

Again: the vigour of their faith was promoted by the system of our universities, where men of family, and those destined for secular pursuits, were associated with the future teachers of the

Church ; in seminaries where theology, still maintaining her due place and pre-eminence, was not considered as the exclusive craft of one limited profession. The effect of this truly enlarged training was visible in the lives of many of the courtiers and statesmen of the age : while the clergy, preserving their legitimate place, neither sought a spurious elevation by the affectation of secular habits, nor were degraded to the level of menials to the nobility, by that disgraceful system of domestic patronage, which, to the great detriment of the Church, came into fashion at the beginning of the last century.

And thus, though the seeds of disaffection had been already sown, soon to ripen into the great rebellion, still the Church of England had taken firm root in the affections of the more eminent both in station and in moral position, who, in happier times, were hereafter to guide the interests of the nation. It had assumed a substantive position in the minds of its sincere adherents, which no external circumstances could influence ; and when the times of persecution arose, they had a well-defined faith to uphold and cherish in the hearts of the people. And most happily for the interests of the nation, it was in the order of Providence that the clergy were not, as in a former reign, forced to seek refuge in exile. The very dissensions among the dominant sectaries induced, as in the case of Pearson, a connivance at the ministrations of the clergy ; in which, though interdicted from the public use of the Liturgy, they inculcated its doctrine, and in some instances preserved its order and essential features, though in other words. Many, like Hammond and Taylor, found refuge with the loyal gentry of the land : some were maintained by the congregation who desired their services. And here it is truly instructive to observe how vigorously, during this period of poverty and obscurity, the energies of these loyal and faithful men were exerted for the Church's benefit, both in their pastoral labours, and in those learned works which have made the names of Walton, Pococke, and Ussher illustrious throughout Europe. The minds of the people thus prepared for the approaching restoration, their spiritual guides were also matured, by means of the wholesome experience of adversity, to encounter those ensnaring difficulties which ever accompany the time of our wealth.

These difficulties were so various and peculiar, that had minds of a less hardy texture been at the head of ecclesiastical affairs, it is but too probable that the frame-work of the Church would have gone to pieces, and the morals of the nation would have been irretrievably corrupted : for the assaults as well of Papists as of Puritans, were urgent to contaminate our doctrine, and the formidable influence of a most profligate court waged open war with

virtue and morality: against both a strong barrier was presented by Divine Providence in the persons of those eminent men, who were now exalted to a deserved influence in the Church and in society. When we consider that there were such men as Ormond, and Clarendon, and Hale, and Evelyn, among the laity, and observe the selection of bishops and chief dignitaries among the clergy, we cannot surely fail to acknowledge the special interposition of God's hand. In the governance of the Church we were peculiarly blessed. In France, indeed, a providential interposition is observable, similar to our own: there Mabillon and Bourdaloue were raised up to restrain the otherwise overruling profligacy of the court of Louis XIV. (a melancholy counterpart of that of Charles II.), and to retard, we may well believe, that revolution, of which the seeds were then sown. But in England the benefit was more firmly rooted, and more varied in its fruit. Not only in the sermons of our more eminent divines, who instructed the universities and the people with the most diversified powers of persuasion, of argument, and of erudition, but in all other departments of her function the Church put forth her strength, and maintained it in full vigour during this and at least the two successive reigns. Her outward fabric and her visible majesty was adorned by Juxon, and Sheldon, and Marsh, prelates emulous of the Wykehams and Lauds of former times: her ritual was illustrated, and the flame of her public and private devotions rekindled by Ken, and Comber, and Sparrow, and Cosin, and Aldrich: her scholastic theology was enriched by the acumen, but tempered by the piety of Saunderson and Taylor: the intellectual world was summoned to do her homage by Cudworth, and the world of science by Barrow, the founder of the scientific fame of Cambridge, the successor of Pearson, and the immediate precursor of Newton. By Hammond and Beveridge, themselves no mean contributors to the patristic learning of England, the fruits of a diligent pastoral care, enforced by their writings and example, were raised abundantly, and spread throughout the land, and which all showed a deep and matured acquaintance with the ancient learning of the Church. Its powerful weapons were successfully employed in her defence against false doctrine by Lightfoot and Patrick, Bull and Waterland. These are but a few of the many names that crowd this period of our history: but it may suffice to mention, that there is no one question now agitating the Church, which did not during that age receive patient consideration and most learned solution from some one or other of our illustrious divines. It was therefore an unspeakable blessing, that when a review of the Liturgy was proposed in the reign of Charles the Second, scholars armed at all points, versed

in antiquity, trained in habits of devotion, but sobered in their judgment by a fruitful experience, were called to a task, of all others the most delicate and difficult. We are persuaded, that it is evident to men really acquainted with the ancient ritual and with Church history, that the changes then made were on the side of genuine Catholic doctrine, and all in accordance with the dictates of an enlarged and religious wisdom. They must be thankful that, a few years after, our public formularies escaped the imminent hazard of most disastrous alteration, and they will fervently pray that the same Providence who has protected us hitherto, may preserve them unmutilated, and that He will restore to the present generation the strength and wisdom of that well-learned, devout, and illustrious age. We never had more need than now to read for our instructive example the annals of that time, and to apply to ourselves those warnings of Scripture which were prefixed to his work by the illustrious historian of the Great Rebellion: "For what nation is there so great, who hath God so nigh unto them, as the Lord our God is in all things that we call upon Him for? And what nation is there so great, that hath statutes and judgments so righteous as all this law, which I set before you this day? Only take heed to thyself, and keep thy soul diligently, lest thou forget the things which thine eyes have seen."

Like many of our best churchmen, Bishop Pearson seems to have inherited from his father, who was Archdeacon of Suffolk, and a friend of Bishop Wrenn, the principles which distinguished him through life. At Eton, and at King's College, Cambridge, he gave early promise of future eminence. He was a diligent student; and his verses, of which specimens are given (pp. xviii—xx), show a classical purity and elastic vigour, fully harmonizing with the nervous prose of his maturer years. At his father's death, he inherited a sufficient private fortune, which not only gave him subsistence, but enabled him to afford generous assistance to others during the rebellion. The acquisition of this inheritance caused the relinquishment of his fellowship at King's; but he was induced to live for some time longer at his college as a fellow-commoner, through that fondness for the academical life, so characteristic of our ancient divines. His ecclesiastical promotion was early, as he was made chaplain to the Lord Keeper Finch, when twenty-eight years old, and in the same year was presented to the rectory of Thorington. This, however, with the consistency which distinguished him through life, he resigned, when the service of the Church of England was proscribed by what was called law. Of his manly loyalty during those wicked times, we have several significant instances. In 1643, just before the assem-

bling of the divines at Westminster, he preached at Cambridge a spirited sermon in defence of the Common Prayer and of his Sovereign. This appears in the second volume of Mr. Churton's publications. He followed the royal forces to Exeter, and acted as chaplain to them there. In 1649, he published his pamphlet, "Christ's Birth not mistimed:" a bold step, as Mr. Churton remarks, in those days, when the observance of the day of Christ's nativity was condemned by the usurped authority which then persecuted alike loyalty and Christianity. During this period, he was elected preacher (but not rector) of St. Clement's, in Eastcheap; an appointment which in no way compromised his principles, the latitudinarian ordinances of the Long Parliament "having set the doors so widely ajar, that there was room for Rutilian and Trojan to enter in." It was in the discharge of this office that he preached a course of lectures, which formed the substance of his "Exposition of the Creed;" a fact very instructive on two accounts: first, as showing his boldness in thus openly teaching orthodox principles; and secondly, as illustrating the observation frequently made, that we owe some of our soundest theological treatises to the ordinary pastoral labours of our clergy.

Immediately after the Restoration, Pearson received from the highest and most influential quarters the testimony due to his merits. In one and the same year, 1660, he was distinguished by the patronage of Bishops Juxon, Wrenn, and Duppa; within the course of the next two years, by that of his Sovereign, in being promoted to the mastership of Trinity College; the University having likewise honoured him by the appointment to the Margaret Professorship of Divinity. His theological eminence was likewise recognized by his election to the prolocutorship of the Lower House of Convocation, and by association with the revisers of the Liturgy. His academical station he illustrated by his learning and example for more than eleven years; and in 1672 he was consecrated Bishop of Chester, in which see he continued till his death in 1686. For one year before his death, he suffered from that decay of mind which has not unfrequently visited the overworked energies of the most vigorous intellects. But Mr. Churton rightly doubts the disparaging allegation made by Bishop Burnet, as to his laxity in his episcopal functions. Of this laxity, we have no external evidence, but much that is presumptive to the contrary. Pearson was the known friend of strict disciplinarians; the whole tenor of his sentiments, as appears from his academical exercises¹, was on the side of rigid

¹ See in particular his fourth and fifth Orations, vol. i.

and, as many would now esteem it, severe maintenance of the Church's polity; the few existing records of his administration indicate diligence, and the disposal of his patronage a conscientious discretion. It appears, however, probable that Pearson was one of those men who conceived that the influence and strength of episcopal authority does not consist in a pragmatical activity and perpetual motion, which in these times of busy idleness are often thought essential; that mildness and serenity, so eminently the characteristics of this distinguished man, are perfectly compatible with firmness of principle and action; and that the pursuits of deep scholarship are not inconsistent with the effectual and real government even of an extensive diocese.

The life of Pearson, however, is best illustrated by his writings. Of these, Mr. Churton felicitously observes, that,

“ Though there is much diversity in the subjects, they are the works of one and the same firm and consistent mind, exhibiting the same principles, in different degrees of energy, and called forth on very different occasions: but perhaps for that very reason bringing the reader to a nearer acquaintance with the great and good man whose name they bear, and with the impressions of Divine truth, as they were made on one, who, to the widest range of sacred and profane learning, added a judgment unwearied in its exercise, clear in its decisions, and trained by patience and strict self-discipline to know the weight of spiritual things.”—Preface, pp. viii. ix.

Of the variety of his intellectual resources the public has hitherto had no sufficient means of forming an adequate estimate. His abilities, indeed, as an ecclesiastical historian, were exhibited in his published chronological works: his patristic learning and critical acumen were amply tested by his celebrated *Vindication of the Epistles of St. Ignatius*; and his powers of reasoning, profound learning, and catholicity, as shown in the *Exposition of the Creed*, are familiar to every theological student. But it remained for his present editors to exhibit to the world more distinct proofs of the multiplicity of his acquirements and the diversified powers of his mind. Mr. Churton's publication may be divided into three parts. First, several of his minor works, properly so called; such as a few occasional sermons, controversial tracts, letters on points of scholarship, and prefaces to various learned publications. These had fallen into oblivion, till Mr. Kidd, in several numbers of the *Classical Journal*² revived the public attention, by reprinting ten of them, including his five

² In vols. vii. (for 1813) ix. x. xii. xiii. xvii.

Prefaces and Prolegomena, and noticing, in chronological order, the titles of his other works. The second class consists of his Lectures, a Dissertation on the Acts, the Annals of St. Paul, and the Succession of Roman Bishops, which had been edited by Thane and Dodwell, but which, being too much encumbered by the annotations of the latter, Mr. Churton has judiciously inserted in the present collection. The third, and most interesting division, consists of works till now unknown to the public. They had hitherto existed in two MS. quarto volumes in Brasenose College library. It is unknown by whom they were given to the College, but it appears from some inserted memoranda that they were formerly in the possession of the Bishop's nephew, Archdeacon Thane, and had been transcribed from the author's autograph by J. S., whom Mr. Churton identifies with the Rev. John Stone, a learned Cheshire clergyman, who died at the beginning of the last century. Of this class we shall proceed to give a short account.

The transcripts of Mr. Stone consist of Latin prælections, determinations, orations, and sermons; in a word, some of the fruits of his strictly academical labours. The prælections were delivered by him as Margaret Professor of Divinity, and are twenty-four in number. They were intended as the commencement of a system of divinity, but they do not proceed beyond the preliminary topics of the Being and Attributes of God, including the doctrine of Predestination, which is necessarily connected with that of his Providence. In the first, or introductory lecture, he announces his intention of following the scholastic method, and the system of Aquinas, which he prefers to that of Peter Lombard and Scotus. In the following passages he points out the true Catholic method of treating systematic divinity, and guards against the corrupt use which the Roman Catholics have made of principles essentially sound.

“His jam in antecessum consideratis, in proclivi est cognoscere, quomodo theologia simul scholastica sit, et a vulgarium scholasticorum fœdis erroribus pura atque defæcata. Agnoscimus loca theologica, unde argumenta ad dogmata fidei confirmanda sumi possint.

“1. Primo itaque loco ponimus Scripturæ libros, scilicet canonicos, eosque suis linguis quibus scripti, quibus nati sunt, ubi opus est, loquentes.

“2. Secundo loco, recipimus concilia, præsertim generalia, sed illa quæ ecclesiæ veteris sententiam referunt; non illa quæ in media barbarie, flagrante schismate, ad unius hominis voluntatem congregata sunt conciliabula.

“3. Tertio loco, consensui Patrum plurimum tribuimus, si vere Patres sunt, hoc est, veteres Scriptores in ecclesiâ Dei agniti atque probati,

sed rejectis omnibus auctoribus ementitis, et bonorum auctorum operibus supposititiis.

"4. Quantum autem locum nullo modo agnoscimus, nisi quatenus ad tertium redigatur; nec ulla mihi major auctoritas pontificis, in rebus fidei, quam alterius Patris; cum reliquis consentientis aliqua, dissentientis nulla."—tom. i. pp. 5, 6.

Thus the *tradition* which Pearson defends, is *testimony*. In our next extract he shows the necessity for choosing the scholastic method: and his remarks deserve the grave attention, not only of controversialists, but of all who would establish their orthodoxy on clear and consistent grounds.

"Quod pontificios spectat, quorum maxime res agitur in theologia scholastica, apprime utile videtur, ut habeant et illi nostræ doctrinæ corpus, pari cum suo gradu pertendens; ut tandem aliquando discant, et probe intelligant, quid ecclesia nostra teneat, quid aversatur. Rerum enim nostrarum Romano-Catholici mihi videntur plane ignari: et quoniam non habemus scholas scholis oppositas, corpusque theologiæ corpori respondens, ideo controversiarum indices satis callide excogitarunt, quibus Lutheranorum, Calvinistarum, Sacramentariorum, Sociinianorum dicta scriptaque percurrentes, omnia nobis, tanquam nostra objiciunt, et pro nostris haberi volunt, ac tum demum scilicet nos egregie oppugnant, atque hac tandem arte id efficiunt, ut credant multi in ecclesia Romana, nihil aliud nos profiteri in tota religione Christiana, nisi illud tantum, quod apud suos oppugnatum legant."—p. 6.

How much we have suffered by the abandonment of systematic theology in our Universities it is impossible to calculate. To revive, in all its fulness, the old method approved by Pearson, would perhaps now be impossible, as it would require the familiar and expert use of the language and the logic of the schools, for which there has long ceased to be the necessary preliminary training. But surely some stricter method is necessary; some body of divinity, constructed upon those essential principles so well enunciated in the passages just now cited, is required from the hands of our professors. The minds of our young theologians ought to be exercised, as of old, in some agonistic processes of reasoning, and not merely indulged by the diluted essays, which have taken place of the ancient prælections and determinations. In our own standard divines there is abundant matter from which a professor might construct a compact system for the institution of his pupils: the arrangement alone is wanting; the materials we have in profusion; and the threefold principles by which Pearson really, and the schoolmen apparently abided, that is, the Catholic tests of Scripture, councils, and fathers, are those to which our eminent divines uniformly appeal, and have guided

the theology no less of Barrow and of Beveridge, than of Taylor and of Bull.

The prælections of Pearson are necessarily short, from the compact and pregnant nature of every sentence, and the close logical form into which their matter is thrown. To modern readers they will, like Bishop Andrewes's sermons, have the appearance rather of heads of discourses, than of completed essays. In order to comprehend him, it is necessary to preserve each link of reasoning in the mind. We doubt whether many modern auditors could follow him; into such desuetude has the severity of scholastic reasoning fallen. The style is perfectly plain, matter-of-fact, and dispassionate, except in one instance (p. 21), where, in a few terse sentences, he attacks, with becoming indignation, some absurd interpretations of Socinus. Against the avowed or suspected Socinians, as Crellius and Vorstius, and against the metaphysical speculations of Des Cartes, then newly promulgated, the resources of his learning and reasoning are largely directed: nor does he spare the Calvinists: while in his lectures on Predestination he steers with exquisite skill the middle course between their doctrine and that of the ultra Arminians. He asserts that this doctrine applies to individual cases, not merely to the general promises of God: that, however, it is founded in no arbitrary decree, but in the perfection of the Divine mind, by whom the course of each man's free-will, and, consequently, the reward or punishment which by God's justice is assigned to the wicked or the good respectively, has been eternally foreseen.

His theological determinations are six in number: the first three of which form a concise and masterly vindication of Episcopacy in general, and of the ordinations of the Church of England in particular: the fourth and fifth are on the Divinity of Christ, and the last on Baptism. In his vindication of Episcopacy he attacks both Papists and latitudinarian Protestants; and while opposing Salmasius and Blondel, shows that for the first depreciation of this apostolic doctrine we are indebted to Roman Catholic writers. On this lecture some admirable remarks are made by the editor, in the *Memoirs* (p. lviii. et seqq.), to which we can only thus allude. The Divinity of Christ he proves, as Waterland afterwards proved more in detail, from the worship paid to Him by the authority of Holy Scripture; and in his fifth determination he shows that He is worshipped as Mediator.

The seven orations, in the same volume, exhibit Pearson in a capacity in which he has been hitherto unknown to us, namely, as a speaker gifted with no ordinary powers of eloquence. Nothing can be more different than the style of the prælections and determinations, and that of his orations. They both however possess

the common features of correctness of expression and vigour and justness of thought. But a higher praise is due to these animated compositions. His eloquence is that of the heart; and it is evident, that to the calm dignity which characterises all his writings, there was united a keen and vigilant perception of the signs of the times, a deep sense of the Church's wants, an anxiety for the perils that beset her, a solicitude for her legitimate influence, a love for her divine doctrine and apostolic order. The subject matter of each is peculiarly applicable to the present time, and therefore worthy of serious notice. The first Mr. Churton considers to be his inaugural speech, delivered at the commencement, which occurred in the year of his appointment. In this, after speaking of the past troubles, he enlarges upon the difficulties of the office to which he is called, and in the following passage nobly vindicates the pre-eminence of Theology, the "Queen and Mother of all Sciences."

"Cum artes omnes scientiæque Athenis diu flourissent, cum novam sedem Alexandriæ occuparent, cum ingenia Romana toto terrarum orbe personarent, etiam tum dixit Christus ad Apostolos, *Vos estis lux mundi*. Omnes aliæ scientiæ, etiam cum maxime clarescerent, tenebris sunt involutæ, et quasi nocte quadam sepultæ. Tum sol oritur, tum primum lumine perfundimur, cum Dei cognitione illustramur; radii lucis non nisi de cœlo feriunt oculos; cæteræ, quæ artes aut scientiæ nominantur, non Athenæ sed noctuæ. Quid enim? nonne animis immortalibus præditi sumus, et ad æternitatem natis? Quæ autem philosophiæ pars perpetuitatem spirat? Quid astronomicis observationibus fiet, cum cœli ipsi colliquescent? Ubi se ostendet corporis humani peritus, et medicaminum scientia præclarus, cum *corruptio induet incorruptionem*? Quæ musicæ, quæ rhetoricæ vires, cum angelorum choro et archangelorum cætibus inseremur? Si nihil animus præsentiret in posterum, e cœvis sibi scientiis aliquid solatii carpere fas esset, secumque perituris delectari: sed in hoc tam exiguo vitæ curriculo, et tam brevi, quid est, tam cito periturum, quod impleret animum, in infinita sæculorum spatia duraturum? Sola theologiæ principia, æternæ felicitatis certissima expectatione fœta, auræ divinæ particulam, cœlestis suæ originis consciam, et sempiternæ beatitudinis candidatum, satiare possunt."—i. 403.

The second oration is an exhortation to religious concord, and a defence of the Church's public prayers and ceremonies, as the best promoters of unity. The following words will surely find acceptance with many, in these days of distraction and rebuke:

"Sunt autem fortasse inter vos, qui magis sobrie delirare videantur: quibus non omnes statæ preces, non omnis solennis sordet oratio, sed nostræ tantum, autstrarum aliquæ; qui non ab omnibus Ecclesiæ ritibus abhorrent, sed cæremoniis nostris bellum indicunt. Proh ini-

quos rerum æstimatores! alias Ecclesias admirantur, suam vituperant; foris prodigi, domi invidi; cum illis manus conserunt, cum suis æternas inimicitias gerunt; illorum nævos laudant, suorum virtutes sugillant.

"Quid autem tandem est, quod cauti homines tantopere reformidant? Sub qua herba latet anguis ille, ad cujus conspectum perterriti pedem retrahunt? Quid per tot annos gratæ et Deo et hominibus preces, quid innocentes ritus commeruerunt? quid candor vestium? quid crucis sigillum? quid flexio genuum? Quæ ætas tulit, quæ orbis pars vidit Christianos, quibus hæc displicuerunt? Aut, si forte displiceant, suntne tam impiæ, tam flagitiosæ, ut, quo minus inquinemini tanta superstitionis labe, potius esse ducatis ecclesiæ auctoritatem defugere, a cœtibus Christianis secessionem facere, pastorem curam prorsus deponere, e patrimonio Dei vos ipsos totamque familiam ejicere, prædicationi denique verbi valedicere, qua tantopere gloriamini!"—i. 409.

In the fifth, he speaks clearly and decidedly of Romish corruption, and of the imperfect reformations abroad, and defends the real and catholic reformation of the Church of England; and the seventh is a splendid assertion of the glory and dignity of our Universities. The volume concludes with a determination in defence, upon grounds of Scripture and reason, of monarchical government.

Of his six Conciones ad Clerum, in the second volume, the first, which is imperfect, is on "the old paths," and its spirit will be sufficiently understood from the following extract:

"Christiana fides semel tradita est, et per omnia sæcula Christianos decet, quod Judas ad universos scripsit, *super certare semel traditæ sanctis fidei*. Jam vero si fides 'tradita' sit, ab aliis eam accipimus, non ipsi excogitamus; si 'semel tradita' sit, non potest serius nasci, non potest nata immutari; si denique 'sanctis semel tradita' sit, ab illis recipienda est quibus tradita; neque enim est sanctis tradita, nisi ut tradenda. Interrogemus igitur quid Apostoli scripserint, quid fecerint, quid prædicaverint; quæramus quid apostolici viri senserint, quid proxime sequentibus sæculis tradiderint; sciscitemur quid sancti illi, quid confessores, quid martyres crediderint, qua doctrina imbuti, quo spiritu animati ad ignes cucurrerunt, ad cœlos evolarunt.—ii. 8.

The second and third Conciones, contain a learned statement of the early testimonies of the heathens and Jews to Christ. In the fourth, which is on 1 Tim. iv. 1, he opposes Mede in his views of the great apostasy, and agrees with St. Chrysostom, and the ancient Fathers, in applying this prophecy to the heretics who arose in the infancy of the Christian Church. The high authority of Pearson will support in this respect the opinions of some of our most eminent living scholars, who have shown that the real corruptions of Rome can be thoroughly reprobated, with-

out involving her, and all the Christian Church at one period of her history, in the charge of anti-Christian apostasy. He also glances with disapprobation (p. 54) at Mede's interpretation of Daniel's "time, and times, and dividing of a time." The fifth *Concio* is an account of the ancient philosophical sects, as they existed in the time of St. Paul; the sixth asserts the correspondence of the Christian to the Jewish priesthood, inasmuch as both are of Divine appointment, and both have analogous orders of ministers.

Of the second class of Pearson's works, the five Lectures on the Acts, and the *Annales Paulini*, are in the first volume, interposed between the Determinations and Orations. The following miscellaneous particulars will we trust be interesting, now that public attention has been recently called to the study of chronology, by the very learned works of Dr. Jarvis and Mr. Browne. He considers the opinion held by some of the fathers, that our Lord's ministry occupied but one year, as "*aperte falsa*" (p. 319). The year of the Passion he fixes at the 33rd of the vulgar æra, and the 19th of Tiberius. He holds (p. 379) that the two periods of three and fourteen years mentioned by St. Paul in his epistle to the Galatians are not distinct, the former being included in the latter. To these may be added, that he considers the community of goods mentioned in the Acts to have no reference to the management of private concerns, but that "*in commune ecclesiæ bonum omnia administrabantur.*" He inclines to the opinion that St. James, our Lord's brother, the first Bishop of Jerusalem, was the Apostle. The Epistle of St. Barnabas he regards as probably his whose name it bears, and the Apostolical Constitutions he refers to the fifth century.

The learned dissertations on the succession of the Roman Bishops are in the second volume. He traces the order of the first twenty-five bishops, whose title to the bishopric of Rome he sustains. But his dissertations are strongly opposed to the pretensions of the Roman see, and oppugn the undue authority attributed to Baronius by Roman Catholics.

The third class, consisting of his shorter Tracts, Sermons, &c., formerly published separately, but now well-nigh forgotten, are all contained in the second volume. The first of these is a Latin oration, delivered in Pembroke Hall Chapel, at the funeral of Bishop Wrenn, a man of a kindred spirit, a worthy disciple of Bishop Andrewes, and one of the most strenuous maintainers of Church of England orthodoxy. Of his English sermons, only three have yet been discovered. They are very interesting, both from their intrinsic merit, and from their exhibiting a marked diversity of style and manner one from the other. The first is

that already alluded to, as preached before the University just before the meeting of the Westminster divines. The subject is the vindication of liturgical forms, and it is written in a tone of animated loyalty, mingled with much caustic severity and humour, in either of which he seldom indulged, but of which indications now and then occur in his academical exercises. The tone of the second English sermon is subdued and calm, befitting the occasion, the funeral of his friend Lord Berkeley. The third, preached before the House of Lords, while he was Bishop of Chester, on the overruling Providence of God, is remarkable as being designedly free from the formal divisions then commonly considered essential. In this discourse he condemns, as uncatholic and wrong, the abuses of sacramental confession, as practised in the Church of Rome.

The pamphlet "Christ's birth not mistimed," is an answer to a puritanical essay, which was written to confute the ordinary computation. In support of his view the author had adopted the weak ground of assuming, that the twenty-four courses of the Jewish priests (which they took as the basis of their computation) were conterminous with the year, and were each of a fortnight's duration, both of which errors Pearson corrects, and shows, by the testimony of St. Chrysostom, that the Greek Church adopted its calculations from the Roman.

The following passage from his tract, "No necessity for Reformation, &c.," in answer to Dr. Burges, is worthy of attention :

(Dr. Burges's) "second argument to prove the defectiveness of the public doctrine is, that 'there are no Articles for discovering and condemning sundry points of popery.' To which my answer is, that if they mean no more than that which will discover a man to be a Papist, there is abundantly sufficient contained in the Articles to discover any man. For we may assure ourselves the Church of Rome will admit no man to their society who shall be ready to subscribe our Articles. This, therefore, as to such a discovery, can be no real defect, because we can need no more than that what is enough."—ii. 188.

In his letter against promiscuous ordinations, in answer to "a person of quality," though he allows of lay baptism in cases of necessity, he is very decided against submitting to the teaching of persons not canonically ordained.

Omitting any particular notice of a few smaller tracts and letters, we shall just observe in general, that in his very shortest pieces is to be uniformly found a characteristic of intellectual greatness, for which all Edmund Burke's writings are specially remarkable, namely, the enforcement of some great principle, either of conduct or of opinion. To adopt the spirit of Bentley's encomium,

they all contain gold dust, if not ore. We must conclude our notice of Mr. Churton's publication, by briefly mentioning the Bishop's Prefaces and Prolegomena. These are five in number; of the "*Critici Sacri*," to which one of these is prefixed, he was one of four joint editors. It is a work which was afterwards reprinted abroad, and is known among real scholars as far superior both in matter and arrangement to the more popular synopsis of Pool. The preface to Hales's "*Golden Remains*" bears warm testimony to the excellence, both moral and religious, of that accomplished man, and would seem to contradict the common notion, which assigns to him certain works of an heretical character. His preface to Dr. Stokes's *Essays on the Minor Prophets*, an act of kindness to a learned friend, is valuable, as vindicating the literal interpretation of prophecy, a view so ably defended by the learned Dr. M'Caul. His Prolegomena to the London edition (1655) of Hierocles, and his preface to the Cambridge LXX., published in 1665, both manifest that deep erudition which obtained him so great celebrity throughout Europe. But this celebrity would have been far greater, and his reputation for erudition would have at least rivalled Bentley's, and for critical judgment far exceeded it, had his "*Adversaria Hesychiana*," now first published, been known to the literary world.

Of these most interesting notes, the profound and accurate scholarship is not the sole or principal recommendation. Their value, as illustrating the moral qualities of their author, his genuine simplicity, candour, and modesty, is well pointed out by Dean Gaisford.

"Nihil in his annotationibus ambitiose scriptum est: nulla inest gloriolæ, quæ ex doctrinæ ostentatione quæri solet, captatio: emendationes simpliciter propositæ sunt, vel potius verba grammatici, quemadmodum ex nostri sententia legi debent, plerumque nude proferuntur, nude itidem sive versus sive paginæ scriptorum quorum testimonia allegantur: virorum doctorum, quorum acumen aut sollertia Hesychio profuit, emendationes et observata strictim apponuntur, prave aut temere eorum excogitatis leni et modesta animadversione adhibita."—*Præfatio*, p. xi.

The original manuscript is preserved in three folio volumes, in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge. They consist, in a large proportion, of mere emendations of Hesychius's works, without comment, or with simple references to passages in Greek authors. But in many places, and especially under the letters A and B, there are copious notes, giving several ingenious emendations, which attest a most intimate acquaintance with the whole range of Greek literature. In many of these he has anticipated

Hesychius's principal editor, Alberti, and his continuator Ruhnkenius, and in some, our learned, but too much slighted countryman, Toup.

It is remarkable, that the Hesychian annotations of both Toup and Pearson should have been incomplete, and left to the care of posthumous editors. But in this respect, Toup was less fortunate than his predecessor. His emendations (supplementary to his completed work on Suidas) were never reduced by his editor to alphabetical order, so that in their present state, reference must be made through the cumbrous intervention of an index. In Bishop Pearson's work, the Dean of Christ Church has brought together the disjecta membra of his criticisms from other parts of the manuscript, and has reduced them to their proper alphabetical heads. The annotations of Toup were evidently made without method, as he quotes the authors that he happened to be reading at the time, and in consequence, reference is frequently made to writers of inferior authority, when those of more sterling worth were sufficiently obvious. In temper, he was of a far different stamp from Pearson; and petulance and self-sufficiency too often mark his criticisms: while in his predecessor the reader ever recognizes the temper of the Christian and of the divine.

It appears that Pearson chiefly used the earliest or Aldine edition, seldom the subsequent one printed at Hagenau. He makes but few allusions to that of Schrevelius, printed in 1668: and these few, Dean Gaisford informs us, are in an aged and trembling hand; which circumstances mark his pursuit to the last of critical lore. He of course makes copious and diligent use of the ancient glossaries and lexicons, and among the publications of later times, evidently pays great respect to the *Etymologicon Magnum* of Phavorinus; of which an instance occurs in his elucidation of that controverted passage, ἀγαθὸν ὃν τὴν λίνον, where, with the *Etymologicon* and Stephens, he reads, ἀγάθος-μον, πῆλινον. It appears, he does not coincide with Bentley, in considering the interpretations of scriptural words in Hesychius to be the work of a later period. The various indexes which accompany the volumes, for the most part the undoubted work of the bishop, are most valuable and convenient, and the "voes Homericæ emendatæ" at the end of the second volume, deserve particular attention. The Hebrew learning of the author, so conspicuous in his other works, is brought into frequent play in the course of his annotations.

But we trust the time may soon arrive, when any such references as those which we have made may be considered impertinent or superfluous. If the zeal for sound scholarship is really reviving in our country, it cannot fail but that Pear-

son's learned labours must be among the common-places of theological and classical literature. That both departments of knowledge may simultaneously revive, must be the wish of all who gain knowledge by experience, and who are willing to be taught by the past. The sound theology of England, of Germany, and of Europe at large, has never been dissociated from the acquirements either of scholarship or of science. In the case of Pearson, we may trace the cause of his exquisite judgment in deciding upon theological questions. His classical pursuits had taught him, as they will ever teach the diligent, that accurate weighing and discriminating of words, and consequently of thoughts, which is most effectually promoted by exercise in the more exact and philosophical languages of Greece and Rome, and which has been so largely promoted in England by the enforcement in our schools of Latin composition, now so foolishly slighted by the advocates of a more miscellaneous, and, consequently, more shallow education. On this foundation was raised a superstructure now altogether neglected, to which we have already alluded; the exercise, namely, of the reasoning faculties in the exercises of the schools, one element of academical education, the revival of which is earnestly to be desired. Bishop Pearson was one of those who so honoured theology, as to make all branches of human learning her handmaids; and yet, who, though so aided, pursued wisdom in the spirit of a little child, and sought from above the right application of all his multifarious knowledge, which he received as the gift of God. These considerations are most important, and we trust will be cherished by the true admirers of such men as Pearson, and by all who hold it as a fundamental maxim, that what is moral should never be postponed to what is intellectual. For he who shall fail to discover, even in the bishop's strictly philological works, that dignity and serenity, that firmness, patience, and piety, which attest a mind trained in the habits of the best religious discipline, can have formed but an inadequate estimate of those means by which Divine Providence has purified and supported the Church of England, can have but a faint notion of the temper of Catholic Christianity, or of that wisdom which is not of this world, but proceeds from Him in whom is

πάντα ὁσὶς ἀγαθὴ καὶ πᾶν ὄρωρμα τέλειον.

ART. VIII.—*The New Government Scheme of Academical Education in Ireland considered in a Letter to a Friend.* By ALEXANDER J. BERESFORD HOPE, M.A., M.P. London: Rivingtons.

THAT the peculiar disorganization of Ireland surrounds with difficulties any plan for education in that country is very evident; and no minister could reasonably expect to devise any system which would afford general satisfaction. These circumstances, we should think, might in themselves have induced Sir Robert Peel to look in the first place to the *principles* involved in any plan for national education in Ireland, more especially to its bearing on religion, the only solid basis of morality, and on the religious institutions of the country; and to make the question of its *popularity* a subject of subordinate consideration. This course unhappily has not been taken; and the result is, that *no one* is satisfied; for we put out of the question those creatures who sit in the House of Commons only to register the enactments of the Premier. If the Church had been assigned her fair and legitimate position in the proposed system of education, there could scarcely have been more dissatisfaction and opposition than there actually is. It could not of course have been expected, that Romanists and other sectarians would have availed themselves of the education imparted in seminaries which were strictly and exclusively in connexion with the Church; but what reasonable objection could have been offered to a provision by the State for the spiritual care of students professing the Established Religion, with which the State is peculiarly connected? Had the Government plan included the provision of Chaplains or theological teachers for *Churchmen* frequenting such seminaries, (their appointment being placed in the hands of the bishops,) but without any compulsion on students of other “denominations” to attend the worship or the instructions of the Church—nay, with permission to such denominations to establish worship and divinity teachers of their own; in such case we think that there would have been such a recognition of the duty of the State to maintain Christianity, combined with so perfect a toleration of communities separated from the Church, as would have afforded every reasonable satisfaction to all parties.

If it be replied that such an arrangement would have been unacceptable to Romanists and other sectarians, as implying the

preference of the State for the Church above other religious communities, we have only to say,—that any Government which on *such ground* could give way to the demands of sectarians would be wholly forgetful of its most essential duties ; and that consequently such objections ought not to be listened to. It might not indeed be advisable or possible to establish a system of education on right principles in case of a vehement opposition in Ireland ; but we think that nothing can justify the introduction of a system which leaves religion without effective support—and this too, on the principle that the State ought not to extend advantages to one communion which it does not extend equally to another—that it is bound to consult the prejudices of Romanists by *refusing its support to the Church*. It would have been far better to have left the question of education to settle itself, rather than to act on doctrines so latitudinarian, and so evidently tending to the subversion of the Church as an Establishment.

We are indebted to Mr. Beresford Hope for a very clear and able exposition of the objectionable character of the ministerial plan for collegiate education in Ireland, which is thus described :—

“ You are, I presume, acquainted with the details of Sir J. Graham’s Bill, and I shall not therefore repeat them ; but simply call your attention to the three distinguishing features of the measure, which are—ungodness (I submit to the disadvantage entailed by coining a new word, on purpose not to appear to convey any offensive meaning by the use of the common terms expressive of this idea), undiscipline, and State-subserviency. That these are its characteristics, none can deny ; its opponents think it very reprehensible on these accounts, and it is on the same grounds that its advocates defend it : some, as a necessary concession to the spirit of the age, and the disorganized condition of Ireland ; others from their esteeming these features to be in themselves simply and radically good. We have, therefore, what in all controverted questions is of great advantage—a clear, intelligible, undisputed point of difference ;—whether or not it be necessary for the well-being of academic bodies that they recognize the Deity, enforce discipline as of equal importance with the imparting of knowledge, and possess power of self-government. Our ancient Universities are based upon the affirmative of these three propositions ; the new ‘Colleges for the advancement of learning in Ireland,’ on the negative.”—pp. 5, 6.

Mr. Hope justly remarks on the startling fact, that it is a “ Conservative Government of England which has proposed a plan more objectionable in all respects than any existing system of education in the world.”

The proposed colleges are, it appears, hereafter to be associated with a *University*. Mr. Hope thus ably traces the results which may be expected to flow from such an institution.

"Supposing this measure to become the law of the land, and a royal charter (for this is all that is requisite, and this is all that was employed to create the University of London) to confer upon some board of examiners the power of granting degrees to such persons as the 'Colleges' shall present for the necessary examination, we shall have a National University of Ireland, embodying the principle of ungodness, undiscipline, and State-subservieny. The expression of the same principles, though *in a modified form*, will be found in England in the Whig-founded University of London. Here then we have a national system of university education, founded upon very distinct and unmistakeable principles. Parallel to this, we find another system of university education; not professing indeed to be 'national,' but for the nation; not merely recognizing the existence of the Deity, but of the Christian faith and of the Church of God; not merely doling out secular instruction only, but as a wise nursing mother caring for the discipline of its alumni: no sudden creation and bond slave of the State, but the slow growth of many centuries, the fair product of royal and episcopal and private munificence."—p. 9.

Mr. Hope most truly remarks that two such opposite systems, occupying the same ground, cannot long work together, that one must in the end be absorbed by the other, and it is easy to see that the *old* Universities will be the losing party.

"What adamant strength," he asks, "can they put forth, when crushed between the mill-stones of Whig and of Conservative bureaucracy? both equally jealous of independent action, both equally anxious for the accomplishment of State centralization; equally lavish of biddings for mob popularity, equally eager for the friendship of revolutionary France, and the realization of its state despotism. Be not deceived: let this measure pass, and our old Universities of England are doomed; if not by the present Secretary of the Home-Department, for I will give him the credit of being honestly undesirous of meddling with the time-honoured academical institutions of this side of the Channel—at all events, by some successor or opponent treading in his footsteps. And what so strange in this? Have we not seen Whigs and Conservatives join in the suppression and mutilation of bishoprics and cathedral chapters? [We presume Mr. Hope means to refer particularly to the extinction of ten bishoprics of the Irish Church.] And if these fall, what so sacred a prestige is there to preserve our Universities? The same plea of present expediency will serve in the one case which were found so useful in the other. We *know* that both the present great parties crave after the State centralization of education as a mighty engine of power; that they have forcibly carried their point in Ireland, as far as elementary instruction is concerned; that as far as superior academies are concerned, they have already adroitly introduced the point of the wedge in England by the foundation of the University of London; and that they attempted the same for elementary instruction two years ago."—pp. 10—12.

The evils likely to arise from the institution of a University on such principles, would be precipitated by connecting the supposed colleges with the existing University of Dublin; and still more by opening the fellowships and scholarships of that institution to sectarians of all kinds. If this be done, the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge will speedily be treated in the same way. It seems to us that this is the most important point in Mr. Hope's admirable pamphlet. We recommend the whole of it to the attentive perusal of all who are interested in the maintenance of "true religion and useful learning" in their time-honoured seats; and we tender to Mr. Hope our deeply grateful acknowledgments for the zeal and the firmness with which at this moment of general defection he has adhered to the cause of the Church of England. We are sure that every true churchman must feel gratitude for such instances of fidelity and devotion.

The ministry have, we perceive, been successful in resisting every attempt to give a religious character to this most obnoxious measure. They may doubtless carry whatever measures they please in parliament, but it remains to be seen whether their plan will prosper in Ireland, opposed as it will be by the Church and the Romish hierarchy equally. We sincerely trust that the opposition of the Church will be as "bitter and uncompromising" to this detestable measure as it has been to the system of national education; and that Sir Robert Peel, Sir James Graham, and Lord Stanley, may always have reason to remember that it has been so. We leave those gentlemen to the support of the unprincipled parasites whom they have gathered around them in parliament, and congratulate them on the support of such gentlemen as Mr. Bickham Escott, which will, of course, much more than counterbalance the loss of that very contemptible and insignificant party which only comprises the people of Great Britain, the loyalists of Ireland, and the Catholic Church of the United Kingdom. It will be soon seen whether they have reason to rely on the support of the Whigs and the Repealers. We apprehend that those parties will not be very anxious to prolong the tenure of office by Sir R. Peel and his immediate friends.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS,

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1. Rev. W. Bennett's Sermons on the Common Prayer. 2. Rev. I. Williams on our Lord's Resurrection. 3. Trench's Travels in France and Spain. 4. Recantation, a Tale. 5. Ruchat's Swiss Reformation, by Collinson. 6. The Archbishop of Upsal on the Church of Christ. 7. Bishop of Madras's Journal of a Visitation Tour. 8. Sermons by the Rev. C. H. Monsell. 9. Travels in Spain, &c. by X. Y. Z. 10. Feasts and Fasts, by Edw. Vansittart Neale, Esq. 11. Walton's Lives, new edition. 12. Lappenberg's England under the Anglo-Saxon Kings, by Thorpe. 13. Churchman's Theological Dictionary, by Eden. 14. Smith's Apostolical Christians. 15. Perceval's Lectures on St. Matthew. 16. Miscellaneous Publications.
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- 1.—*The Principles of the Book of Common Prayer considered. A series of Lecture Sermons. By the Rev. WILLIAM J. E. BENNETT, M.A., late Student of Christ Church, Oxford, and Incumbent of St. Paul's, Knightsbridge.* London: Cleaver.

WE must confess that we commenced the perusal of this work with some feeling of anxiety, lest, under existing circumstances, it might lend its share, however unintentionally, to the unhealthy excitement prevalent in the present day, in reference to ritual observances. The public mind has, for the last year, seemed so little inclined to listen to the voice of reason or of authority, and the strength of party-feeling has been so extreme, that we have felt little satisfaction or hope in perusing the various publications by which right-minded men have endeavoured from time to time to correct prevalent errors, or to enforce the regulations of the Church. When men are irritated they will not listen to reason; and every argument which may be addressed to them will only further excite their passions. In such cases, the best remedies are silence, patience, and abstinence from irritating topics in every way: this course will, after a time, enable the public to resume the exercise of its judgment, and will afford to truth and order a more favourable prospect. We certainly think, that this is, *in general*, the best course that can be adopted under

existing circumstances, and those who are called on for this forbearance, will derive from it all the advantage which arises from a subjugation of their own will; but we must say, that when men can so temperately, so charitably, and so *convincingly* plead the cause of the Church, of her discipline, her doctrine, her ritual, as Mr. Bennett has done in this really delightful volume, we can have no hesitation in admitting, that it is their *duty* to do so. But then it must be added, that it would be no very easy task to catch the distinguishing tone, and to equal the merits of Mr. Bennett's work. Its tone is peculiarly soothing, calm, grave, reflective, and devoid of appeals to the imagination or the feelings—in short, as free as well can be conceived of any thing which is calculated to excite. It is by no means *controversial*—evidently from no want of power; for Mr. Bennett has fully proved his possession of controversial powers of no ordinary cast in his series of discourses on “Romanism,” which is doubtless known to most of our readers; and this, we think, adds greatly to its value. It is also very practical, as much so indeed, as the nature of the subjects permit; and on the whole, it appears to possess a character of reason and moderation, combined with a firm and resolute adhesion to right principle and practice, which is peculiarly cheering and valuable at the present time. In saying this, we do not, of course, mean to express unqualified concurrence in all the positions of Mr. Bennett's work: we are speaking merely of its general tone and character.

The volume includes fourteen discourses, on the following subjects:—On Public Prayer as derived from Reason and Scripture; History of the Book of Common Prayer; The Service of the Church; The Daily Service; The Ceremonies of the Church; The Feasts of the Church; The Fasts of the Church; The Doctrine of Holy Places; The Christian Priesthood; Ornaments of Divine Service; Pastoral Character of the Church; The Choral Service; Analogy of the Prayer-Book with human life.

In treating of these interesting subjects, the preacher establishes his position not only by the authority of Holy Scripture, including a very wide range of scriptural precept and example, deduced from the Old as well as the New Testament, and brought to bear with great felicity on the subject matter; but by the concurrent sentiments and practice of the primitive Church, by the admissions and conduct of opponents amongst the sectarians, and by the general practice even of unbelievers and heathens in ancient and modern times. We are not aware that any of the facts or authorities adduced can be considered to indicate any profound research, or to be unfamiliar to students; but the clear

and interesting manner in which they are combined and reasoned upon, gives them very much of the effect of novelty.

The following passage from the Preface is so just and sensible that we cannot refrain from putting it before our readers :

“ Much it may be feared has been lost, many hearts unwon, many minds still unconvinced of the wisdom of our Church’s laws, merely because of the unwise forcing on the part of the clergy of that which is really right, on ground unprepared to receive it. The PRINCIPLES of the Prayer-Book, by long and judicious teaching, should be put before the people before one single point of observance as a matter of detail should be hazarded. It is to begin at the wrong end to force observances upon the ignorant, and then defend them as right *afterwards*. If there is to be a battle, it had better be one in which the ammunition and stores are prepared beforehand, than sought for in the emergency of the actual conflict. Thus, in the Book of Common Prayer, how many rushing forward to restore its ancient usages with hasty confidence, in opposition to their parishioners, have been forced to beat an ignominious retreat, and giving their reasons for what they have done, *after* they have done it, have conceded the victory to dissenters, schismatics, and newspapers. The PRINCIPLES of things, the first rudiments, matters of history, as such, require to be fully developed and explained to the people. The details will then quickly follow. Men, being reasonable beings, will, in most instances, fall in with the truth when they have an opportunity of knowing it.”—pp. vii. viii.

We must notice one inadvertency in Mr. Bennett’s work. We allude to his statement, that “ whatever was in use in the Church before the Reformation, *and not forbidden in our present Book* [of Common Prayer], remains a custom authorized and continued. Such, for instance, as turning to the east in prayer, specially in saying the creed. This was a custom of the Church before the Reformation ; and *not being forbidden*, remains a custom still.”—(Pref. p. xii.) Mr. Bennett does not really mean that we are at liberty to practise in the Church all the rites which were in use before the Reformation, and which are not *mentioned in any way* in our ritual ; such, for instance, as those described in pp. 155, 156, which Mr. Bennett observes, “ were considered by our Reformers to be objectionable, and which, therefore, our bishops and Church thought right either to set aside or modify.” His meaning is, doubtless, that customs which have been continued since the Reformation, without any censure from the authorities of the Church, and which are not inconsistent with the formularies of the Church, may be lawfully used. The passage, however, as it stands, does not seem quite to convey this meaning.

11.—*The Gospel Narrative of our Lord's Resurrection harmonized : with Reflections. By the Rev. ISAAC WILLIAMS, B.D., late Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford.* London: Rivingtons.

WE are sure that the numerous readers of Mr. Williams's previous works will need no recommendation from us to peruse the volume now before us; but for those who may possibly be unacquainted with the great value of his series of Harmonized Narratives of some of the principal events in the Gospel, we must offer a few remarks on the nature, character, and merits of the present work which forms a part of that series. It extends from the Resurrection inclusively to the Ascension; the first part being devoted to the whole narrative of the Resurrection, and of the incidents immediately connected with it; and the second to the "forty days." Each part is divided into sections, and each section into chapters, of which there are about eighty altogether, varying in length from three to seven or eight pages. We trust that we have derived more than mere gratification from the survey which we have been enabled to take of this narrative; every page breathes the purest and most solid devotion. The reverential, humble, and truly Christian spirit in which it is written cannot fail to edify and improve the reader, whatever may be his doctrinal views. We deem it admirably fitted for daily use in private devotional exercises; and we can safely recommend it to the clergy as comprising a perfect treasure of pious reflections on passages of Holy Scripture, with practical inferences therefrom; and a selection of the most judicious observations of the holy fathers. We have not observed any where the least allusion which is calculated to give pain to the faithful members of the Church of England; and we tender our most grateful thanks to Mr. Williams for this practical refutation of the notion, that her communion does not afford scope for the fullest exercise of devotional feelings.

III.—*Diary of Travels in France and Spain, &c. By the Rev. F. TRENCH.* London: Bentley.

THE author of this book appears to be, in his own sense, an active and conscientious man; but we deem it worthy of censure on grounds more important than any benefit that is likely to be gained from it. He, Mr. Trench, it appears from the preface, had various objects in his tour; health, a charitable desire to afford to his outlying countrymen the ministrations of religion as he might fall in with them, and chiefly as it appears to learn by personal investigation the state of religion in France. The first we hope he received, for the second we feel thankful, but with regard to the third, which alone materially affects our concern

with him as an author, we think that he not only sought much and found little, but likewise that he is unhappily a contributor, though doubtless an involuntary one, by what he has done, towards perpetuating that disunion of Christendom, which ought to be looked upon with so much shame and sorrow. It may be visionary to dream of its proximate cure, but it is most lamentable to find a priest of the Church of England throwing his pebble upon that mountain of difficulties which lie in the way.

Mr. Trench was received, as it appears from many places in his book, by the French clergy with a frankness and cordiality which he would, we are sure, allow was won for him beforehand (for it seems even to have preceded personal intercourse) by his character as an English clergyman. As such was the case, we grieve that he did not bring a more dispassionate, a more liberal feeling, a better knowledge of the principles of his own Church, and of the ordination services under which he acts as minister, to the opportunities both of acquiring knowledge and doing good which were liberally afforded him. But, instead of this, Mr. Trench views the clergy of the church of the country where he travelled as the enemies of our blessed Lord. Then Mr. Trench proceeds to acquaint us how he went to hear Mr. Gurney (who of course, as a Quaker, denies "one Catholic and Apostolic Church," and "one baptism for the remission of sins,") deliver a sermon, as Mr. T. does not scruple to call it, in a chapel built for religious worship by three zealous brothers, of the name of Courtois, at Toulouse, who, as he says, support the cause of vital religion with a zeal most honourable to them. We agree with him in ascribing honour to them: they are acting according to the light they have and the laws (we presume) of the religious community to which they belong: whereas their eulogist in his proceedings sets, we apprehend, his own obligations at nought, and alike wounds truth and charity. He seems again to identify himself wholesale with the Albigenses as martyrs of Protestantism: but we much doubt whether he has examined for himself the rather serious question if he be safe in this sponsorship.

As members of the English Church, we beg most earnestly to protest against the character which Mr. Trench gave of it both by his words and by his actions. And we have no right to entertain any surprise if, in case his work should become known in France, it should have the effect of closing against other and wiser travellers such opportunities of valuable knowledge as those which he very seriously abused. As respects the mere quantity of information bearing upon the great subject of the state of religion in France, and in the corner of Spain which Mr. Trench visited, it is meagre, and its quality is very superficial.

The latter epithet will apply to the book as a book of travels. Viewing it however in this aspect, we must allow, in justice to the author and to his publisher, that it is what is termed a readable work, and that it contains many particulars of routes in the South of France which are not well known among us. We cannot however accord our credit to his statement, that he saw in the Cirque de Gavarine a water-fall of 12,000 feet, or nearly two miles and a half, of sheer descent¹! And we would recommend him to speak less glibly of the "strange ideas of Dante." This is the tone of the old French notices of Shakespeare, and we are sorry to find it in any writer of our own².

IV.—*Recantation, or the Confessions of a Convert to Romanism: a Tale, written during a residence in Tuscany and the Papal States.* London: Rivingtons.

THIS book has a moral well suited, in our judgment, to the present times. It is a tale of fiction, but the incidents of life, manners, and religion in Italy, with which it abounds, and which constitute its principal value, purport to be substantially true, and indeed bear upon their surface very strong probabilities. The outline of the story is as follows. A beautiful English girl of a family connected with commerce, attracts great admiration in the society of Florence, and discards a clergyman of her own country for a Roman marquis. Difficulties are raised on the score of his religion, and to overcome them she adopts that of her lover, against the earnest but too timid warnings of her mother, whose character is touching and attractive. The marriage is followed by a short period of rapture: then comes the discovery that her husband is a conforming infidel; a constantly growing indifference on his part, and on hers the proof from experience that the society and habits of Italy ill replace those of our own land, and that the living and working system of the Church of Rome lamentably falsifies those qualified and softened representations of it which are presented to the view of persons under solicitation to become converts. For instance, she had been told that the intercession of the blessed Virgin and other saints is only sought "as St. Paul demands the prayers of his brethren."—(p. 61.) But presently she hears a preacher at Ancona declare that the worship of St. Mary is essential to salvation: or, in his own words, "Senza adorare la Madonna, non si può andare in alto." Those who are sceptical as to the truth of any such statement may do well to refer to a case in which one yet more appalling has been made by a writer publishing under his own name, and with particulars of day and place³. Would to

¹ Vol. ii. p. 183.

² P. 203.

³ Gladstone's Church Principles, p. 352. Murray, 1840.

God that facts of this kind may sink deep into the hearts of those among ourselves, who, seeing the Church of Rome in the golden distance of the ideal, draw a most unjust and ruinous comparison between that mere picture and the realities around them, chequered with those colours of good and evil which in this human state are not to be dissevered!

The heroine of the story falls into a consumption; but meeting again with the clergyman, her former lover, now happily married, she unbosoms herself to him, and is received again by him into the communion of the Church of England before her death. We cannot place the tale in the first rank as a work of fiction, nor commend it as conveying positive views of the Christian system in the exact form which might be desired; but its tone is serious and earnest; it is not tainted with bitterness in its statements, and it excites and sustains a lively interest throughout.

v.—*History of the Reformation in Switzerland.* By ABRAHAM RUCHAT. *Abridged from the French.* By the Rev. J. COLLINSON, M.A., *Rector of Boldon, &c.* London: Painter.

RUCHAT's work, though not generally known in this country, is almost the only source from which we can acquire authentic details of the Reformation in Switzerland. It was published rather more than a century ago at Geneva, and furnishes ample proof of the erudition, research, and fidelity of the author. The abridgment before us is in itself interesting; and we cannot doubt that it faithfully represents the facts and opinions of the original work; but we should certainly have preferred an accurate translation of the whole, and it is to be hoped that Mr. Collinson may be induced by the success of his present attempt to undertake such a translation. In the narrative of the proceedings of the Reformers which the little work before us presents, there is much with which every good Churchman must sympathize; yet undoubtedly various ecclesiastical irregularities which are mentioned, would seem to require from an English editor the expression of some opinion, either in the way of censure or of justification. The Swiss Reformation is on the whole far more perplexing to the churchman, than any other branch of that great movement.

vi.—*Review of the latest Events and present State of the Church of Christ.* By C. F. AF WINGARD, D.D., *Archbishop of Upsal and Primate of all Sweden.* Translated from the Swedish. London: Rivingtons.

THE appearance in an English dress of a work composed by an "Archbishop of Upsal and Primate of all Sweden," is in itself an event, and is one amongst the many evidences of an increasing

interest in the condition of the Church in all parts of the world. A few years since we apprehend that no one would have ventured to undertake the trouble and the risk of publishing a work like that before us. Probably very few of the English clergy were aware of the fact, that in Sweden a hierarchy and ministry in the usual gradations of archbishops, bishops, priests, deacons, adhering to the doctrines of the Reformation, has existed in regular succession to the present day. Mr. Perceval's interesting collection of documents connected with the Oxford theological movement (second edition) has recently brought before the public the question of the Swedish ordinations, the validity of which had been doubted by some learned members of the English Church; and we are of opinion that the very interesting communication of the Rev. G. W. Carlson, there inserted, satisfactorily disposes of the objections which had been raised to the Swedish succession. Under these circumstances, the existence of a Church like the Swedish, possessing the same episcopal polity as our own, and holding substantially the same doctrines in opposition to Rome, becomes a subject of the highest importance, in every point of view, to all churchmen; and the appearance of a work like that before us, which is written by the head of the Swedish Church, possesses an interest far beyond any which can attach to it as a well-written account of the present state of Christendom. This little work is not crowded with accounts of the endless petty sects which exist in all parts of the world, but more especially in America and England, and which are really unworthy of notice in every point of view; it is just what might have been expected from the head of a national Church—a survey of all the national Churches of Christendom, whether orthodox or heretical, with occasional allusions to the sects which surround them,—a survey evidently undertaken with a sincere desire to do justice to other Churches, and to improve and enlighten that Church of which the distinguished writer is the principal pastor.

It appears from the preface that the author, as Bishop of Gothenberg, held synods in 1823, 1830, and 1836, in which he delivered, in the form of Charges, his views on the state of the Church of Christ generally. The present work is in continuation, apparently, of these Charges. It “does not claim to be considered as a statistical record of the Church, nor as a history of the Church during a certain period. It merely sets forth some remarkable events of the Church, and sketches a few outlines of her image.” (p. vi.) The survey is in fact limited to ten years, concluding with 1842.

The materials of the part which relates to the Oriental Church have been derived to some extent from the work of Dr. Julius Wiggers (“*Kirchliche Statistik, oder Darstellung der gesamm-*”

ten Christlichen Kirche," &c., 1842). But the articles on the Greek Church, the Americans, the Nestorians, the bishopric of Jerusalem, the Jews and Samaritans, are chiefly the production of the author.

The information in reference to the Oriental Churches and communities is more detailed, and abounds more in statistical details than that which relates to the Western Churches, the latter being more generally known. We select the following passage from the Introduction as illustrative of the general style and spirit of the work :

"If history be the instructress of social and private life, the vicissitudes of the Church of Christ appear to be specially instructive. They exhibit the Universal plan of God in establishing his kingdom amongst men. For the Divine counsel approaches consummation through external hindrances, which rise and fall, and in the midst of principles which are opposed to, but will be overcome by truth. . . . Perfect as Christianity is, and stable unto the end of time, far from gaining, it cannot but lose by additions, even if they were not from evil, but from the most pious and righteous intentions. . . .

"The doctrine as founded in that Revelation to which no additions can ever be made, had from the first to contend with Judaism, which would not admit itself to have been rendered superfluous by the Gospel, and with Gentilism, which sought to imbue the same with its pretended wisdom. Whereas the doctrine is perpetual as to its contents, but definable as to form ; it has not, during the controversy with heresy, lost any thing of the former, but has solely gained as regards the latter. The process against the ascendancy sought for is not a mere evolution by which one part after another of the contents falls away, but like the cutting of a diamond into sides of greater and greater brilliancy."—pp. ix. x.

This is decisive as to the author's views on the subject of rationalism and Romanism. The Christian faith—the depositum once received—is to be preserved without addition or diminution, the only office of the Church being the more distinct definition, in opposition to heresy, of the doctrines which she received from Christ. It is very satisfactory to find from these pages that rationalism has obtained very few adherents in Sweden.

The publication of the rationalistic doctrines of Strauss in Sweden, in 1841, appears to have led to a very strong and general expression of Christian principle, in opposition to rationalism ; and has, we believe, been of infinite service to the cause of Christian faith in that country. Strauss himself, it seems, found it necessary to protest against this publication of his opinions, though, as the archbishop remarks, "it were by no means absurd to feel a temptation to suspect, that this vehement protest partly originated in the dissatisfaction that these ideas had been pre-

maturely exposed before an unprepared public, in a country which, to the astonishment of Protestant Germany, had still preserved so much of the true spirit of the evangelical Lutheran Church."—p. 271.

The whole work is arranged under the following heads:—THE EASTERN CHURCH, including under the title of *Orthodox National Churches*, the Greek, the Greco-Russian, and the United Greeks; under that of *Heretical Churches*, the Armenian, Coptic, and Abyssinian; under that of *Sects*, the Nestorians, Jacobites, and Monotholites. To these are subjoined notices on Jerusalem and its Protestant bishopric, the Jews, and the Samaritans. The ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH and its missions are then considered; and finally the PROTESTANT CHURCH in Great Britain, America, Switzerland, Holland, Germany, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. In an Appendix there is some curious information on Swedish sects, more especially on the subject of Readerism, the latter being comprised in a very well-written letter from the bishop of Skara to the primate.

We shall notice such points as seem to us deserving of attention as they occur. The regulation of the Church of Greece under the present Government is entrusted to a synod of five bishops, selected by the Crown, who have full control and authority in all matters of doctrine and discipline. The bishops appear to be upwards of thirty in number, though the population does not amount to 600,000. Does it not seem strange that England, with all its boasted wealth and religion, cannot afford more than one bishop where Greece appoints thirty or forty? The statistics supplied by this work present many details on this subject, which are deserving of attention as bearing on the question of the extension of the Episcopate amongst us. We appear to think it quite absurd to retain twenty-two bishoprics in Ireland, or even twelve, for a population of 800,000 or 1,000,000 of churchmen; and we seem to consider it very easy for one bishop to superintend a population of *two millions*. Let us look to the Oriental and the Roman Church, and see how these matters are managed amongst them. The Ionian Islands contain about 200,000 inhabitants, the *majority* only of whom belong to the Greek Church: there are *three* bishops and an archbishop. The Armenian Church, for a population of about 2,000,000, has forty archbishops, besides bishops. The Coptic Church numbers about 150,000 members, and is presided over by nine bishops and a patriarch. The United Chaldeans in Mesopotamia, in communion with Rome, have five or seven dioceses for about 2000 people. The Jacobites of Mesopotamia, Syria, and Persia, are governed by twenty-one bishops, the number of families being about 12,000 or 13,000. The Maronites, 200,000 in number, have eighteen bishops. It appears

from an account of the Roman Catholic missions in the Ionian Islands, Greece, Moldavia, Wallachia, and Turkey, that there are twenty bishops to a population of 387,000 people. In Asia, including Anatolia, Cyprus, Scio, Palestine, Syria, Armenia, Mesopotamia, Russian Asia, Thibet, India, China, there are seventy-seven bishops and 2,121,200 Roman Catholics. In Africa, five bishops and 188,000 people. In America, twenty-four bishops and 1,751,000 people. In Polynesia, three bishops and 46,500 people. When we contemplate the position of all these Churches, it certainly does seem most absurd to maintain that the Church of Ireland, with a population of nearly a million, ought to be deprived of any of her present means of episcopal superintendence. If it be alleged that the English dioceses are considerably larger than the Irish, the answer to such an argument is, that the English dioceses require to be multiplied to three or four times their present number. Even Sweden, with a population scarcely exceeding a fifth of that of England and Wales, has about half as many bishops. To appoint twenty-six bishops to such a country as England, is to deprive the episcopate of its full powers and efficiency.

We pass on to one or two of the subjects which are likely to be interesting to our readers, and shall commence with the author's remarks on the English bishopric of Jerusalem.

"Among the remarkable events of the present time is the establishment of a *Protestant bishopric in Jerusalem*. The time was particularly favourable; for the decline of the Turkish empire has rendered paramount the influence of the great European powers, which ought not to be used for secular purposes only, but also for the furtherance of Christianity. The Christian sects scattered throughout Palestine might ally themselves to a Protestant ecclesiastical institution of this sort, or else the said institution may become a mission, which will exercise its influence on those sects," &c.

"It was consequently worthy of the two greatest Protestant powers, England and Prussia, to unite in this noble undertaking. The present king of Prussia took the first step in the matter."—pp. 89, 90.

After stating the preliminary steps, the primate of Sweden refers to the opinion of the archbishop of Canterbury, that the accomplishment of the proposed plan would "lead the way to an essential unity of discipline, as well as of doctrine, between the Church of England and the *less perfectly constituted of the Protestant Churches of Europe*;" and also that it would prepare the way for the purification of some of the ancient Churches of the East from serious errors (those of the Nestorians and Jacobites), and of others from imperfections (the orthodox Greek Church). The remainder of the proceedings, concluding with the arrival of bishop Alexander at Jerusalem, in 1842, are then noticed.

“Every unprejudiced Christian wishes him (the bishop) well, and invokes the blessing of God on a work which brings one’s thoughts and feelings back to the ever-memorable place of those events on which the salvation of the world depends. However, both the institution itself, and the manner in which it was carried out, have not escaped reprehension. The *Puseyites* of England consider the Greek Church, venerable as she is in their opinion, to suffer encroachment on her territory; the Protestantism of England is not severe enough for them, and they tolerate still less that of the continent. In Germany the above-mentioned rather unexpected expression of the archbishop of Canterbury, concerning the rest of the Protestant Churches, did not give satisfaction. But when objecting to the balance, as regards the functions of the bishop, inclining to the English side, the Germans have neglected to bear in mind that nothing would have come of the proposal of the king of Prussia without this concession to England; for her influence with the Turkish government was absolutely necessary. Suspicious persons, however, who want to find wrong motives in every thing, will see, in the connexion of the king of Prussia with England in this undertaking, and his visit there on account of the baptism of the Prince of Wales, the forerunner of the remodelling of the Prussian Church in accordance with the English. Such an attempt was certainly made at the beginning of the last century, and was carried on with great ardour by Jablonsky, chaplain to king Frederick I., and was encouraged by the archbishop of York, Dr. Sharp; but it fell to the ground on the death of the king, in 1713. What a sovereign might then have effected, will now, no doubt, be impracticable; it is, at any rate, not likely.”—pp. 96—98.

We must extract the following curious passages, as illustrative of the interest with which unhappy discussions amongst ourselves are viewed in foreign countries:

“The English Episcopal Church has, indeed, in our time a less violent contention with Methodism, which on the contrary, in recent times, has been often her ally, when it has come to the point to defend Christianity against the encroachments of worldly elements. However, not only do the already existing Dissenters continue to fight against her, but others arise under new names. Nevertheless, the dissensions within her own pale are more dangerous to her stability. *Dr. E. B. Pusey*, Regius Professor of Hebrew at the University of Oxford, in conjunction with other members of the University, as Newman, Keble, &c., have more and more manifestly attempted to bring the English Church back to Romanism, by means of the publication of small pamphlets, called *Tracts for the Times*, the number of which amounts to ninety. The separation of the English Church from Rome was effected more in consequence of the rupture of Henry VIII. with the pope, than by a perfect spirit of reform. . . . It would exceed the limits of this work to give a complete narrative of this movement; the rather as books on this subject are overwhelming in number.”—p. 143.

The archbishop remarks that the point at issue turned on the "Holy Catholic Church" of the Apostles' Creed. The rationalism of Germany and Geneva have had the effect, he says, of leading men to look to the Roman Church as the repository of faith, only removing her additions. Hence *tradition* is introduced, and it is represented as *teaching* doctrine, while Scripture supplies the proof. The author is of opinion that these views of tradition tend to depreciate the holy Scriptures. He also objects to the principle of apostolical succession, as taught by those to whom he refers. "Thereby is not meant the limited one of episcopacy, but the whole priesthood, and power of the keys." The doctrines held on this point tend, in the opinion of the author, to raise the priesthood; and as the views on the subject of tradition are opposed to the articles, "the orthodox members of the Church have no alternative but to disapprove of the said doctrine."—p. 146.

The archbishop is resolved to maintain the Swedish Church from all innovations. "We consider," he says, "that the Swedish Church neither wants new doctrines imported over the Baltic, nor any forms foreign to us, brought hither upon the western waves. But we shall receive with gratitude that which will increase our knowledge of the truth, and animate our ardour for what is good."—p. 204.

On the whole, we have perused this work with very great interest: the style is animated and pleasing; and the eminent author is evidently a man of varied attainments, and of considerable natural endowments. The translation is in several places not very easy of comprehension.

VII.—*Journal of a Visitation Tour in 1843-4, through part of the Western portion of his Diocese.* By GEORGE TREVOR SPENCER, D.D., Lord Bishop of Madras. London: Rivingtons.

WE have no doubt that this journal will be read with great interest in India, from the local allusions with which it abounds. In this country its details on Indian scenery, manners, &c., are perhaps not very likely to be attractive. In a journal of an episcopal visitation, it seems to us that allusions of this nature, which are so frequent in the volume before us, might be advantageously dispensed with. The journal of Bishop Heber shared largely in this fault, for such we must consider it. The introduction of topics of so earthly a character, is, we think, calculated to lower and degrade, rather than to lend interest and animation. In perusing Heber's journal, and the work before us, we are rather impressed with the taste and attainments of the writers, combined with much of religious and social feeling, than edified by the simple exhibition of the character of an apostolical missionary.

We anticipate something of this character, whether unreasonably or no, in bishops whose lot has fallen amidst heathen lands; and we cannot help being in some degree disappointed, when we discover from their journals, that they are very much like other good and worthy clergymen amongst ourselves. We trust that we have not formed an exaggerated estimate of the sanctity and devotedness of a bishop; but we certainly do not read with pleasure any thing like a book of travels proceeding from an episcopal pen.

The little volume before us contains so much that is really good, that we regret the more the intermixture of such topics as we have alluded to; and the evil is rather increased by the familiar form which a *journal* naturally assumes. A bishop, we think, would do well to avoid the publication of his journals: however useful in themselves, there must be many details introduced in them which are not calculated for the public eye; and we think that the disadvantage of such publications is evident from some parts of the book under consideration.

The journal commences on September 30, 1843, and terminates in April 1844, bringing the bishop across India to Bombay, and thence by sea to his episcopal residence in the diocese of Madras. One of the most common and painful topics is the excessive heat of the weather, which seems to have severely tried the constitution of the bishop; and it is only wonderful how much was accomplished, considering his continual indisposition. We select a few passages as a specimen of the contents of the work.

“As there is no church at *Calicut*, we met together for Divine service in the *Cutchery*, a very good room for the purpose. I was quite surprised at the congregation I found there; there were about sixty; and all, except two East Indians, whom I suspect to be Romanists, knelt devoutly during the prayers; a sight as pleasing as, alas! it is rare. I preached on a portion of the gospel of the day (the 18th Sunday after Trinity), and all seemed very attentive to my words, which I humbly hope were the words of truth and soberness. I did not, however, feel as strong, or as much at home with my subject as usual; and my sermon was not in my opinion, and most probably in that of others, half so good as Mr. Morant's in the evening. We had nineteen communicants at the holy table, including the Rev. C. L. McLeod one of the candidates for priest's orders at my approaching ordination, and the two German missionaries of this place. These gentlemen are maintained here by the *Basle Society*, and bear the highest character for faithful zeal, tempered by love and soberness.”
—pp. 15, 16.

After the ordination we have the following:—

“I could write no more yesterday, for I was sadly knocked up, as a far stronger and less excitable person than myself would have been by

the labour of the day. . . . All, however, who were present seemed deeply interested and impressed by a ceremonial which doubtless was now witnessed by the greater number for the first time. The majority of those who profess membership with the Church of England are indeed very little acquainted with many of her rites, and sadly ignorant of her discipline. Let us, however, beware of dwelling upon rites and discipline too often, or too emphatically, lest in an anxiety for the casket we should seem to forget the jewel, and thus give something like a plausible pretence for the howl now so frequently, and in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred so unjustly and cruelly, raised against us, of a leaning to Romanism. I preached, with a little variation, *mutatis mutandis*, the sermon which unhappily gave such offence to the clergyman of —; the effect however was very different, as I have reason to think, at Cananore. My excellent young friend Mr. R., to whom I afterwards told the story, could not indeed conceive how any clergyman could be offended by such a sermon from his diocesan.”—pp. 32, 33.

The following presents a curious picture of the discomforts of an Indian visitation :

“The thermometer is 90° in my room, and will probably rise higher as the day advances. The country has ceased to be pretty; but the sea, which we scarcely ever lose sight of, is always magnificent, and a delight to look upon. What a strange picture would be presented to my friends in England of a bishop in India, could they see me now: my dress, loose and light trowsers, and a still looser and lighter Chinese jacket; one servant fanning me with a fan of the sweet-smelling cuscus-grass, and another throwing water on the floor all around me, to cool the air by evaporation; while a third has just brought me a glass of gentian, to keep up my strength.”—p. 43.

We confess that we do not relish the idea of a bishop in “jacket and trowsers.” Might not some more appropriate garb have been devised?

The churches in India seem generally to be wretched buildings, in every respect most discreditable to the Government.

“If any European except an Englishman were to arrive at one of our Indian cantonments, and were to seek there the house of God, he would never look for it in the heavy, hideous, mean, and most unecclesiastical heap of brick and pottery, which he would find upon enquiry to be the church of the station.”—p. 62.

The Romanists are greatly in advance of us in this respect. All their churches, according to the bishop, look what they are; and they actually refer to the miserable appearance of our churches as a proof of the irreligious character of our Government, “and this argument, doubtless, has its effect upon the natives.” The only churches deserving the name in India have been erected by subscription, and with the aid of the Church Societies. We are glad to observe (p. 156) that it is in contemplation to establish

at Tanjore and Tinnevely, Missionary Colleges for the education of the catechists in pastoral theology. These colleges are to be placed under the direction of the missionaries in those places. We have no doubt that this design, if properly carried out, will be of incalculable service to the Indian Church.

The Government in India had formerly, it appears, no scruple in supporting institutions for the inculcation of heathenism. The following remarks of the bishop are severe, but well merited :

“ On Tuesday I visited the Government school for all castes and classes, which appears to be a well-conducted establishment ; and I was also introduced by its very able and zealous principal into the Brahmin Hindoo College. This institution is entirely supported by the Government. *Formerly there was a class for Hindoo theology*, but this abomination has, I am thankful to say, been abolished. I trust that such an evangelical spirit will then be prevalent in India, that future generations will not believe that instructions in Hindoo theology could ever have been provided for Brahmins at the expense and under the sanction of a British Government.”—p. 262.

It is difficult to conceive any thing in the way of promotion of error of which a British Government is not capable. We are not merely doing our best to make men “ *esprits forts* in India,” but every where else. England is apparently on the high road to a rivalry with France and America as regards the question of religious instruction. We must now take our leave of this episcopal journal, which has impressed us with much respect for the abilities and the zeal of its excellent author.

VIII.—*The Temporal Punishment of Sin, and other Sermons.* By CHARLES HENRY MONSELL, M.A., &c. Oxford : Parker.

THE prevailing tendency of the present age to substitute a vague and generalized belief in Christianity, or an exclusive attachment to one of its doctrines, for that perfect renovation of the heart, and that purity and self-denial, which the gospel imperatively enjoins, is the subject, we believe, of all the sermons in this thoughtful and interesting volume. The picture which the author draws of the religionism of the day, and of its effects upon the lives and conduct of particular Christians, and of the Church, is deeply afflicting ; but, we fear, not overcharged. There is perhaps less of hopefulness in the contemplation of the evils and difficulties surrounding us, than we might have expected or desired. The author writes like one who has deeply felt the want of sympathy and support, and who perseveres in the path of duty, rather with a view of testifying against the evils of the times than with any expectation of prevailing in the contest. These discourses, which seem to have been, for the most part, delivered

by the author in his capacity of preacher in the cathedral of Limerick, are of a far higher stamp than the great mass of sermons which come before us. Calm, argumentative, and full of thought, they are entirely free from every thing which bears the character of what is called "pulpit oratory;" while they unfold such views of the sanctity, and severity, and simplicity of genuine religion, as are calculated to arouse the heart from its self-complacency, and to inspire a salutary anxiety, and a more earnest zeal for salvation.

Mr. Monsell has some remarks in his preface, on the recent conduct of some of the laity towards the ecclesiastical authorities in England and Ireland, in which we concur; though we are of opinion, that under existing circumstances, the best course is to permit the subject to pass out of notice as much as possible, and to await the cessation of angry and impatient feelings. But we have had pleasure in perusing the following expressions of good-will and Christian kindness towards persons who differ from the author in some of their religious views. We are glad to think that such language is not undeserved, and that the large body of Irish clergy to whom it refers are sincere and devoted ministers of religion, and cordially attached to the Church of which they are pastors:

"I would here guard myself against being supposed, either in what I have now said, or in any other portion of this volume, to remark upon the holy, earnest-minded men who are identified in opinion with the party referred to, but who are as far from them in motive and conduct as the east is from the west. These men, and they are the majority of the clergy in this country, I almost feel it presumptuous to speak of at all. Their holiness of heart and life; their self-denial in the cause of religion; their devotion to their fellow-creatures; their constant ascription of glory to God, and good-will to man; form a pattern, in its way, of true religion, which we should all do well to imitate. I never speak of such men without respect, and I desire always so to speak of them. In my opinion, those who are really disrespectful to them are the people who profess to have their sanction for the bitterness, clamour, and evil speaking, which now abound. The appearance even of sanctioning such conduct is very inconsistent with their character for honesty and gentleness, and should, I think, be disclaimed by them as such."—pp. 8, 9.

Such are the men whom liberals are anxious to extinguish with a view to the pacification of Ireland, and who are denounced by others as Puritans and enemies of the Church. We could wish that the good sense and the Christian feeling of Mr. Monsell were shared by all who hold the same religious views with himself.

The sermons are on the following subjects:—The Temporal Punishment of Sin; The Danger of Deferring Repentance; The

Christian's Life a Life of Faith; The Christian's Life a Growth in Grace; Christian Retirement; God's Mercies and Man's Ingratitude; Lukewarmness in Religion; The Awfulness of Sudden Death; Importance of Often Receiving the Holy Eucharist; Danger of Inattention to any Means of Grace; Dangers and Hopes of the Times, &c.

The Temporal Punishment of Sin, is the subject of three sermons at the beginning of the volume. We do not think that these sermons are amongst the best which it contains; but they are very thoughtful and ingenious, as well as practical. The object is to prove that temporal evils always result from sin by God's providence and appointment; and this is shown by a reference to experience, and to the examples of temporal penalties under the Old Testament. In reply to the objection that gross sinners are often apparently prosperous and happy, we have the following remarks:

"You may observe, in the first place, that the objection is simply a begging of the whole question, inasmuch as it takes it for granted, that the wicked who do not appear to suffer from the penal consequences of their sins do not in reality do so. This then I think is a great deal more than experience and observation warrant us in supposing, for surely there can be no doubt that the mirthful laugh of the wicked man often hides an aching heart, and is merely put on as a part of the gay exterior with which he deceives his fellow-creatures. . . . But then pass on from this view of the subject, and even grant that the unhappy victim of sin and vanity has at last succeeded in hardening his heart into a state of insensibility, so that he is not capable of feeling any remorse or sorrow because of sin. . . . Is he never disappointed, because he cannot sin oftener and more deeply? Is he at no time afflicted with sickness or disease of any kind? Do not his sins occasionally at least find him out in some of these ways."—pp. 22, 23.

The last sermon "on the dangers and hopes of the times," dwells with great force and power on the evils resulting from Calvinistic and Antinomian teaching. On the whole, we have been much gratified by all that we have seen of this volume of sermons.

IX.—*Spain, Tangier, &c., visited in 1840 and 1841. By X. Y. Z. London: Samuel Clarke.*

THE editor of this volume has taken the somewhat unusual step of publishing it without the knowledge of the author, "who has been kept ignorant of the editor's intention to publish." We cannot help suspecting also that the editor has taken the further liberty of inserting sundry pages on the claims of the Irish Romanists, and the propriety of endowing their clergy; Mr. Pitt's

plan, &c.; which sound to us very much as if they had been written in the spring of 1845; and which are not very likely to have occurred to a traveller in Spain in 1840. Altogether this seems to us rather an odd transaction, and we think that the editor has shown some discretion in concealing his own name as well as that of the author.

The tour commences with an excursion in the Pyrenees, which is rather well told. We extract the following description of the view from the Pic du Midi de Bigorre, at an elevation of 10,000 feet above the level of the sea :

"We left Luz at ten o'clock at night, and made the ascent by moon-light, in order to be on the summit at sunrise. It would be idle to attempt a description of all the glorious things,—of earth, of air, of sky, which strike the eye from this spot, at this hour. The rugged crumbling tops immediately around; the distant and grand central chain, with its sheets of snow, whitening, as age does among men, their more ancient, hoary heads; the immense expanse of plain on the opposite side, 8000 feet below you, fading away into distance; the glowing belt of crimson on the horizon; then, the splendid sun himself, bursting upon the world, as he can be seen to do only from a height like this; the white clouds rolling themselves into a fleecy sea under your feet, leaving glimpses of the chequered shining fields far, far beneath; the successive lighting up of the surrounding mountain-tops, till all at last reposes and basks in the glorious sunshine:—it is impossible for words to convey the faintest idea of the beauty and grandeur of such a scene."—pp. 8, 9.

We are next landed in Madrid, whence our author diverges into an account of his travels to that renowned capital, including a description of the Spanish diligence with its guard and muleteer, the latter individual being in charge of five brace of mules attached to the roomy vehicle. As these animals are without reins, it is lucky that the road runs through plains all the way to Madrid. The country is not very pleasing: "trees there are none—not a twig:" there is a general *prejudice* against them.

The want of population is extraordinary; "we often went twenty miles without meeting one living or moving thing! Vehicles of any kind are still rarer; I might almost say, non-existent." The accommodation at the Spanish posada or inn is far from satisfactory, if we may judge from the account of its sleeping apparatus.

"Mattress indeed I am wrong to call it: it is a *sack*, containing a due number of *lumps* of wool, which you may commodiously arrange through a slit in the upper surface, *left for the purpose*; and on which,

if you can sleep on a bag of potatoes, you may get as much of a night's rest as the battalions of *voltigeurs* in attendance upon your couch will permit. After a night spent as mine was at Fresnillo, under the discipline of these same light troops, I could readily understand how the united efforts of the myriads of Lilliputians would succeed in chaining great Gulliver on his back; though, indeed, the united efforts of my *voltigeurs* had a very opposite, but an equally powerful effect upon me; their reiterated and persevering attacks, first on one spot, then on another, exciting me to the performance of a succession of gymnastic exercises, such as I never went through before, and hope never to execute again."—pp. 30, 31.

The description of Madrid is spirited and effective. The author digresses to the subject of Monasticism, which he considers to be gone, probably for ever, in Spain.

"From all I have learned here, I fear that the idea we had formed in England of the immoral lives of the monks in this country (the very antipodes of the monks in Ireland), so far from being exaggerated, fell very far short of the mark. I wish very sincerely it were not so; and I should be sorry to pain any of my many and dear Catholic friends by statements which they may wish untrue, perhaps more earnestly than I do; but if I were speaking to them even, instead of writing to you, I could not consent to suppress or garble the truth. I came here strongly impressed with the belief that, through the reports of (as I fancied) prejudiced relators, we were in the habit of heaping much undeserved censure on the shoulders of these men: and (loving truth and justice better than any preconceived opinion) I determined to let no prejudice on my part which might be opposed to their institution interfere with my acknowledgment, if truth should allow it, of their individual inculpability. When, however, I began to hear Spaniards speak on the subject, I found that my spirit of indulgence was quite misplaced. The description they give of the evil these regulars were in the country, is far more highly coloured than any I have heard in heretic lands; and it is given alike by true and sincere Catholics as by those who are such merely in name. There does not appear to be even an attempt at denial, either of the undisguised irregularities of vast numbers of the monks; their frequent misguidance and corruption of the weaker half of their flocks; their unendurable interference in private families, too often producing in them discord and ill-blood; or of the enormous expense they were to the country, and of their entire uselessness—unless the feeding, and *therefore* the calling into existence, of hosts of lazy, vicious beggars (for such they are looked upon here) be considered a service. The Spaniards seem, one and all, as far as I have been able to judge (the secular clergy themselves by no means excepted), to hate the very name of monk; and the bitterness with which almost all persons speak above all of the meddling in the domestic circle, and the destruction of innocence and unity there, so frequently caused by the regulars, speaks volumes in proof of the pernicious influence they exercised."—pp. 47—49.

It appears that there are complaints also in Spain of the irregular lives of many of the secular clergy, but not in the same degree. The descriptions of Spanish society and manners throughout this volume are very graphic and amusing. The author gives some pleasant details of his adventures on the road to Seville, in the course of which he has the satisfaction of sticking in the mud on one occasion for nine hours; and on another, of being left in the lurch by his whole team of mules to enjoy a chorus of frogs "croaking as if King Log had come amongst them again." We cannot follow our author any further in his tour to Cordova, Seville, with its splendid cathedral, which he describes with enthusiasm, Tangier, Granada, Gibraltar, &c.; but we can assure the reader that he will derive considerable amusement from the perusal of the whole work.

- x.—*Feasts and Fasts. An Essay on the rise, progress, and present State of the Laws relating to Sundays, and other Holidays, &c.* By EDWARD VANSITTART NEALE, Esq., of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister at Law. London: Murray.

A VERY carefully drawn up digest of the laws and canons bearing on the observance of holidays and Sundays by the Church and the courts of law. A great body of very curious and valuable information is brought together by Mr. Neale on this subject. We sincerely rejoice to see so much industry and care bestowed on a question of considerable importance. The collection of all the enactments of the Christian Emperors and ancient Councils for the observance of Sunday is very useful, and will, we doubt not, be appealed to in any future discussions which may take place in reference to that subject.

- xi.—*The Lives of Dr. Donne, &c.* By IZAAK WALTON. London: Washbourne.

THIS edition of Walton's Lives is very elegantly printed, and embellished with several engravings and numerous wood-cuts exceedingly well executed. We think the decorations of the page of fac-similes of handwritings in very bad taste, and recommend its exclusion from the volume.

- xii.—*A History of England under the Anglo-Saxon Kings, translated from the German of Lappenberg.* By BENJAMIN THORPE, F.S.A. In 2 vols. 8vo. London: Murray.

THIS work appears to us, from what we have seen of it, to be amongst the most elaborate and carefully-written histories of the Anglo-Saxons that it has been our lot to meet with. Mr. Thorpe,

whose lore as an Anglo-Saxon scholar is so well known, has made considerable additions and improvements of his own in the present translation, and has also received from the author much additional matter. It would seem that one of the peculiar advantages enjoyed by Dr. Lappenberg in the composition of this work, is his familiarity with old Teutonic literature, which has enabled him to throw light on the German portion of Anglo-Saxon history. There is a valuable literary introduction, in which all the authorities and sources for the early English history, including the Welsh and Irish authorities, are elaborately discussed; together with criticisms on the modern histories of England. This work demands a much more lengthened examination than we can at present afford to it; but we can safely recommend it to the notice and attention of all who are interested in the Anglo-Saxon history.

XIII.—*The Churchman's Theological Dictionary. By the Rev. ROBERT EDEN, M.A., &c. London: Parker.*

THIS work appears from the preface to be intended as a kind of rival to Dr. Hook's Theological Dictionary. We cannot recommend a work which disputes the necessity of episcopal ordination to a true apostolical succession in the ministry. There is much in its pages which savours of an unsound and latitudinarian theology, and we therefore deem it unfit for the use of Churchmen.

XIV.—*The Apostolical Christians, or Catholic Church of Germany, &c. Edited by HENRY SMITH, Esq. With a recommendatory Preface, by the Rev. W. GOODE. London: Wertheim.*

THIS little volume is, we think, very well deserving of perusal by all who are interested in the present striking movement in the Roman Catholic Church in Germany. Mr. Goode and the author of the work very justly observe, that the movement so far has been chiefly negative in its character, and that as yet the doctrines of Christianity and of the Reformation have not been much developed. It is sufficiently evident that the movement is not insignificant; and that it is by no means deficient in earnestness and zeal. We apprehend that Ronge, who seems to be the principal leader, is actuated quite as much by a desire for *liberty* of thought and action, as by zeal for the apostolic truth. Many of his positions cannot be approved; and we greatly regret to observe that he has taken upon himself to ordain clergy for the new community. Application it seems had been made to the Jansenist archbishop of Utrecht for ordination, but we fear that

it had not been made with the concurrence of Ronge, who seems to detest the *hierarchy* quite as much as the doctrines of Rome. In the constitution of the new "Church," no provision whatever is made for any order superior to the presbytery. Under these circumstances we cannot look with any satisfaction at what is going on in Germany; and we greatly doubt whether the real interests of Christianity will be promoted by this movement.

xv.—*Plain Lectures on the Gospel according to St. Matthew.* By the Hon. and Rev. C. G. PERCEVAL. London: Capes.

THESE Lectures are intended for family reading, and are therefore very plain, simple, and practical. We have been pleased with what we have seen of them; but we have not observed any thing that calls for particular remark.

xvi.—MISCELLANEOUS PUBLICATIONS.

MR. BURNS' publications continue to supply amusement and instruction for the young,—more, perhaps, of the former than of the latter. The beautiful tale of "Thiodolf the Iclander," from the German of La Motte Fouqué; the wild and fanciful but striking "Tales from the Phantasmus of Tieck;" and the "Tales from the Eastern Land," a second series of Eastern Romance, are all admirable in their way. "The Fireside Library," too, is increasing in interest. The volumes we have lately seen are, "Prasca Loupoloff," from the French; "Wallenstein, by Caroline Pichler;" "Popular Tales," from Wilhelm Hauf, and "Northern Minstrelsy," comprising a selection of the national ballads and other poetry of Scotland.

We must now turn to more serious matters. We need not say with what deep interest we have perused Archdeacon Hale's excellent Charge to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of London (Rivingtons). This justly respected dignitary has added largely to his claims on the confidence and esteem of Churchmen, by thus firmly and intrepidly standing forth in defence of their principles at a moment of general apathy and timidity. It is most satisfactory to observe that so good an example has been followed by the clergy of the diocese of London, who have (to the number of upwards of 300) addressed the Lord Primate in protest against the Maynooth endowment. The number of signatures would have been greater, had all the clergy been made aware of the intention of transmitting such a memorial, which was not the case.

To Archdeacon Wilberforce, now Dean of Westminster, the Church is indebted for a most important suggestion in reference

to Church extension in Southwark, Lambeth, and Bermondsey, made in his Charge (Burns), delivered in April. We rejoice to observe that the clergy of Southwark, &c. have responded to this call; and that measures are taking to provide for the spiritual wants of 315,000 people, who are ministered to by only forty-five clergy! or one for 7000! *The deficiency of Church accommodation, in order to provide for one-third of the population, is 61,160!* The Archbishop of Canterbury has headed the subscription with 1000*l.*, and the Bishop of Winchester with 500*l.*

The Rev. Thomas W. Marshall, author of an excellent work on "The Episcopal Polity of the Holy Catholic Church," which we noticed in a former number, has published (Burns) "Remarks on a recently published Letter of the Rev. H. Walter" to his Diocesan the Bishop of Salisbury. Mr. Marshall's castigation of that unfortunate gentleman's strange production is very successful; but we should have thought it quite needless to take any notice of his violent denunciations of any and every one who comes in his way.

"A Sermon preached at the consecration of St. Andrew's Church, Bristol," by the Rev. J. H. Woodward, Incumbent of St. James's, Bristol, (Duncan and Malcolm,) has afforded us great satisfaction from its combination of Catholic views, with a firm attachment to the Church of England, and a clear insight into the evils of Romanism.

Mr. Eastlake has addressed a Letter to Sir Robert Peel, entitled "The National Gallery: Observations on the unfitness of the present building for its purpose" (Clowes and Son). Mr. Eastlake's position as keeper of the National Gallery, and his professional abilities, must give very great weight to the expression of his opinions on such a subject. We recommend his pamphlet to the particular attention of all who are interested in the promotion of the Fine Arts.

We have perused several numbers of a monthly periodical, entitled "The British Churchman," (Smith, Elder, and Co.) with much pleasure. The principles of this publication seem to be perfectly sound and good.

Foreign and Colonial Intelligence.

FRANCE.—*Romish Liberty of Conscience*.—The *mala fides* which attaches to the entire working of the Romish system has rarely been displayed in a more glaring manner than it is at this moment by the French Episcopate. It will be remembered that for the last two years France has been ringing with the clamours of the Romish clergy for liberty of thought, liberty of conscience, liberty of teaching. The charter was appealed to, as guaranteeing to every French citizen the right to hold or to reject whatever appeared to him true or untrue; and upon the ground of this universal liberty it was contended, (not perhaps altogether unjustly,) that the interference of the State with the education of the people, by means of the University *régime*, was an intolerable monopoly. Again, more recently, when the cardinal archbishop of Lyons was visited with that very abortive proceeding, an *appel comme d'abus*, for his condemnation of M. Dupin's book, the whole episcopate and the Romish press were in arms against what they designated as a monstrous encroachment upon the freedom of opinion guaranteed by the charter. But all these maxims of respect for conscientious convictions, all these expressions of jealousy for the liberty of conscience as the birthright of every Frenchman, have suddenly and altogether been lost sight of by the Romish bishops in the conflict in which they are engaged with the inferior clergy, or rather with that daily increasing portion of them who have the courage to assert the just rights of the parochial clergy against the despotic power wielded over them by the French bishops. Touching the principal points at issue in this conflict, we refer our readers to an article in a former number of our Review¹, and especially to the extracts there given from the work of the *frères Allignol*. In support of the doctrines advocated by them, a weekly journal was established at Paris at the commencement of the year 1844, under the title "*Le Bien Social*," of which the *Abbé Clavel*, canon of the cathedral of Sens, was the editor. Its columns were open not only to discussions on questions of church government and ecclesiastical discipline, to which the *frères Allignol* were frequent contributors, but to complaints of any kind against the diocesan administrations, which were often couched in strong and offensive terms, and not unfrequently garnished with severe comments from the pen of the editor. This unsparing exposure of transactions which have hitherto, whether just or unjust, passed unquestioned under cover of the secrecy with which the proceed-

¹ See No. IV. Art. 2.

ings of the Romish hierarchy are surrounded, proved exceedingly inconvenient not only to the bishops, but to their vicars-general, whose abuse of power was not unfrequently the subject of complaint; and the journal which thus dragged the secrets of the prison-house before the bar of public opinion, was naturally looked upon as an obnoxious publication. At last a circumstance occurred which afforded an opportunity for giving a check to the authors of this dangerous movement. The clergy of the diocese of Viviers, to which the *frères Allignol* belong, and in which, though unemployed, they continue to reside, were assembled in September last for their *retraite ecclésiastique*, when several copies of the *Bien Social*, which contained severe strictures upon the diocesan government, were distributed among them. As it was intimated in the journal that many of the clergy agreed in the opinions which it advocated, it was thought right to meet this statement by a direct contradiction; and with this view one of the leading priests of the diocese addressed the bishop in the name of all the clergy present, assuring him that they had no sympathy with the attacks made upon his character and his administration. The clergy, says the *Ami de la Religion*, assented with one voice to this address, and many even shed tears. Be this as it may, it was certainly, considering the state of terror in which the lower clergy in France are kept, not at all wonderful that none should rise to disown the sentiments of him who had made himself the mouth-piece of the entire body. The whole scene, therefore, came off exceedingly well; the bishop having replied in tones of great prudence and moderation, deploring the error of those who appealed from the judgment of the bishops "to popular opinion, which," he observed, "God had not charged with the government of the Church." Reports of this occurrence having found their way into the papers, and the *Ami de la Religion* in particular having made it the text of repeated attacks upon what was ignominiously termed the "Presbyterian school," the *frères Allignol* published a defence and apology, in which they strongly protested their attachmēt to the Episcopate as "the only authority which remains untouched and unquestioned." A paper war ensued between the *Ami de la Religion*, the organ of the bishops, and the *Bien Social*, in which the *Gazette de France* and the *Liberté comme en Belgique* (the Marquis of Regnon's paper) occasionally took part with the latter, and in the course of which judicial proceedings were adopted by the *Bien Social* against its opponent. Whilst these were pending, the bishop of Viviers, one of whose vicars-general was involved in the controversy, came to the rescue by a pastoral letter, given on the feast of the Epiphany, in which he characterises the advocates of the rights of the inferior clergy as "*inobedientes, vaniloqui, seductores, quos oportet redargui*," (Tit. i. 10, 11,) charges them with the design of overthrowing all episcopal authority, classes them with the Jansenists and the authors of the civil constitution of the clergy, and warns his clergy against what he calls the dangerous tendencies of this

party. The pastoral letter is accompanied by an appendix, entitled "Remarks on Modern Presbyterianism," in which certain propositions from the work of *Messrs. Allignol* are formally condemned as heretical. The weight of this pastoral was increased by the expressed adhesion to it of several archbishops and bishops; and the result was, that while the *Bien Social* continued the controversy, subjecting the letter of the bishop of Viviers to a severe criticism, the *frères Allignol* made and published a formal submission to the episcopal sentence pronounced against them, in which they disown and recant the several doctrines condemned by the bishop. This act of submission, which has all the appearance of being voluntary, was, if the statements of the *Bien Social* be correct, extracted by the fear of losing a paltry pension of 500 francs which the two brothers enjoyed, and which, it is said, the bishop of Viviers made interest with the Government to have withdrawn. Whatever might be the motive of the *frères Allignol*, who appear to live in their retirement at Rouvière, near Le Thiel, in the diocese of Viviers, in a state of great poverty, maintaining themselves in their old age by manual labour, they ceased from this time to contribute to the columns of the *Bien Social*. The *Abbé Clavel*, however, not only continued the controversy in the most vigorous style, but prosecuted schemes for organising a powerful party. Among these was the foundation of a society, under the title "*Association Meusienne pour le rappel des articles organiques*," whose professed object it is to procure the repeal of the organic articles which were published by Napoleon on his own authority, along with the Concordate, and by which the present position of the parochial clergy in France is regulated. Another scheme was the formation of a joint-stock company, whose property the *Bien Social* should become, with a view to insure to that journal more extensive and more permanent support. While the *Abbé Clavel* and his paper were thus becoming daily more formidable, the archbishop of Paris, between whom and the abbé sundry old grievances seem

² The measures which this "Repeal Association" announced, and the turn which it took in its infancy, could not but alarm the bishops. The *Bien Social* of April 19, contains a declaration signed by the vice-president, which treats of the following points:—1. The foundation, by the aid of liberal contributions from the laity, of an insurance fund, is announced, for the purpose of indemnifying priests unjustly suspended by their bishops against the consequent loss of their income, enabling any priest by a small annual sum to secure for himself, in case he should be made a victim, an annuity of 800 francs. 2. Certain statutes lately made by some members of the Episcopate on the subject of confession are pronounced invalid, as being contrary to the ancient canons; and it is stated that every uncanonical act or judgment of the bishops, shall henceforth be impeached at the bar of public opinion. 3. All priests who may be appointed to parishes where former pastors have been arbitrarily and uncanonically removed, are invited to consider themselves only in the light of temporary administrators; with the significant remark that "*time which is pregnant with events, will point out to them their future course.*" 4. Considering that, according to St. Thomas Aquinas, resistance against arbitrary power is not rebellion, the association declares that it will hereafter by all legal means defend the unacknowledged rights of the priesthood.

to have existed, and whose administration was repeatedly animadverted upon in terms of great severity³, suddenly struck a blow which appears to have taken his opponent wholly by surprise. The *Ami de la Religion* of the 3rd of June, published a *mandement*, dated May 26, in which, after reciting a number of passages extracted from the *Bien Social*, pointing out a variety of alleged mis-statements, and enumerating twenty-one erroneous propositions advocated in its columns, the archbishop pronounces the following anathema against the paper, its editor, its contributors, and even its readers:—

“We declare the chief editor⁴ of the said journal deprived of all spiritual powers in the diocese of Paris.

“We declare every ecclesiastic in holy orders, who, having ostensibly taken part in the editing of the said journal, shall fail, within a fortnight of the promulgation of this our mandate, publicly to retract its doctrines censured herewith, its injurious attacks, and calumnious statements, *ipso facto*, suspended.

“We declare every ecclesiastic in holy orders, who, after the promulgation of this our mandate, shall ostensibly or secretly take part in the editing of the said journal, or in any way whatever give countenance to its publication or diffusion, *ipso facto*, suspended.”

Upon the first appearance of this document, the *Abbé Clavel*, while giving in to the proprietors of the *Bien Social* his resignation of the editorship, defended himself in a respectful but resolute tone against what he freely designated as the archbishop's injustice and excess of power, announced a volume under the title, “The canonical and national liberties of the Church in France, or refutation of the *mandement* of the archbishop of Paris, condemning a journal entitled *Le Bien Social*,” to appear in a fortnight; and moreover he declared, that he should appeal to the pope against the archbishop's judgment. But a week's reflection brought the abbé to a different mind. The *Bien Social* of June 14th declares itself defunct, with a promise from the proprietors to indemnify the subscribers by another journal of a more general, political and literary, character: and gives a letter from the *Abbé Clavel*, containing the most entire submission to the archbishop's sentence. “I desire it to be known,” he says, “that my appeal to our holy father Pope Gregory XVI. is from this day withdrawn; that I SUBMIT ENTIRELY, in all humility, without reservation, of my own will, free accord and conviction, to the doctrinal decisions contained in the

³ Among other charges against the archbishop, which from time to time have appeared in the paper, was that of having made a contract with certain booksellers of Paris, for a new privileged edition of the different liturgical books in use in the diocese of Paris, which is denounced as a mere scheme for enriching the archbishop; the profit derived by him from the publication of the new catechism alone, being estimated at 20,000 francs per annum.

⁴ To this paragraph of the sentence a note is appended, which casts a slur on the character of the *Abbé Clavel*, and evidently breathes a spirit of personal animosity. This fact has been generally remarked upon, and the *Abbé Clavel* himself intimates that there is an old score of ill-will between him and the archbishop, aggravated of course by the recent attacks upon the latter contained in the *Bien Social*.

mandate of *Monseigneur* the archbishop of Paris, whether concerning doctrines, morals, or discipline." After a good deal more to the same purpose, he adds, "From the sentiments I have now expressed, it will be easily understood that my book 'on the canonical liberties of the Church in France,' which is to appear shortly, will contain respectful explanations touching the ancient and modern discipline, rather than a refutation of the mandate of *Monseigneur* the archbishop of Paris." Thus by one stroke of his pen has Dionysius Affre successfully accomplished a *coup d'état*, which if Louis Philippe with all his bayonets had attempted, it would have cost him his crown. Such is the despotic power of the Romish Church, even in a country in which, and that with some show of reason, she complains of being held in chains!

Relic Worship at Paris.—An exhibition of relics took place at the cathedral of Nôtre Dame during Lent, of which the following *programme* was published in a *mandement* of the archbishop of Paris.

"1. The glorious relics of the Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, to wit, *the piece of the true cross, the holy crown of thorns, and the holy nails*, will be exposed to the worship of the faithful during the first four days of Holy Week, and on Good Friday, at the entrance of the choir of the Metropolitan Church.

"2. On Palm Sunday, at the close of the Chapter Office and High Mass, which will commence at nine o'clock precisely, we shall solemnly transport these holy relics from the great sacristy to the altar which is destined to receive them; and before depositing them there, we shall present them to the chapter and clergy to be worshipped. During the procession and adoration of the Cross the choir will chant the hymn *Vexilla Regis prodeunt*. The sound of the great bell will announce this ceremony.

"3. On Holy Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Friday, the exhibition will commence at seven in the morning, and will terminate in the evening after the close of the *retraite* for men.

"4. On Good Friday, after the *Stabat*, which closes the *retraite* for men, we shall give the blessing with the holy relics, and shall carry them in solemn procession to the place where they are to be kept.

"5. We grant to the faithful who shall attend on this procession, and to those who, during this holy week, shall come to worship the relics, and shall recite five *Pater Nosters* and five *Ave Marias*, with an act of contrition, forty days' indulgence for each time.

"6. For the future the glorious relic of the true Cross of our Lord will be exposed on the 3rd of May, being the feast of the invention of the holy Cross; the 14th of September, being the feast of its exaltation; and the 1st Sunday in August, being the feast of its susception.

"The holy crown of thorns will be exposed on the feast of its susception, according to the ancient custom of the Metropolitan Church."

Such is Popery in the capital of France in the year 1845!!

GERMANY.—*Provincial Synods in Prussia.*—The re-organization of the Evangelic Church in the Prussian dominions is making steady progress. Provincial Synods have been held, in the course of last autumn, in all the provinces of the kingdom. In Westphalia⁵ and Rhenish Prussia these Synods have been in existence for four years; but in the eastern provinces they were for the first time called into existence by a ministerial rescript of the 21st of September last. They are held under the presidency of the General Superintendent of the province, and consist of the superintendents of the different districts of the province, the principal army chaplain, a member of the theological faculty of one of the universities, and representatives of the clergy of the different districts chosen by themselves⁶. The subjects pointed out by the Minister of Spiritual Affairs for their immediate consideration, were: 1. An increased supply of ministers, to meet the wants of the population; 2. An improved system of training and employing candidates for the ministry; 3. Diminution of the official labours of the superintendents, especially in reference to mere routine business connected with the externals of the Church; 4. The formation of a fund for pensioning infirm and superannuated clergymen; 5. Employment of the laity in parochial work, in aid of the clergy; 6. The care of the poor, the sick, and the needy; 7. The means of promoting the better observance of the Sunday and of Holy-days; 8. The establishment of Bible classes and week-day services. For this purpose an abstract of the proceedings of the district Synods held in the preceding year throughout the kingdom, was officially communicated to the provincial Synods, in order that the latter might examine the different propositions made in those smaller assemblies, and thereby prepare the way for the adoption of general measures of improvement. A report of the deliberations had in the provincial synods is to be published by authority; meanwhile it is satisfactory to know, that the experiment, which on account of the prevalence of rationalistic tendencies in certain localities, was considered by some parties a questionable one, has thus far been successful.

A most important question, which the ministerial rescript singularly

⁵ The provincial Synod of Westphalia, which was assembled for the fourth time in October last, at the small town of Soest, sent forth a pastoral letter addressed to "all the brethren of the evangelic faith in Westphalia." In this letter the Synod speaks in terms of satisfaction of "the late revival of a zealous Christian and Church life in faith and love;" warns against the machinations of Romanism, and the insidious attacks of infidelity; and exhorts the people to diligence and perseverance in every good word and work, and especially to an active support of Bible societies, and missionary and temperance associations.

⁶ There is a great inequality in the numerical strength of the different synods. Thus, for instance, the Synod of the province of Posen consisted of 37 members; viz., the General Superintendent of the province, a professor of theology from the university of Breslau, 17 superintendents, 17 representatives of the clergy from their districts, and the principal army chaplain of Posen; whereas the Synod of the province of Brandenburg, held at Berlin, consisted of 155 members; viz., the General Superintendent, a professor of theology from the university of Berlin, 75 superintendents, 75 representatives of the clergy, and the principal army chaplain; to which were added, two deputies from the French Church settled at Berlin.

enough passed over in silence, viz. the authority and obligation of the symbolical books, was brought forward in the Synods of Saxony, Brandenburg, and Pomerania. In the last-named province, where the orthodox party greatly preponderates, the decision was in favour of the symbolical books; in the Synod of Brandenburg a kind of middle course was taken; the authority of the symbolical books being recognized, but only in the general way in which the Prussian Ordination Service⁷ mentions them, not in the stricter sense of a subscription to the letter of those writings. In the province of Saxony, which is the one most infected by the leaven of rationalism⁸, not only the authority of

⁷ The passage of the ordination service here referred to, is in the exhortation addressed to the candidates for orders. "First, you are to preach no other doctrine but that which is founded on God's pure and clear word, the prophetic and apostolic writings of the Old and New Testament, our only rule of faith; and contained in the three chief symbols,—The Apostles', the Nicene, and the Athanasian Creeds, [*here, according to custom, the symbolical books are mentioned,*] and in the spirit of which the liturgy of our national evangelic Church, to which you are to conform, is composed." From the direction inserted between brackets, it would appear that the symbolical books to be mentioned, are in each place those which in that place have hitherto been acknowledged; and at all events it is clear, that in the absence of any promise, or other formal recognition of the symbolical books on the part of the person to be ordained, the obligation to abide by them cannot be otherwise than exceedingly vague and loose.

⁸ The *Allgemeine Kirchen-Zeitung* contains strong evidence to this effect, in the shape of an address signed by "about three hundred respectable citizens" of the town of Magdeburg, and presented to the president of the Provincial Synod. By this address the worthy citizens endeavour to indemnify themselves for the exclusion of the laity from the deliberations of the Synod; they start with the modest assertion, that if they are reproached with neglect of the Church and of the means of grace, no body can be so well qualified as themselves, to say what is wanting to the Church, in order to make it "what every rational honest citizen must wish to see it." Of their wisdom and insight into the true wants of the Church, a few specimens from their address will be sufficient to give our readers an idea:—

"In order to gain the full confidence of their congregations, clergymen, instead of standing towards their congregations in the character of a kind of public officers, should stand by them as friends; i. e. instead of making a show of propounding what may have been ordered or permitted by higher authority, they ought to propound only what, according to their inmost convictions, they themselves believe to be true, and suitable to the degree of cultivation which their congregations have attained; consequently they ought not to preach antiquated doctrines, but only such saving truths as are universally acknowledged. . . . They ought to abstain, and that under severe penalties, from all controversial preaching, which we can regard in no other light than as being extremely pernicious, altogether unchristian, and diametrically opposed to the great commandments of love and toleration towards our fellow-men.

"Above all, the preacher must have entire liberty of teaching, unfettered by any superior authority. He is, therefore, not to be tied down to any so-called creeds or symbols of faith, but simply to the doctrine of Jesus, as according to his, the preacher's own rational view, it is contained in the Bible; and it must be left altogether to the congregation, to judge of his views and of his manner of preaching. . . .

"The members of the congregation, duly consulting with the elders and the preachers, are the parties to determine whether, for instance, the present liturgy is to be retained in their church, and whether in this new liturgy the old apostolic creed should still be read, seeing that it is repugnant to the feelings of the majority. To the members of the congregation we are firmly persuaded it would be far more edifying, if instead of the present liturgy, which is a kind of mass, a morning prayer, freely

the symbolical books was repudiated, but even the absolute authority of Holy Scripture as the Evangelic rule of faith was rejected by an immense majority, the numbers being as five to one against the orthodox view even upon this point. Another question which was not contemplated by the ministerial rescript, but was mooted in the Synods, and very fully discussed, especially at the provincial Synod of Brandenburg, held at Berlin from the 8th to the 29th of November, was the question of Church reform. The general tendency of the deliberations, both at Berlin and elsewhere, was in favour of a more democratic constitution of the Church, and of the admission of the laity to a share in Church government and legislation.

Schism in the Roman Catholic Church.—The movement among the Roman Catholics to which Czerski and Ronge gave the first impulse, is spreading throughout Germany, and especially in the Prussian dominions, in spite, or rather in consequence, of the sentences of excommunication fulminated against it by the Romish hierarchy. Up to the date of the latest accounts there were forty-eight places, thirty-two of them in the kingdom of Prussia, where "German Catholic," or as they also call themselves "Christian Catholic" (*Christ-Katholische*) communities have been formed. The following is a list of them, collected from the *Allgemeine* and the *Berliner Kirchen-Zeitung*. In the kingdom of Prussia the chief seat of the schism is Silesia, where it has established itself at Breslau, Oppeln, Liegnitz, Schweidnitz, Görlitz, Glogau, Landshut, Freistadt, Trebnitz, Lüben, Steinau and Schlawentzitz; in the province of Posen, besides Schneidemühl, which took the lead, in the town of Posen, at Bromberg, Chodziesen and Filehne; in West Prussia at Dantzig, Stargard, Marienburg and Thorn; in Brandenburg, at Berlin and Nauen; in Prussian Saxony, at Magdeburg, Merseburg, and Genthin; in Westphalia, at Hamm, Unna, Witten and Bochum; in Rhenish Prussia at Düsseldorf and Elberfeld. In the kingdom of Saxony congregations have been constituted at Dresden, Leipzig, Chemnitz, Annaberg, Penig, Oschatz, Dahlen and Zschopau; in the Grand Duchy of Hesse, at Offenbach and Worms; in the Duchy of Nassau, at Wiesbaden and Kaub; as likewise at Hildesheim in the kingdom of Hanover, at Braunschweig in the Duchy of Brunswick, at Wismar in Mecklenburg, and at Biberach in the kingdom of Würtemberg. The great difficulty which they experience, is the want of duly-ordained ministers, as hitherto a few only among the Roman Catholic clergy have joined the movement; and partly on this account, partly, no doubt, because the principles of these new communities are as yet exceedingly undefined, they have been unable to obtain from the respective governments any thing beyond mere toleration. The Prussian government, more particularly, by whose decision the

chosen by the preacher, were to be read before the sermon, as is the case in the reformed Church of this town. How ill-adapted to the present time this liturgy is, appears clearly from the fact, that by far the greater number of people never enter the Church until after its conclusion."

others are likely to be influenced, is evidently adopting Gamaliel's counsel with regard to the whole affair. We extract from the detailed accounts with which the theological journals of Germany are filled, a few particulars respecting the more important of the congregations already formed, which will serve to throw light upon the character of the movement itself.

At Schneidemühl, the so-called 'Christian Catholic' Church was constituted on the 19th of October, on the basis of the creed of which we gave an account in our last number. At the head of it is the priest Czerski, with two lay elders. With regard to Czerski himself, there can be little doubt that the desire to shake off the yoke of celibacy had a considerable share in the course which he has pursued. It appears that he had, previously to his separation from Rome, contracted what he calls a "marriage of conscience" (*Gewissensehe*), the consequences of which rendered a legal marriage⁹ necessary for the credit of his bride. The opposition of the parents on both sides to the marriage caused much difficulty and delay. Czerski had to go through the ungracious proceeding of summoning his own parents and those of his bride, before the civil authorities to substantiate their objections; a form which the law of Prussia requires before a marriage to which the parents refuse to give their free consent, can be solemnized. These facts, which are not lost sight of by his Romish opponents, and referred to in the sentence of excommunication pronounced against him, are not any where denied on his part; on the contrary, they appear to be universally admitted by his own partisans, and derive additional countenance from one of the articles of the creed adopted at Schneidemühl, which makes marriage obligatory on Christian ministers, as well as from a singular manifesto on the subject of marriage, which he published in November, and which, while preferring heavy charges against the Romish clergy, contains a kind of apology for a Romish priest contracting a clandestine marriage¹. As regards the form of worship adopted

⁹ The ceremony took place on the 21st of February, and was performed by a Protestant clergyman.

¹ This document runs as follows:—"The essence of marriage consists in the union, by virtue of a contract, of two persons of different sex: a third person can only be a witness of that contract. Considered in this point of view, even such marriages as are contracted without witnesses, are essentially true and real marriages; and the Council of Trent itself so accounts them, and prohibits them only on the ground of the abuses to which they led: nay, according to the idea of the Roman Catholic Church, those who contract marriage, minister to themselves the sacrament of matrimony. The Catholic priest in his isolation is as much as any other man in want of female care and attention, to prevent his sinking like a savage into a state of filth. Accordingly, the greater number of the Romish clergy keep cousins, cooks, &c., and change them as often as circumstances require it. The people know this, gulp the scandal, and make game of it. The conscience of the clergy is appeased by various ecclesiastical arguments, and the soul's health receives in their opinion little damage. Many serve God in vain, because they teach doctrines and commandments of men. (Mark vii. 7.) Not a few of them lay aside the commandment of God, and hold the tradition of men. (Mark vii. 8.) *I would not and could not play the hypocrite: I have publicly declared my views on this subject, and I herewith once more publicly repeat the assertion, that it*

by the congregation at Schneidemühl, it is in all respects, including the priestly vestments, the same as the Roman Catholic mass, except that the prayers which have reference to the worship and intercession of the saints, are omitted, and that the whole office is performed in the vulgar tongue. No conclusion can, however, be drawn either from this, or from the orthodoxy of the creed put forth by the congregation of Schneidemühl, as to Czerski's ultimate views; for he openly professes that his object is "at present" to alter as little as possible, out of regard for the weakness of the people, to whom, as he observed to a visitor from Berlin, it is necessary to give milk, because they would not as yet be able to bear wine. This significant remark is not calculated to allay the suspicions which cannot fail to be excited by his public association with Ronge, with whom he has in a great measure identified himself.

The character of Ronge's theology appears, the more it is called forth by the events in which he has embarked, the more openly and decidedly rationalistic. His deportment is that of "Young Germany" (*burschikos*), and his spirit "the spirit of the nineteenth century." The congregation at Breslau, which constituted itself under the name of a "Universal Christian Congregation," on the 19th of January last, under his auspices, found the articles of faith agreed upon at Schneidemühl too stringent, and accordingly drew up twenty-four articles of its own², containing a symbol of the very meagerest kind; the object being evidently a comprehension of all, whether Roman Catholics or Protestants, who may be desirous of reducing their faith to the *minimum* of positive belief, compatible with the retention of the Christian name. On the 9th of March the new congregation, consisting of about 1200 members, celebrated for the first time public worship in a church granted for the purpose by the local authorities, when Ronge, who had been called to preside over it, was formally installed in his office. The ceremonial that was adopted, and the sentiments that were uttered on the occasion, are highly characteristic. The proceedings were opened by Dr. Steiner, one of the teachers of the school of architecture at Breslau,

is really more agreeable to religion and to God's law to renounce the papal law of celibacy and to receive the Divine commandment, to renounce the sinful cohabitation with cooks, this immortal tragedy of the clergy, and to contract a Christian marriage, WHICH, SINCE THE CHURCH REFUSES TO BLESS IT, CAN ONLY BE MATRIMONIUM CLANDESTINUM; no matter though it terminate in the drama of a wedding, to which the whole Catholic clergy is herewith invited. It is, however, much to be wished that all celibacy might shortly conclude with a wedding; because for the most part it exists in theory only; in practice, as far as I know, it has scarcely any existence.—John Czerski, pastor of the Christian Apostolic Catholic congregation at Schneidemühl."

² These articles being almost verbatim reproduced in the "Determinations of the council at Leipzig," we give here only the creed:—"I believe in God the Father, who by his Almighty word has created the world, and governs it in wisdom, justice, and love. I believe in Jesus Christ our Saviour, who by his doctrine, his life, and his death, has redeemed us from the bondage of sin. I believe in the operation of the Holy Spirit on earth. I believe in a holy universal Christian Church, the communion of saints, the forgiveness of sins, and eternal life.—Amen." Meagre as this creed is, it will be found on comparison with that agreed upon at Leipzig (see below, p. 502), that it contained too much of positive truth for the taste of the "Council."

and member of the eldership, who in a laborious speech described the day as "the eventful day of the emancipation of a whole Christian congregation from priestly tutelage, and of the reassertion of the long withheld right of assembling together by virtue of their own will, and to praise and laud God their Lord after their own mind." He passed a high encomium on the advanced state of civilization, and the universal diffusion of knowledge, in consequence of which they were now to have the Gospel preached in all its purity, unadulterated by human traditions; and after much more to the same purpose, he concluded by asking the congregation whether they meant to call Ronge to the pastoral office. The answer being in the affirmative, Ronge was introduced by Czerski and Kerbler, another priest who has withdrawn from the Romish Church. On his arrival at the altar, he was presented with a piece of poetry³, set to the tune of a well-known and favourite song of the demagogue school of Young Germany, the first stanza of which was actually sung by the congregation; thus beginning the solemn consecration of the minister to his office, not with the praise of God, and the invocation of the Holy Ghost, but with the praise of man, with a laudatory address to the future minister himself.

After this prelude, Dr. Steiner addressed Ronge, informing him of his election by the voice of the congregation, which, according to the old adage, he declared to be God's voice; and at the close of his oration pronounced a blessing upon him. Ronge, in reply, expressed his gratification at the reception given him, his desire to lay aside all priestly distinctions, even to the title "Reverend," which he declined, and promised faithfulness in his office, concluding with a prayer.

³ The following is a literal translation of this, considering the occasion, exceedingly profane, as well as exceedingly prosy composition:—

"Send forth thy thunders, organ!
Like music of the spheres roar thou,
Holy choir.
Honour to him be given
Who from darkest night of faith
By the power of truth
Has raised us up.

Thousands name thee,
Thousands greet thee
With jubilee.
Kindling the light of truth,
Which through darkness clearly shines,
Full of courage, thou art not afraid
Of human threats.

March forward boldly, thou worthy man,
On the path which thou hast chosen;
We follow thee.
Teach us Christ's pure word
In this holy place,
Show us our true Guardian
Ever and ever.

Godly, strong and holy be,
Full of faith, and pure and free,
The word of the Lord.
Man's conceit and man's wit
Send from the priestly chair
Down on us their thunderbolts;
We gladly suffer.

In love only we contend,
In love only we pray,
Blessing our enemies.
Fate one day will surely bring
That blessed moment,
When for the happiness of mankind
One faith will unite us all.

Thou, brave and worthy man,
Hast opened the way to this,
Right chivalrous.
Therefore at the Lord's altar
Thy faithful flock
Gives thee thanks this day,
And blesses thee."

He now commenced the service with the Confession, responded to by the Kyrie eleison; then followed the verse of a hymn, and the Gloria, and after this, the following prayer:—"O Father, the doctrine which Jesus Christ once preached for the salvation of the world, has been transmitted to us by pious and trustworthy men, who were so filled with the sense of its truth and excellence, that they suffered persecution and death for it. While we give Thee most hearty thanks for this holy doctrine, we pray Thee at the same time that we too may by the power of this doctrine overcome this perishable world with its tribulations, and render ourselves truly worthy of the everlasting home promised unto us." Adding, "The Lord be with you;" to which the congregation responded, "Amen." Another verse was then sung, during which Ronge ascended the pulpit, and after reading the Epistle and Gospel, and another prayer, proceeded to the sermon, in which he handled these three questions:—1. What is meant by Christ's word? 2. How is Christ's word to be understood? 3. How is it to be kept?

In treating this subject he expatiated upon the mischief occasioned in the world by Christ's word being understood according to "the letter," and not according to "the spirit," whereby it had come to pass, "that faith had been shut up in dogmas, in articles and symbols of belief, and the health and salvation of Christian souls tied to syllables and words." With these fatal errors of the past ages of Christianity he contrasted the bright prospect which was now lying before them: "Having proposed to ourselves to act as mediators of unity, peace, and reconciliation, among the different confessions, our chief aim must be to prevent the faith from being shut up in dogmas and symbols, salvation from being tied to syllables and words, the spirit from being bound with fetters; for there must be a free development according to the heights of the spirit, and the depths of the soul. As principles of an universal Church, no other words can serve but these: 'Be ye perfect as my Father which is in heaven is perfect;' and 'Thou shalt love God above all, and thy neighbour as thyself.'" In speaking of the necessity of reducing our faith to practice, Ronge thus discourses of Christ's example: "Christ too did not stop short at mere doctrines; He too practised what he taught; and much trouble and many dangers had He to undergo in consequence. They called Him a blasphemer, and when He begun to collect his disciples into a congregation, they went so far as to procure Him to be cast into prison (*sic!*) and condemned to death. But this did not put an end to his great cause; on the contrary, it increased with immense rapidity. And thus has He become the most exalted pattern for us, that we should follow his example." After this sorry exhibition of his faith and learning, Ronge read the General Prayer, an epistle from "the universal congregation of Christian brethren in Dresden;" and after reciting the creed of the Breslau congregation, closed the service. If any thing were needed to show "of what manner of spirit" the whole movement is, it would be the official account given of this transaction in a supplement to No. 20 of the "*Schlesische Chronik*," in which, in irreverent allusion to the effusion

of the Holy Ghost on the day of Pentecost, it is said, that after the affirmation of Ronge's call to the pastoral office by the congregation, "a breathless silence followed the unanimous and solemn reply, and *it was as if the spirit of the nineteenth century were causing the sound of its mighty rushing to be heard through the noiseless space.*"

The tone taken by Ronge and the other Silesian Reformers, found a ready echo in Saxony, where rationalistic tendencies greatly prevail both among Protestants and Roman Catholics; and the articles of faith there agreed upon are drawn up on the model of the Breslau articles, occasionally going even beyond them⁴. A similar result took place in Hessa and Brunswick. On the contrary, the newly-formed congregations in Rhenish Prussia and Nassau, inclined towards a more orthodox form of belief, the former adopting in the main the Schneidemühl confession, and the latter the Apostles' creed. Thus, amidst a great variety of confessions put forth by the different congregations⁵, two schools are clearly discernible; one of an orthodox tendency, whose prototype is Schneidemühl; the other of a rationalistic tendency, whose prototype is Breslau. The evil and the danger of this duality at the very foundation of what aspires to become one universal Church, absorbing all existing Christian communions, was first pointedly felt at Berlin, where, as it afterwards appeared, both the tendencies mustered in sufficient strength to gain a hearing. After several preliminary meetings the congregation there was formally constituted on the 3rd of March, and a confession⁶ was agreed to, the avowed intention of which

⁴ Thus for instance Art. 3 of the Breslau confession says: "The only foundation and object of the Christian faith is Holy Scripture;" the Leipzig and Dresden articles alter this as follows: "As the foundation of the Christian faith, we acknowledge only the Holy Scriptures, *and reason penetrated and acted upon by the idea of Christianity.*" So again the Breslau articles define the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper as "a feast of reconciliation, commemorative of the passion and death of our Lord Jesus Christ;" for which the Leipzig and Dresden articles substitute "*a memorial of Christ, and a sign of brotherly union among all mankind.*"

⁵ Some, however, struck off into a devious path of their own. Of this kind is the Wismar confession, which contains in its creed the following definition, or rather denial, of the Holy Trinity. "1. We believe in one God, the Lord of heaven and earth, whose original Deity is revealed in the word as Father. 2. We believe in the manifestation of his Son on earth in Jesus Christ, who is the Son of the Most High in the spiritual sense of the word. 3. We believe in an all-governing Spirit of love and wisdom, who is the Holy Spirit, or the Spirit of love and truth. 4. Thus we believe in a unity of the Divine Being, in his threefold unfolding as Father, Son, and Spirit, without distinction of three persons in one Godhead."

⁶ The symbol contained in this confession is almost word for word the Nicene creed, which, as our readers will recollect, was adopted at Schneidemühl. The only alterations made in it are the following:—In the article of the Father, the words, "and of all things visible and invisible" are omitted; the article of the Son is in the beginning contracted thus: "We believe in Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God, begotten of his Father before all worlds, very God of very God," &c. &c. In the article of the Holy Ghost, the words "the Lord and giver of life," and "who spake by the prophets," are left out; the Church is described not as "one Catholic and Apostolic," but as "one holy universal (Catholic) Christian Church;" lastly, the clause respecting baptism is wholly omitted. The article concerning the rule of faith is thus conceived: "We receive Holy Scripture more particularly as the most true fountain

was to hold a middle course between Schneidemühl and Breslau. "We have," it is said in the introductory remarks, "drawn up a confession of our own, not because we were unwilling to make use of what has been done before, nor from any desire to increase the existing differences of opinion, and thereby to give to our common enemy facilities against us; but we have scrupulously kept within the limits of existing principles of reform, and have taken them for our basis throughout, in order to assist in leading the newly-formed and as yet contradictory but pliant opinions to a harmonious unity. The same feeling which dictated these remarks, gave rise to a proposal for a general assembly for the composition of incipient differences. A similar wish having been expressed at Leipzig, an invitation was addressed to all the newly-constituted "German" or "Christian Catholic" congregations, to send deputies to what was, with more pomposity than propriety, denominated a "general council of the German Catholic Church." The meeting took place accordingly on the 23rd of March and three following days. There were present in all twenty-seven deputies, five of them from Breslau, and three from Berlin. The number of congregations represented was twenty; five congregations, those of Worms, Wiesbaden, Kaub, Hamm, and Unna, had declared beforehand their acquiescence in whatever decision should be arrived at. The presidency of the council devolved on the leading elder of the Dresden congregation, Professor Wigard; the only clergymen present, were Czerski, Ronge, and Kerbler. After an animated debate, especially on the symbol and other articles of faith, the orthodox party were outvoted. The following is the result of the deliberations, published by authority, but subject, according to Articles 41 and 42, to the approbation of a majority of the congregations:—

of the Christian faith, and oral tradition only so far as it agrees with Scripture, or concordantly completes it." In the article of the Sacraments the five so-called Sacraments of the Roman Catholic Church, which the Breslau confession altogether rejects, are recognized as "pious customs, consecrated by tradition." The doctrine of transubstantiation is repudiated, but the real presence in a spiritual sense insisted on. While rejecting auricular confession as a matter of obligation, and the power of absolution and penance in the Romish sense, voluntary confession to the pastor of the congregation, and godly counsel ministered by him, are recommended as means of grace. While rejecting compulsory celibacy and monastic vows, a reverence for voluntary celibacy is professed, and sacerdotal benediction required as a condition of the validity of marriage, evidently in opposition to the views on this point put forth by Czerski in palliation of his own irregularities. See above, note 2. The invocation of saints and worship of relics is not absolutely repudiated, but the alone mediation of Christ strongly insisted on. The Romish doctrine of purgatory is rejected, yet so as to maintain a purification of the soul after death. Christ is recognised as the only Head of the Church, and the Holy Ghost as his only vicar on earth, in opposition to the claim of the papal hierarchy. The most singular clause in these articles is one which leaves it open to members of the Church at their discretion to receive the Holy Communion under one kind only; a concession which, as it appears from the record of the proceedings, was made to the scruples of an officer of the Prussian army, who in joining reserved to himself the right of receiving the bread only.

“GENERAL PRINCIPLES AND DETERMINATIONS OF THE GERMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH, ADOPTED AT THE COUNCIL HELD AT LEIPZIG.

I. DETERMINATIONS CONCERNING POINTS OF DOCTRINE.

1. We acknowledge as the foundation of the Christian faith solely and exclusively Holy Scripture, *the understanding and interpretation of which is left free to reason penetrated and acted upon by the idea of Christianity.*

2. As the general substance of our doctrines we establish the following symbol: “*I believe in God the Father, who by his Almighty word has created the world, and governs it in wisdom, justice, and love. I believe in Jesus Christ our Saviour. I believe in the Holy Spirit, a holy universal Christian Church, forgiveness of sins, and eternal life. Amen.*”

3. We repudiate the primacy of the pope, we renounce the hierarchy, and *we reject beforehand all concessions* which might possibly be made by the hierarchy, in order to bring *the free Church* back under its yoke.

4. We reject auricular confession.

5. We reject compulsory celibacy.

6. We reject the invocation of saints, and the worship of relics and images.

7. We reject indulgences, fastings by command, pilgrimages, and all such like appointments, which have hitherto obtained in the Church, and can only lead to an empty work-righteousness.

8. We consider it the duty of the Church and of individuals to cause the substance of our faith to become a matter of *living knowledge, accordant with the spirit of the age.*

9. We admit, however, *perfect liberty of conscience, free investigation and interpretation of Holy Scripture, unlimited by external authority of any kind*; on the contrary, we abhor all compulsion, all hypocrisy and lying; for which reason *we do not consider a difference of apprehension and interpretation of the substance of our faith, as a ground of separation or condemnation.*

10. We acknowledge only two sacraments, Baptism and the Lord's Supper; but we do not wish to circumscribe individual congregations in the preservation of Christian customs.

11. Baptism is to be ministered to infants, reserving *the confirmation of the profession of this faith when they shall have arrived at maturity of intellect.*

12. The Lord's Supper is received by the congregation, according to Christ's institution, under both kinds.

13. We recognise marriage as an institution which is to be held sacred, and retain its benediction by the Church; and *we acknowledge no conditions or limitations with regard to it, except those contained in the laws of the State.*

14. We believe and confess that the first duty is, to reduce faith to practice by works of Christian love,

H. DETERMINATIONS CONCERNING THE EXTERNAL FORM OF WORSHIP,
AND THE PASTORAL OFFICE.

15. Worship consists essentially of instruction and edification. The external form of worship is always to be determined according to the requirements of time and place.

16. The Liturgy in particular, or that part of worship which is intended for edification, is to be ordered agreeably to the arrangements of the Apostles and the primitive Christians, *in a manner conformable to the requirements of the present time.* The co-operation of the members of the congregation, and mutual action between them and the minister, is considered as an essential requisite.

17. The use of the Latin tongue in Divine Service is to be abolished.

18. The Church Service consists of the following parts :

a. Commencement : "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."

b. Opening hymn.

c. Confession of sins. (*Confiteor.*)

d. "Lord, have mercy upon us!" (*Kyrie.*)

e. "Glory be to God on high." (*Gloria.*)

f. The Collects.

g. The Epistle.

h. The Gospel.

i. The Sermon with the usual prayers. (Before and after the Sermon singing of a verse.)

k. The Creed. (*Credo.*)

l. The hymn, "Holy, holy, holy." (*Sanctus.*)

(N.B. Those members of the congregation who intend to receive the Lord's Supper, approach the altar while this is being sung.)

m. Instead of the canon, a select portion from the history of the passion with the words of institution of the Lord's Supper, pronounced by the minister.

n. While the congregation communicates : "O Lamb of God." (*Agnus Dei.*)

o. The Lord's Prayer.

p. Concluding hymn.

q. The blessing.

Vocal and instrumental music are not to be excluded, but kept within bounds and admitted only so far as they are really calculated to excite devotion and to elevate the mind.

19. Besides the solemn service, catechizings, or edifying discourses, take place in the afternoon. *The latter may, by previous consent of the eldership, be delivered by a layman.*

20. Only those holy-days are to be kept which are fixed *by the law of the State.*

21. All Church offices, such as Baptism, Matrimony, Burial, &c., are to be performed by the minister for all the members of the congregation in the same manner, and without fees.

22. *The position and generally the outward deportment in the Church being the expression of his inward religious opinions and feelings, is left free to every one; only whatever may lead to superstition, is forbidden.*

23. No one has a claim to a particular place in the Church; wherefore the fixed location of individuals in the Church, either for a particular service or generally, is inadmissible, and that equally so, whether it be done for money or gratuitously.

III. DETERMINATIONS CONCERNING THE AFFAIRS AND CONSTITUTION OF THE CONGREGATION.

24. The congregation views it as the principal end of Christianity, not only that its spirit should, by means of public worship, doctrine, and instruction, be quickened in the hearts of the members of the congregation, but that they should be led, in a spirit of active Christian love, to promote, to the utmost of their power, the spiritual, moral, and physical welfare of *their fellow-men, without distinction.*

25. The constitution of the congregation is moulded after the arrangements of the apostolic and primitive Christians (*the Presbyterian constitution*); but it may be changed *if the times so require.*

26. Admission into the congregation takes place after the party has declared himself desirous of joining, and has made a profession of the faith according to the symbol adopted by the congregation.

27. A person from a non-Christian community, wishing to be introduced into the congregation, must first receive the necessary religious instruction, before he can obtain baptism, after making a profession of his faith.

28. The congregation exercises its ancient right, *freely to elect its minister and elders.* For the pastoral office theologians only are eligible, who can produce testimonials as to their knowledge and their conduct.

29. Every minister is introduced into the congregation, and into his office, by a solemn act.

30. The appointment of a minister to a congregation is irrevocable; and no grounds of removal are admitted, except such as are determined by *the law of the land.* Grounds of removal which do not come within the scope of the law, are cognizable only by the provincial synods which are to be established.

31. The congregation is represented by the minister and *the chosen elders.* *The election of the latter takes place, as a rule, annually on the Feast of Pentecost.*

32. The minister or ministers have the administration of the spiritual functions,—the elders, with the president chosen by themselves from their own number for one year, the administration of all the other affairs of the congregation. The minister, however, is a member of the college of elders.

33. In the assemblies of the congregation, the pastor or pastors have, by right, the place of honour by the side of *the president of the congregation,* who is the president chosen from among the elders (see

Art. 32). *The president of the congregation opens, directs, and closes the deliberations of the congregation, in all kinds of causes, not excepting such as have reference to the creed, to divine service, and the pastoral charge; and the minister is always to vote last. Nevertheless, the minister is to have the first and the last word in all spiritual matters.*

34. *In settling its constitution, the congregation will determine the rights and duties which it devolves upon the minister and the elders, as well as those which it retains in its own hands.*

35. *The congregation holds itself entitled and authorized, independently and by itself, to alter any one of these determinations agreeably to the spirit of the age, and the progress made in the knowledge of Holy Scripture; but for the sake of unity, it voluntarily agrees to notify such alteration to the next general council of the Church, and to seek for its decision.*

IV. DETERMINATIONS CONCERNING THE GENERAL COUNCILS OF THE CHURCH.

36. *The general councils of the Church have for their object the preservation of the unity of Church life, as far as this unity does not interfere with the liberty of conscience of individual members of the congregations, and with that of the congregations themselves.*

37. *The general council is to consist of deputies from the different German-Catholic congregations, in the election of which the congregations are unfettered.*

38. *Every congregation is free to send as many deputies as it sees fit; but in coming to a decision, all the deputies of one congregation have only one vote between them.*

39. *No assembly shall be esteemed a general council, unless the majority of the congregations constituted in Germany be represented at it. One deputy, however, may represent more than one congregation.*

40. *The number of deputies entitled to vote in a general council of the Church, is to consist in the proportion of two-thirds, at the least, of laymen; one-third only may belong to the clerical order.*

41. *The decisions of the general council of the Church are to be considered only as propositions, and do not become universally valid until they have been submitted for discussion and decision to all the individual congregations in Germany, and adopted by a majority of the congregations.*

42. *The declarations of the several congregations adopting or rejecting the decisions of the general council, are always to be transmitted to the local president mentioned in Art. 48, within three months, failing which they cannot be taken into account in ascertaining the general adoption or rejection of the proposed decision.*

43. *As a rule, a general council is to be held every five years; for the present, however, and until all the relations of the German-Catholic congregations are finally decided, more frequent assemblies may take place.*

44. The duration of each general council depends on the number and importance of subjects for deliberation.

45. The place in which the general council is held shall be changed, taking care, as far as circumstances will permit, to afford like facilities to the congregations situated in Eastern and Western, in Northern and Southern Germany.

46. Every general council is, therefore, to determine, in one of its first sessions, in what place the next council is to be held.

47. The two presidents of the congregations of the place where, respectively, the last general council was held, and the next will be held, are to co-operate together, in preparing the business of the council, in manner following :

48. The president of the congregation of the place where the next council is to be held, issues the summons in the public papers, and, if expedient, by special circulars to the congregations : he opens the general council, and, after its constitution, hands over the documents and other matters to the person who has been chosen president of the council (see Art. 49), from whose hands he again receives back all documents and other matters at the close of the council.

After this he receives the declarations of the several congregations (see Arts. 41, 42) ; and at the expiration of the time appointed (see Art. 42), he is to publish the affirmative and negative votes of the congregations, and the names of such congregations as have failed to give in their declaration ; which act terminates his functions.

He then is to send all documents, writings, and other matters relative to the general councils, to the president of the congregation of the place where the next general council is to be held, who proceeds again in the manner aforesaid.

49. The first proceeding after the opening of any council, is to be the election of a president by means of voting papers.

50. The sessions of the general councils are public ; as full a report as possible of the proceedings will be printed.

51. *All these determinations, however, are not, and are not intended to be, established for all future times ; but may and must be modified from time to time agreeably to the spirit of the age.*

On comparison of these articles with those adopted at Breslau, it clearly appears that Ronge's influence preponderated at the council at Leipzig. No sooner was the council concluded, than the greater part of the deputies adjourned to Halle, where they were entertained with "the feast of reason and the flow of souls" by the ultra-rationalistic coterie, whose leader, Pastor Wislicenus, has lately made himself so notorious by the denial, in terms most direct and offensive, of the divinity of our Lord. Speeches of mutual gratulation were made ; and one of the German-Catholic clergy, Kerbler, toasted the veteran of the ultra-rationalists, Pastor Uhlich, whom he designated as "one of the noblest men of the people." All the speeches are reported at full length in the *Hallesche Courier*, with the exception of that of Czerski,

which is passed over with the remark, that "he spoke with eloquent honesty."

By thus fraternizing with men who openly reject the most fundamental doctrines of Christianity and the authority of Scripture, and who, by their popular agitation in the cause of infidelity, have drawn down upon themselves the censures of their ecclesiastical superiors, and the disgust of the Christian public, the German-Catholics have given the death-blow to their own character, and to any chance of success which they might have had. The consequences are already apparent, by a separation which has taken place in the congregation at Berlin; a considerable portion of its members, discontented with the Leipzig articles, and with the attempt made to obtain their approval from the Berlin congregation, have seceded, and declared their intention to constitute themselves into an independent body, under the title "the Catholic Congregation," as opposed to both "Roman Catholic" and "German Catholic."

The turn which the affair has thus taken, and which it was from the first probable that it would take, accounts for the fact, that among the Roman Catholic clergy of Germany, many of whom are men of enlightened and liberal views, not one of any note or respectability has joined the movement⁷. An attempt was made by the congregation at Düsseldorf to obtain the co-operation of the Hermesians, but they refused; in Silesia it was hoped that Dr. A. Theiner, *professor emeritus*, and pastor at Hundsfield, who has written against the celibacy of the priesthood, might be prevailed upon to add the weight of his name to the cause of reform, and at one time his appointment as minister of the Berlin congregation, which is still without clergy, was spoken of; but that hope also proved abortive. The most determined step, however, to obtain, if possible, the countenance of men of station and influence among the Romish clergy, was the address presented to Dr. Kaiser, bishop of Mayence, by the German Catholics at Offenbach. Dr. Kaiser having openly discountenanced the exhibition at Trèves, and being otherwise known as a man of sincere piety and of a truly kind and Christian spirit, it was thought possible that he might be

⁷ The only Romish priests, besides CZERSKI and RONGE, that have hitherto joined the movement are, 1. CHARLES KERBLER, ordained, 1839, chaplain at Lindenau in Silesia, which post he quitted in order to join Ronge; he seems to have been actuated in this step by conscientious conviction; but in his public discourses he has proved himself to be a miserable rationalistic prater, and worthy adjunct of Ronge. He has been appointed to the congregation at Leipzig;—2. EICHORN, ordained, 1829, curate of the Church of the Minorites at Breslau; he, too, appears to have been a voluntary separatist on conscientious grounds. He publicly joined Ronge's congregation at Breslau on Maundy-Thursdays.—3. LICHT, for 30 years pastor of Leiwen in the diocese of Trèves; a man of unsullied reputation, and generally beloved by his flock. He ventured to dissuade his parishioners from making a pilgrimage to Trèves during the late exhibition, against which he published several papers. This drew upon him the resentment of the bishop of Trèves, who, after admonition and suspension had proved fruitless, finally excommunicated him. He has been appointed minister of the congregation at Elberfeld.

induced to lift the banner of reform in the Roman Catholic Church of Germany; and to do this he was formally invited in the address presented to him as to their diocesan by the dissentients at Offenbach, previously to their taking any steps to constitute themselves into a separate congregation. The bishop replied by requesting a deputation to wait upon him, with whom he held, on the 3rd of March, a conference which lasted five hours, and in which the different points insisted on in the address were discussed by him with great kindness and moderation; he concluded, however, with the advice that if they persisted in their views, it would be better for them at once to join the Protestant communion. It was not till after this interview with the bishop, that, on the 5th of March, the "German-Catholic" congregation at Offenbach was formally constituted. Meanwhile, Dr. Kaiser has addressed a pastoral letter to his clergy, exhorting them to vigilance against the intrusion of the schism into their flocks, in which, while he disavows "ultra-montane" as distinguished from "Catholic" principles, he points out with great truth that the tendency of the so-called German Catholics is to produce union by a negation of all belief, to cast off all authority of whatever kind, and finally to set aside Christianity itself; in proof whereof he appeals to their published symbols of faith, as containing the lowest *minimum* of Christian truth.

"*The Protestant Friends.*"—The radical agitation in favour of extreme rationalism, which has been set on foot under this denomination in different parts of Germany, especially in the Prussian province of Saxony, continues to spread, and has begun to attract the serious notice of the ecclesiastical authorities. The immediate effects of the unblushing avowals of unbelief in the most vital doctrines of the Christian faith on the part of several ministers of the Protestant Church at the Köthen meeting of the association last year*, was the publication, principally in the *Evangelische Kirchen-Zeitung*, of numerous protests, some of them amounting to declarations of excommunication, by individual ministers, and by the clergy of different districts, conferences, and synods, against the licentious doctrines of Uhlich, Wislicenus, and their associates. All these were, however, merely in the nature of private expressions of opinion, without any authority or influence, beyond what they might derive from the estimation in which the names of the subscribers are held. Meanwhile the "Protestant Friends" took advantage of the outcry raised against them, to represent themselves as men suffering persecution; and under favour of this *ad captandum* argument they pushed their attacks against the Christian faith to a still more daring length. Wislicenus published at the beginning of the present year a pamphlet under the title "*Ob Schrift? ob Geist?*" (Whether Scripture or Spirit?), in which he deliberately reasserts the infidel opinions broached by him at Köthen, and that in terms too coarse, and especially as regards the birth of our blessed Lord, too blasphemously offensive, to be reproduced by our pen. At the same time he openly challenges the

* See English Review, vol. ii. p. 236.

authorities to pronounce upon the question, whether the position he has taken be or be not incompatible with the office which he holds, as a clergyman of the Evangelic Church. Another pamphlet, entitled "*Bekenntnisse ; mit Bezug auf die Protestantischen Freunde und auf erfahrene Angriffe*" (Confessions, with reference to the Protestant Friends and the attacks made upon them), has been put forward by Pastor Uhlich, to whom his party has given the name of "the Protestant Apostle." His tone is less offensive than that of Wislicenus, tempered on the one hand by that religious sentimentalism which would merge all creeds for the sake of uniting all mankind in one universal brotherhood, and restrained on the other hand by moderation and propriety of expression ; still his opinions are to the full as infidel as those of his more violent confederate. Thus, for instance, he accounts for the position which he has taken up as the leader of this movement, by "the indignation which he felt, when three years ago a clergyman of Magdeburg was threatened with dismissal, because he had publicly declared himself opposed to the worship of Jesus. He then felt that the time was come when the liberally-minded clergy must make common cause." The purpose for which they did so, he declares to be essentially a purpose of peace and good-will ; their object being to "maintain such a view of Christianity, as would form a centre of union for all, not only for all classes of Protestants, but for Protestants, Catholics, and Greeks, yea, and for Christians and Jews." What sort of Christianity that is to be, in which the difference which divides Jews from Christians is merged as a non-essential, may easily be imagined. Concerning the person of our blessed Lord, this Protestant apostle says with great *naïveté*,—"Who Jesus was, properly speaking, I know not." In another place he calls Him, "a most exalted being, bordering nearly on Godhead, penetrated by Godhead, but *never* the second person in the Godhead ;" the argument in support of this peremptory "*never*" being, that "all the thoughts of his rational mind revolt at the idea of acknowledging Him as God." The doctrines of original sin and of the atonement are, of course, expunged from his system ; in connexion with the latter, he observes that as the words "this is my body" are to be spiritually understood, so, in like manner, the words "given" or "shed, for the remission of sins," are not to be taken literally, as of a propitiatory sacrifice, but spiritually. No less explicit are the declarations made by Pastor Uhlich in a kind of programme of the views of "the Protestant Friends," published by him in December last, in his "*Allgemeine Kirchen-Zeitung*." "We protest," he there says, "against every assumption in the province of Christianity ; . . . we protest against the arrogance of *learning*, which pretends to be the sole arbiter of truth and salvation ; we protest against that *theology* which attempts to put itself in the place of religion ; we protest against that *Scriptural erudition*, which confounds the Bible with the Word of God, with the Gospel ; that is to say, the vessel with its contents ; we protest against that *historical lore* which fancies that by tracing out a former development, it traces at the same time the course which further development must undeviatingly follow ; we

protest against that *priesthood* which will persist in making a distinction between itself and the laity, and arrogating to itself certain prerogatives; we protest against that *churchmanship* which will at every cost maintain the forms and traditions of bygone times; we protest against that *pietism* which denies to reason her rights, and thereby renders all healthful development of Christianity impossible; we protest against that *mysticism* which sets up its notions of the depths of the Divine Being, and of the human soul, as notes of Christianity; lastly, we protest against the *secularization* of Christianity, which unceremoniously considers the Christian religion as an institution, and its ministers as servants, of the State." Having thus accounted for the name "*Protestant*," which his party peculiarly rejoices in, he proceeds to distinguish between what is transient and what is permanent in Christianity. Of those things that are merely transient, and whose day is, in his opinion, gone by, he thus speaks: "The doctrines of original sin, of vicarious satisfaction, of the Trinity, we pronounce to be mere doctrinal developments of an obsolete theology, which no man has a right to impose as absolute points of evangelic faith. We acknowledge, that justification through faith only, according to Luther's view, was the chief article from which the reformation sprang, but we see in this no reason why we should continue to consider it as the chief article of protestantism." The permanent element of Christianity he finds in "these three fundamental doctrines of God, of virtue, and of immortality, which are common to all religions; doctrines which Jesus expressed in this particular form, that God is the Father, that the sum of virtue is love, and its object God's perfection; that the common purpose of the human race is to become one kingdom of God, embracing all, guided by the Holy Spirit, worshipping the Father in spirit and in truth, commencing on earth, and reaching forth into all eternity." As the source from which this idea of Christianity is derived, Pastor Uhlich points out the Bible; which, however, he observes has through want of a clear apprehension become the occasion of many disputes, and many retrograde movements, and therefore he thus defines the place which it is to hold in our estimation. "The Bible is the vessel in which evangelic truth is presented to us; without it the reformation would have been impossible; but no reason exists why it should be regarded as absolutely holy and free from error. The Old Testament is an imperfect preparation for the Gospel; the epistles of the New Testament are the first doctrinal developments of the Gospel, and therefore to be received in subordination to the Gospel. The evangelic records are drawn up by honest men; but they do not contain the Gospel with documentary precision, and therefore an isolated sentence, even from them, can have no decisive weight. To the whole Bible the rule applies: "the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life." That before a tribunal where the Bible is thus handled, the ancient faith of the Church should meet with little tenderness, might be expected. "As to the apostolic symbol," goes on the programme, "we have been unable to discover any argument which could justify the Church in

continuing to use it. It has ceased to be the expression of the faith of the congregation; and it is therefore to be wished that proper means may be devised for putting an end to its use in the Church."

For the more effectual propagation of these opinions the leaders of the party have recourse to popular discussion. They retain, indeed, their clerical offices and endowments, and continue *pro formá* to celebrate Divine service; but their Churches are deserted; in the large church of Wislicenus, in the town of Halle, where a branch association of "Protestant Friends" exists under the presidency of Dr. Niemeyer, and where there is a numerous public favourable to these views, the congregation rarely exceeds twenty individuals. To compensate for this neglect of God's house, the public conferences are numerously attended. At these the worthy "doctors and pastors" freely discuss the faith which they ought to teach, with the shopkeepers and artisans who make up the bulk of their assemblies, to the increase of their own popularity, and to the unspeakable injury of all religious feeling.

The mischief has at last become sufficiently serious in the opinion of the Prussian Government, to call for the interposition of authority. The pamphlet of Wislicenus, "*Ob Schrift? ob Geist?*" has been prohibited; and a circular has been issued by the consistory of Magdeburg, enjoining the clergy of its province to absent themselves from the annual meeting of "Protestant Friends" at Köthen, announced for the 15th of May last. Measures of a more stringent character are about to be taken against Wislicenus himself, on the ground of the gross irregularities of which he has been guilty in the performance of his ecclesiastic functions. He is charged with making "the contradictory accounts of the different Evangelists" the subject of catechetical instruction; suppressing the Apostles' Creed in Divine service; baptizing "in the spirit of truth and love," instead of "in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost;" and ministering the elements at the Holy Communion with the bare words, "take and eat," "take and drink," without saying what. These irregularities having been brought under the cognizance of the consistory at Magdeburg, and Wislicenus himself having in his book thrown out a challenge to the authorities, a commission was at last appointed, consisting of General Superintendent Müller of Magdeburg, Consistorial Councillor Snethlage of Berlin, and two theologians, Doctors Heubner and Twesten, before whom Wislicenus was summoned to appear, and to render an account of his doctrines and proceedings. He refused to obey the summons, on the plea that as he had fully set forth his views in his pamphlet, a conference with a special commission was unnecessary. In consequence of this he was summoned before the ordinary tribunal to whose jurisdiction he belongs, the consistory at Magdeburg; here he appeared, and the consistory being prepared to suspend him from his office for four weeks, as a preliminary measure, he was induced to ask for "four weeks' leave of absence." He was further informed that his appearance before the commission at Wittemberg would not be dispensed with, and that a second default on his part would be visited with total suspension. Accordingly, he

appeared on the 14th of May; but of the result nothing is known as yet, beyond what he himself imparted on the following day to the meeting of "Protestant Friends" at Köthen. He there stated that "upon the ground of his pamphlet '*Ob Schrift? ob Geist?*' and in consequence of informations laid against him by some members of his congregation, touching certain arbitrary changes in the liturgic forms, the commission had endeavoured to convince him, that considering the position he had taken as a theologian and an ecclesiastic, he could no longer hold the ministerial office in the Evangelic Church. To which he had replied, that he saw no incompatibility; that he had only used his liberty as a Protestant, whose faith is not bound by any authority." Thereupon, so ended his account of the matter, he had been suffered to depart; and an announcement which was received with loud cheers.

Infidelity ex Cathedra.—A scandal if possible still greater than that of the "Protestant Friends" in the north, has recently been occasioned in the south of Germany, by a public profession of Pantheism on the part of an academical teacher. Dr. F. Th. Vischer, formerly a student in theology, and afterwards tutor at the theological seminary, having been appointed professor *ordinarius* of *Æsthetics* and German literature, in the University of Tübingen, took occasion in his inaugural address, delivered, in the presence of the academic senate, to the general body of students, to declare open war against all revealed religion. He gave his colleagues formal notice that he should consider his official position as one in which he was bound to carry himself, as the champion of the Pantheistic system, against them with "the most perfect and undivided enmity, the most undisguised and cordial hatred;" at the same time he informed them that no weapons, no, not scurrility, coarseness, and insult, should be left unused by him in the warfare upon which he was entering; and to relieve them from all doubt as to his meaning, he at once levelled against the Christian faith, its teachers and followers, volleys of this kind of artillery. The senate was surprised and indignant; the academic youth, "Young Germany," on the contrary, highly delighted. The latter marched at night with torches and music through the town, and halting before Dr. Vischer's residence gave him a hearty salute; the inmates of the theological seminary, who were not permitted to leave the college, testifying their sentiments at the expense of their lungs, as the procession passed under their windows. Meanwhile the transaction attracted the notice of the superior authorities, and of the king himself; and Dr. Vischer was commanded to set down his discourse, which was delivered *ex tempore*, in writing. This was an embarrassing task; much of the piquancy of his oration was owing to his tone and manner, which are said to be rich in comic touches; he was afraid his jokes would not read well; and in the "advertisement" prefixed to the address, which is printed and published, he intimates as much, by way of apology. The final issue of the matter is, that Dr. Vischer is suspended from his office, and silenced for two years. *More Germanorum*, a complete "Vischer literature" has sprung up, which furnishes an ephemeral record of the affair.

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